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# THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF INDIA FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF HER HISTORY[1]

*By* DOROTHY A. L. STEDE

'India has no history'. How often does one hear this cryptic remark? How often do people wonder vaguely what it can mean? Incredible it seems, that a great country, with a mighty civilization whose antiquity is only exceeded by that of Egypt and of China, should be said to have 'no history'. History, in the general acceptation of the word, signifies 'a systematic written account of events' (under events we must include everything that affects a nation and its culture). Here we are faced with a difficulty. 'A systematic written account of events'. Such a thing was unheard of in India during the ages of her glory. The Brahmans, distinguished as they were in many branches of knowledge, paid no attention to the science of history; their chronology was hopelessly inaccurate, and it meant little to them if they antedated a king by several centuries. This curious tendency on their part was largely due to the fact that, by adopting the doctrine of transmigration, the Brahmans early embraced the notion that all existence and its attendant actions are a positive evil, so that it did not seem worth while to record them. Thus it is that India's history has of late been painstakingly reconstructed, little by little, from the evidence of coins, inscriptions of various kinds, literature, and the accounts of foreign visitors, e.g., Megasthenes of Greece, and Hiouen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim.

By history one should understand not merely a succession of dates of battles, invasions, dynasties; under history one should include the entire culture of a race, or, to be more accurate, of the inhabitants of a country (for there must needs be a thousand and one races), their attainments, in literature, art and science, their daily life, trade, relations with one another, and with the outside world, and their religion and all that it entails.

And for the study of each one of these factors we shall find a knowledge of India's physical features indispensable. Here again one is apt to be misled. At first sight it would seem that very little could be included in the term 'physical features'. Does it mean simply 'the lie of the land'? One could say, 'Oh yes, there

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[1] Awarded Royal Asiatic Society's University Prize.

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are the Himalayas across the north of India. They have always formed a formidable barrier, and have stopped many an invasion. But the fact that there are mountain-passes has prevented them from being an absolute barrier, so that hordes have poured in from time to time from the N.W. and the N.E.'. This is true, but it is only a half-truth, and there are many other factors to be considered.

What a narrow line of demarcation separates history from geography! In every sentence regarding the physical features of the country, we are apt to refer to historical possibilities or events; that is to say, we unconsciously regard geography primarily in its relations to human life. When we think of rainfall we consider how the lack of it may lead to failure of crops, and hence to famine; or how the excess of it, causing floods, may render thousands homeless. And as history is essentially the record of the lives of an infinite number of single human beings, forming a compact mass (which may not be at all compact in reality, but is bound to appear so after several centuries, owing to the blurring of the individual personalities), it is easy to see what a tremendous influence on history such physical features must have.

Let it be understood that 'physical features' includes not merely the shape and contours of the land, its mountain and river systems, and its vegetation; but also the climate, winds, rainfall, ocean currents, animals, minerals, and location. All these factors are inextricably interwoven one with another, and cannot be dealt with in any logical order.

Let us commence with a brief survey of the main topographical features of the country. India proper may be conveniently divided into three chief parts:

(1) N.W. India, or the region of the Indus and its tributaries: bordered on the N. and W. by the mountainous districts of Kashmir and Baluchistan, and shading on the S. into the deserts of Rajputana. This district is not particularly fertile, for it is only in the neighbourhood of the Indus and some of its tributaries that the surface can be cultivated by means of river-irrigation.

(2) The region of the combined basins of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and their affluents; a great alluvial plain which constitutes the main portion of N. India, and which supports a dense population. This district is backed by the Himalayas, which supply the vital waterways whose fertilizing influence is so important a factor in the life of Hindustan.

(3) The southern peninsula, which consists of the Deccan, a large plateau occupying the centre portion, bordered on all sides by mountain ranges; and the narrow coastal strips which line the W. and E. Ghats. The Vindhya and Satpura ranges which flank the

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Deccan on the N. form a broad wall dividing N. from S. India,—this is an important fact to be taken into account in the consideration of India's civilizations and ethnography.

Such, broadly speaking, are the divisions of India ; it will readily be realized that their characteristics have played an enormous part in the enactment of her history. Other features which demand to be noted are, first, the *size* and extent of the country, and second, her location in regard to the rest of the continent. India has an area of at least 1,350,000 square miles, and lies between 8° 4′ and 35° N. latitude. Small wonder that it has been termed ' an epitome of the whole earth ', containing as it does the most varied vegetation, and great extremes of altitude and temperature. In consideration of the physical features of India, we cannot limit ourselves completely to India herself, but must consider her location with regard to other countries, and incidentally touch on certain aspects of the features of those neighbours of hers. For example, in discussing the nomad invasions and migrations which enter so largely into the political history of N. India, we shall have to deal with climatic cycles and their effect on the people of Central Asia. High plateaus are the predominant feature of Asia's orographical structure ; and these plateaus, more even than the mountains, have been instrumental in the restriction of mutual intercourse between the Asiatic races, and in the consequent independent development of their civilizations in the past. Thus India is separated from China by the lofty plateau of Thibet, even more thoroughly than by the Himalayas. On the N.W. her neighbours are Afghanistan and Turkestan ; and behind Afghanistan lies Persia, and behind her Arabia and Egypt.

It is with these neighbours that India was chiefly concerned until the discovery of the sea-route from Europe by Vasco da Gama in 1498. As has already been noted, India is on the north almost completely cut off from the rest of Asia by impassable mountain ranges. But this barrier is not entirely secure ; it is permeable at its East and West extremities, being there pierced by mountain-passes or river-valleys. And through these passes came, at varying intervals, the multifarious hordes which have influenced the ethnology and civilization of India, and especially of North India.

Let us consider for a moment the different races of India, and the invasions in historic times which have influenced them. Four different stocks may be traced : Aryan, Dravidian, Kolarian, and Tibeto-Burman. The two latter are comparatively unimportant ; they would seem to have entered India in prehistoric times by the N.E. passes, and to have more or less been relegated to the mountains by subsequent Dravidian invasions ; from the N.W. ; the Dravidians

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in their turn being disturbed in their possession of the North by the Aryan invaders during the period of the Vedas. To-day the Dravidians are still predominant in the South of India ; but the aboriginal tribes, thanks to India's mountain ranges, which have made her a museum of races, form one of the world's most interesting relics of bygone ages ; safely ensconced in the hilly districts, many of these tribes are still in the Stone Age, untouched by modern civilization.

The history of India is, generally speaking, the history of the Aryans, who, entering the Punjab probably between 2500 and 2000 B.C. gradually spread from there over the Indo-Gangetic plains, and later evolved a mighty civilization characterized by the development of the caste system, the like of which is unknown elsewhere in the world, and of a great classical language and literature which has lately altered radically the trend of Western linguistic research. In addition, the Aryans in India have originated no fewer than three religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. The connection of religion with India's physical features will be touched upon later.

The next invasion of any importance was that of the Persians; more than 500 years B.C., the region on both sides of the Indus became and remained part of the Persian Empire until its destruction by Alexander the Great in 351 B.C. Then it was that India first came directly into contact with Europe ; for Alexander now invaded the Punjab, and very nearly penetrated to the Ganges. After his death, his Græco-Bactrian successors remained in touch with the N.W. until the 2nd century A.D. It is to this period that we must trace the chief source of Greek influence in N. India ; and it should be recognized at once that such influence is by no means so extensive as is sometimes supposed ; it is indeed practically limited to the science of astronomy.

The next invasions of any importance are those of the Muhammadans, sporadic offshoots of which occurred between the 8th and 12th centuries. The Mohamedan dominion proper was not however established till after 1200 A.D. ; and the so-called Mogul Empire, which is associated with Mohammedanism in the popular imagination, lasted for barely a century and a half, i.e. from 1556-1707. And this dominion, though it gave India political union, did not essentially affect her civilization, in spite of its influence in the sphere of religion.

It will be seen that it was Northern India, and more especially N.W. India, which always had to bear the brunt of the land invasions. Until the end of the 15th century, the Deccan was more completely isolated from the rest of the world by sea than N. India by its mountain barriers. There was a certain amount of commerce by

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sea between India and Babylon from the 7th to the beginning of the 5th century B.C., but after the decline of Babylon this gave place to the land trade with Arabia. But at last, at the close of the European Dark Ages, India's extensive coastline made her directly known to the Portuguese, and through them to the rest of Europe. And since that time, it is no longer possible to speak convincingly of India's 'isolation'. We come now to a very important chapter in India's history—the establishment of European settlers on her coasts, and the spread of Western ideas inland over the whole country. Of these Europeans, only the English have made a lasting impression on India, so the others, French, Dutch, Portuguese, etc., need not be dealt with in detail. Portuguese influence has been restricted to the extreme South of India and Ceylon.

It now becomes evident how very important is India's coastline. By 1657 the English were fairly planted at the three points from which their influence was to extend over India—the W. coast, Madras, and Bengal. A century later, the disintegration of the Mogul Empire, and the conflicts of various native powers, had given the traders of the English E. India Co. the opportunity for establishing a dominion in India, while English superiority in sea-power, and the advantages of the geographical distribution of their settlements, had aided them in overcoming the French. India being practically a continent in itself, has always been composed of numerous States, large and small, each pursuing its own lines of development, and now subjecting, now subjected to its neighbours. From time to time one of these States has succeeded in founding a great empire ; but the greatest of such empires, that of Chandragupta and Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., and that of the Moguls in the 17th century A.D., has never extended over the entire continent, and, like all empires dependent for their strength on an irresponsible monarchical or imperial power, they were bound to disintegrate when that power weakened. And with each disintegration the struggle between the individual States began anew. While the existence of these numerous petty States rendered more difficult the task of the sporadic invader, on the other hand it constituted one of the factors which facilitated the establishment of British rule, which would not have been possible had any unifying native empire existed. It should be noted that the existence of so many separate States is largely due to the geographical configuration of the country, with its numerous barriers, formed by rivers, mountains, or desert wastes. In this connection it may be observed that the prosperity or decline of many an Indian town has depended on physical conditions. It is impossible in an essay of limited length to do more than touch on the importance of certain key-situations, e.g. Delhi, three times the

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headquarters of an Indian empire, or Patna, the ancient Pataliputra. Mention may also be made of the numbers of ruined cities within a few miles of the banks of the Ganges and Indus, and their tributaries ; such towns as Gujrat, in the Punjab ; Kanauj, the former Kānyakubja, one of the great legendary cities of Aryan civilization in India, now stranded, a mass of ruins, about 4 miles from the Ganges ; Hastināpura, another ancient victim of the Ganges caprices.

This brings us to the consideration of an important group of physical characteristics : the climate, and its effect on vegetation, coupled with the influence of the mountain—and river—systems. Climate is the most important of all the geographical factors, and it is one of the few factors that man is unable to alter. It acts upon man in three chief ways. In the first place, it sets up barriers which limit his movements (in crossing mountains, oceans, deserts, etc.). Secondly, it determines the supply of most of the materials needed, not only for food, but for clothing and shelter ; and thirdly it has an important influence upon health and energy. To this last factor must be ascribed the general lack of progress on the part of tropical races. The first fact that calls for observation is that India, like China, is a monsoon region. A little consideration will reveal that practically all the great empires of antiquity, Rome, Greece, Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, and Carthage, had their seats in the subtropical regions between 20 and 40 N. latitude. The corresponding populous monsoon regions on the E. side of Eurasia are the great Indo-Gangetic plains of India, and most of China. These, too, were the scenes of ancient civilizations. In the matter of agriculture, the people of the monsoon regions have the advantage, for the rain comes when it is most needed, i.e. in summer ; while in the subtropical regions the chief rainfall is in winter, when it cannot be of such benefit to the crops. This explains the dense population of monsoon countries. Millet and rice are the staple foods in such a climate, and when properly cultivated, they yield enormous returns, so that living is comparatively easy. But monsoon countries are particularly liable to famines ; since practically all the people are closely dependent upon agriculture, the prosperity of the whole country depends upon a short season of abundant rain in summer, and when that rain is scanty or delayed, ruin ensues. The S.W. monsoon is of greater economic importance than any other seasonal wind owing to the rainfall which it brings to India ; large populous areas would become desert without it. Nor would it give such prosperity to N. India were it not for the co-operation of the great rivers which flow from mountains covered with perpetual snow, and which enable one-fifth of all the cultivated land of India to be

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irrigated. In S. India, where the mountains are not high enough to give abundant water throughout the dry season, irrigation is carried on by means of 'tanks' or artificial reservoirs. The chief trouble with such tanks is that they are liable to become filled with silt; accordingly such irrigation is not so satisfactory as direct river-irrigation.

Irrigation is one of the strongest agencies in promoting civilization, for it encourages providence and care, and, teaching people to live in peace and submit to the will of the majority, fosters communal existence and co-operation, without which progress is impossible. The earliest civilizations grew up in Egypt, Mesopotamia, N. India, and China, where irrigation has always been of the highest importance.

The great rivers of the plain of Bengal, besides fertilizing the land, provide highways for trade and commerce; for the Ganges is navigable for the greater part of its course of over 1,550 miles, and the Brahmaputra for 800 miles. But against their beneficent influence we must place their destructive effects; the floods which often devastate the plains, and the silting up of harbours and the forming of islands which change fluvial course and destroy the prosperity of towns.

We must now deal with the development of the family and village systems, which have subsisted in India from very early times, and which are to a great extent dependent on the type of agriculture. India is and always has been predominantly an agricultural country; this fact has been responsible for the maintenance of the family of tribal system, which is interlinked with the caste system, and has had an incalculable effect on the history of the country.

Even in the early Vedic period the priesthood occupied an influential position; it was their business to superintend the sacrifice, and to invoke the deities of rain who meant so much to the community. As soon as the energetic life of conquest in the N.W. gave place to a life of peaceful agriculture in the plains, the priesthood was able to secure its dominance; the weaker Dāsyus or Dravidians had been subjected, and became the Sūdras or lowest caste. The contrast in colour between the fair-skinned Aryans and the dark aborigines formed the original basis of the caste system. Even to the present day the Aryan of India retains the memory of his fair colouring, and it is the dearest wish of a Hindu girl to be thought 'fair'. It is strange to consider the effect of the climate, which has burned the Aryan Indian's skin for countless generations, so that he is now himself regarded as 'coloured' by his European brothers.

As the basis of society was the patriarchal system, the government of the tribe was naturally monarchical; the political unit of the

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tribe consisted of a number of settlements, which again were formed of an aggregate of villages. In these conditions vocations soon tended to become hereditary, and the following system was evolved:

(1) The Brahmans or priestly caste, who alone held the secret of the sacrifice, and who developed the culture of the people in all its branches: poetry, philosophy, law and science, all of which have never been entirely separated from religion.

(2) The Kshatriyas or knightly caste, including the king and his nobles. Their duty was to fight, and to rule, though generally guided in this latter function by Brahman advisers.

(3) The Vaiśyas, the agricultural caste, who tilled the soil, generally through the medium of (4) the Sūdras, the lowest caste of serfs. Such was the original framework of the caste system which is to-day so complicated.

As is inevitably the case in a patriarchal system of agricultural and pastoral people, the family was subjected to its head; in the gradual development of modern society all the members of the family group have emancipated themselves from the absolute control of the head of the family—and women have been the last to find emancipation. In the 'unchanging East', which still remains largely untouched by modern inventions and all that they entail, such emancipation has been slow to take place. Exactly why the East is unchanging is too deep a question to be lightly dismissed; but a good part of its unaltering character may be attributed to the climate and the resulting social habits. A hot climate such as that of India is not likely to stimulate men to scientific inventions such as have been so numerous in the last two centuries in the West; for such inventions (e.g. that steam engine) and their patenting demand an amount of physical energy which is unknown in tropical countries.

In the spheres of literature and law, on the other hand, the West can learn much from India. The hot climate was pre-eminently suited for meditation and reflection; it refined the intellect of the Brahmans, and fostered the Oriental tendency towards asceticism and monachism. The various forms of penance, which were celebrated to such an extent, and the forest life of the anchorite, would not be possible in colder climes. For example, there is a favourite 'tapas' or self-mortification, which consists in being exposed to the heat of the 'five fires', i.e. the sun above, and a fire at each of the cardinal points. The wearing of bark garments and matted hair would, in England, lead to a speedy death, and the ascetic would not be able to enjoy the slow wasting-away which precedes his union with Brahma (the universal soul).

To return to literature. The importance of ancient Indian

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literature as a whole consists in its originality. Two of the factors in this originality are India's isolation, which enabled her to pursue an independent development; and the existence of a caste which devoted itself to creative and critical thought. In nearly every department, lyrical poetry, epic, fable, drama, phonetics, grammar, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and law, the Indians achieved notable results. The vehicle of most of this literature was Sanskrit.

The caste system, by allocating to each man his own particular task, was also instrumental in the development of the manufactures (in the original sense of the word) which have brought to perfection throughout the centuries, and which have made India's muslins, silks, cloth-of-gold, and filigree work famous all over the world. The influence on these handicrafts of other physical features than climate may be illustrated by the story of Kashmirian art. The 'Vale of Kashmir', the valley of the upper Jhelum, is celebrated in literature and history for its beauty and agreeable climate, and is renowned for its shawl-weaving, lacquer work, and silver and copper products. And the peculiar design which marks all Kashmir art is said to be derived from the graceful curves of the river as viewed from the summit of the Takht-i-Suliman, the well-known hill which overlooks Srinagar.

This brings us to the consideration of the influence of flora and fauna on India's history. But before dealing with plants and animals, a word must be said of the part played by India's rivers and mountains in her literature and religion. The Ganges and Jumna, the Godāvarī and Nerbudda in a lesser degree have been sacrosanct for many, many ages, and thousands of pilgrims travel every year to the holy sources of 'Mother Gangā', or purify themselves by ablutions in her waters, or those of the Jumna. The countless references in Sanskrit literature to these sacred streams, and the veneration in which they have so long been held, can only be understood if we remember how vitally important is the never-failing supply of water which they bestow on the country.

It is a commonplace that each religion is modified by the colouring of its surroundings. Shady trees, for example, such as the banyan or nyagrodha, with its curious rooting branches, or the ficus religiosa, the noted Bo-tree, naturally proved a great boon in a country like India, and accordingly tended to take on a sacred character, which is well illustrated in Buddhism by Buddha's incarnations 'tree genius'. In the Veda, plants are frequently invoked as divinities, mainly with regard to their healing powers. In Sanskrit literature as a whole, and notably in the plays, Nature occupies a very important place. The mango, the brilliant creepers, and the beautiful lotus must be thanked for many a lovely simile in

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Kalidasa ; while the gorgeous colours of the parrot and the peacock furnish reflections on the vanity of human life. A person who does not know all the varying aspects of an Indian scene cannot hope to understand fully the references in literature, and the workings of the Hindu mind.

It may be argued that flowers and dainty animals have always in all countries inspired the poets, and have always played their parts in religious rites. But that is no reason for leaving them out in a consideration of the importance of physical features in India's history,—especially as I feel that they have here been rather more than less important, in a country which has been the home of so many religions, and which has developed so original a literature.

Much might be said on the subject of the cow, the sacred animal, aghnya, ' not to be slain '. The cow is of course the symbol of plenty, and, owing to its great importance in the pastoral and agricultural life of monsoon countries, early acquired in India a sanctity such as it has not enjoyed in other lands. Its place in mythology is an interesting one ; there is for example the legend of Kāmadhuk, the miraculous cow which yields all desires—corresponding to our horn of plenty. Much of the bitterness between Hindus and Mohammedans, a very real part of India's history—may be traced to the feeling in regard to animals, notably the cow, the pig, and the monkey (the latter being sacred to the Hindu as Hanumat, the helper of Rama, incarnation of Vishnu. It may be remarked that Hanumat is at the present day the Tutelary deity of village settlements all over India, and Professor Jacobi has suggested that he must have been connected with agriculture, and may have been a genius of the monsoon). The Indian Mutiny of 1857 is often said to have originated in the bitterness regarding the greased cartridges. Here, though we have an instance of exaggeration of a single factor in an occurrence. The Mutiny was *not* primarily due to greased cartridges, but to grievances real or supposed, such as Lord Dalhousie's policy of ' lapse ', and the imagined undermining of the caste system resulting from the introduction of railways.

Among other animals which have exerted an influence on Indian habits is the serpent. This is the form which Vrtra, the powerful demon, Indra's foe, is believed to possess. Serpent worship in India goes back to pre-Aryan times, and the Aryans borrowed the cult from the aborigines. The characteristics of the serpent which must have inspired awe are its deadly venom, its mysterious movements, and its strange power of casting its slough.

The doctrine of transmigration which has coloured all of India's history may well have been influenced by two factors : (1) the intelligence of many animals and birds (such as the monkey, the

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elephant, the parrot, and the maina bird) which made it seem likely that they could assume human form, or that men could descend to their level ; and (2) the regularity of the seasons, which is so marked in India, and which could not but foster a belief in the continuity of existence. The doctrine of metempsychosis, which became universally accepted shortly after the end of the Vedic poetry is largely responsible for the Weltschmerz of the later poetry, and for the grotesque exaggeration and fantasy which characterizes much of the mythology.

One of the most striking results of this belief is the wide prevalence of vegetarianism in India, and the care for animal life which is so marked, and which under Aśoka even went so far as the establishment of hospitals for animals. The attachment to vegetarianism, which has much to do with the mild temper of the Hindu, is directly encouraged by the climate ; for meat and fish do not keep well in hot countries, neither are furs and leather necessary articles of clothing.

The influence of the transmigration theory in literature is seen to best advantage in beast fable, which is India's supreme gift to the West. The Indian fables differ from Aesopic in this : in the latter animals act as animals ; in the former, animals act as men in the form of animals, and this treatment of the fable produces some piquant situations, where we can see the human thinly masked by the beast.

That the fable should be the most original department of Indian literature says much for the inter-relation of man and Nature in India, which resulted in the instruction of princes in polity, through the medium of the didactic beast fable.

Up to a certain point, man can bend most geographical features to his will ; he can improve the soil, tunnel through mountains, and make artificial harbours. But he cannot alter the climate, which is relentless. Many and many a time has a human being, of greater enterprise than the common man, pitted himself against climatic influences ; but many and many a time has he been baffled. Napoleon had cause to curse the climate of Russia in 1812—and similarly Alexander the Great, his mighty predecessor, could not persuade his soldiers, who had endured many hardships, to put up any longer with the Indian climate. He had resolved to march to the Ganges, but his troops were worn out by the heat of the Punjab summer, and by the hurricanes of the S.W. monsoon. So the conqueror was forced to turn back, with his ambition unfulfilled. Thus is history made. It would be easy to multiply instances ; let it suffice to adduce the story of the British in India. It is self-evident that the races of tropical regions are by no means as hardy as those of

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temperate climes. The great secret of India's conquest by the English is this : the soldiers were recruited constantly from the British Isles, fresh and supplied with the natural vigour of the cyclonic regions. They did not remain in India long enough to become weakened, for their home was in England. Thus it was that a mere handful of Europeans, so to speak, could overcome an Indian army of great numerical superiority.

Speaking of conquest, one is reminded of the superficiality of Alexander's subjugation of the Punjab. In all periods of history, local governments in India have gone on almost unchanged, in spite of the numerous invasions. The lot of the ordinary people was not vitally affected by the losses or gains of their rulers. This state of affairs was due to the peculiarity of the caste and village system mentioned above, which ensured that fighting was the duty of the military caste,—a department of government, so to speak, and therefore not important to the community as a whole. So long as their village remains intact, its inhabitants do not mind to whom it is subjected. This is one of the main reasons why Alexander's invasion has left no traces in the institutions of literature in the country. The main principles of government have remained unaltered throughout the ages, being based on the acknowledgment of the village system and its superstructure of social habits, which would be impracticable in any but an agricultural community. Here we may note another uniform principle of government, dependent on a different geographical factor—the idea of religious toleration, which is strikingly apparent in the India of the 3rd century B.C., (as evidenced by the edicts of Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor), and which has remained generally accepted from that time until the present day. It has been remarked above that India is a continent in itself ; as a result government have been obliged to recognize an infinite variety of religious beliefs and social customs. To attempt to suppress these beliefs and customs would spell disaster, and so every enlightened ruler has tolerated and sanctioned them.

Apart from insect pests and epidemics, which have troubled India to a great extent, and which are due indirectly to the weather, there is one other aspect of climatic influence to be considered. The chief motive of the migration of peoples, and more especially of nomads, is scarcity of food, and such scarcity has in Central Asia been due to the aridity of the land during the dry eras of climatic cycles, which in past centuries seem to have gone to greater extremes than those of our own day. Important evidence of this is found in ruins, in the level of salt lakes, and in the growth of old trees. Nomads such as those of Central Asia are the first to feel the effect of increased aridity, and they react by invading more fortunate

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areas, such as the Punjab. The greatest of all outpourings from the desert occurred in the seventh century A.D., just at the time when the dry part of a climatic cycle was most pronounced. The outbursts of the Huns in the 5th century, of Genghis Khan, about 1200 A.D., and of the Moguls soon after 1500 A.D., all occurred during periods when the deserts suffered from unusual aridity.

We must now leave the interesting subject of climate, and deal with the last great physical factor—India's minerals. It is on the tableland, and among the surrounding mountains that India's mineral wealth lies hidden. Coal is found in the Gondwana rocks; it also occurs in the Tertiary rocks from Sind to Kashmir, and in Assam. Pure iron ores are abundant throughout the Peninsula and in the outer Himalayas. It is a noteworthy fact that one of the chief reasons for the differences between the civilizations of antiquity and the modern civilizations of W. Europe and the U.S.A. is the amount of iron available for everyday use. Iron ores do not occur in plains like those of Northern India, and accordingly there is no incentive among the Aryan Indians to develop an industrial civilization. It was owing to her easily available coal and iron, close to the coasts, that England was enabled to change from sailing vessels before any other nation, and to play a leading part in the Industrial Revolution. And because India's important minerals are buried in the mountains, her people never made very much progress in manufacturing, commerce, mining, and transportation. The introduction, under British rule, of railways and good roads, and the development of coal-mining and metal-smelting have already made an appreciable difference in the outlook of the people; but there is always the danger of mechanization, the great evil of modern civilization. It would be a great pity if the beautiful handicrafts of the native workman were superseded by mass production with its soul-destroying effects.

If India is not rich in iron and coal, she is nevertheless a perfect mine of precious stones. Gold, diamonds, rubies and sapphires are present in seemingly inexhaustible quantities; while ivory and marble (which belong of course to another category) contribute to the beauties of many a building. One might expatiate on the by-gone magnificence of countless Indian edifices; magnificence on a larger scale than any that is seen in Europe. The resplendent temples, the remarkable rock-cut caves, and the Mohammedan mausoleums, the most famous of which, the Taj Mahal at Agra, is entitled to rank among the wonders of the world,—it is buildings such as these that bear testimony to an Oriental culture, the like of which is not met with in Europe. It would seem difficult to make these buildings dependent on the physical features; but one must

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remember that they, in a literal sense, arise *out* of the physical features (especially the caves).

Contrast these examples of Indian architecture with the architecture of Babylon, which owing to the lack of good building stone, was never remarkable. And the rank luxuriance of jungle vegetation must have suggested many forms ; the graceful minarets and pillars seem to emulate the lofty palms. Then, again, the very vastness of India, and her isolation, which cannot be over-emphasised, is responsible for the diversity of her buildings. In connection with India's wealth, we must remember not only its office in the decoration of temples and the like, but also its importance as a magnet to attract foreigners. From the earliest times the ' wealth of Inde ' has been famed throughout the East, and later throughout Europe. It was to search for India and her treasures (including spices and cloths) that early explorers, Columbus among them, set sail in the Age of Discovery ; so that Vasco da Gama's historic landing at Calicut in 1498 may be said to depend indirectly on a feature of India's physical make-up, viz., her mineral and agricultural wealth. It was a desire for the valuable trade of India that led Europeans to establish settlements on her coasts in the 17th century ; and it was not till many years later that this desire gave place in importance to the wish for territorial possessions.

From the foregoing survey it will be seen that India's physical features have been a vital factor in her development. But it must be constantly borne in mind that they only constitute a single factor,—and it is the union of many factors which determines the progress of a nation. Broadly speaking, History may be considered the product of two great forces—Environment and Personality ; and it is impossible to separate one from the other. To give an example : it is perfectly true to say that the eruptions of nomads from Central Asia were largely due to lack of food caused by aridity. But that is only one side of the question. It was not the lack of food which led the powerful Mahmud of Ghazni to plunder the temple of Somnath ; it was his character which was to blame.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that it is in ancient times that we can trace most clearly the effects of geographic features in retarding or furthering the efforts of man. As the ages go by, man is more and more able to overcome them, and bend them to his use. Until recent centuries, all the world was more or less on a level as regards scientific inventions, and man could not yet enslave the elements as he can in these days of steam and electricity. To-day a letter by air mail reaches India from England in a week, and a wire in a few hours. But traffic by air has not yet superseded traffic by water ; here we are reminded of the volume of trade which

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passes through Bombay (which possesses one of the finest harbours in the world) and Calcutta. Calcutta, though farther from Europe, and though not in possession of so fine a harbour as that of Bombay, yet has a more extensive trade, for it has as its hinterland the fertile plains of Bengal.

Under British rule, harbours are being improved, and railways are throwing out feelers over the land. India's population has increased rapidly during the last two centuries, and she is already more Westernised on the surface than any other Oriental country. Much may be hoped from a union of Eastern and Western culture, and perhaps in the future we may see a blend of idealism and materialism which will give inspiration to generations to come.

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# THE ṢŪFĪ MOVEMENT IN INDIA

## IV

(Period of Reformation—1550 A.D. downward)

*By* Md. Enamul Haq

What was the result of the fusion of Indian and Islāmic thought ? As to the nature of this fusion, we do not like to pass any remark. It may either be good or bad according to the taste of him who studies it sympathetically or unsympathetically and who judges it from this or that point of view. What we like to note here is the result. The result, it achieved, is undeniably, in the words of Dārā Shikūh ' Mujm'au-'l-Baḥrayn ' or ' The Mingling of the two Seas '. In the realm of thought indeed the two seas mingled and consequently a mixture of the two seas' water was produced, out of which a spirit of mutual toleration grew up. Had it not been the case, Abū-'l-Faḍl could not write :—

' Praise be to God that all men agreed in this, that there is no creed that may not in some one particular be in error, nor yet any such that is entirely false, and therefore, that if any one, according to his conviction, speaks favourably regarding a doctrine which seems at variance with his own faith, his motives should not be misunderstood, nor should people rise to decry him.' (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 429.)

A revolution in the realm of thought and a spirit of mutual toleration resulted soon in the imitation of each one's religious and social practices, thoughts and beliefs. In every department of life, a sort of newness appeared which a section of Hindus and Muslims did not like. The dissatisfied sections of the two communities thought that every innovation was bad and irreligious. So, in order to ward these things off from the society, people bestirred themselves. Soon, regular reformatory movements were launched from both the sides. As we are not directly concerned with the reformation of the Hindus, we need not discuss it here.

In the later part of the sixteenth century, signs of reformation among the Muslims were visible. The idea that the Muslims of India were, day by day, degrading to be Hinduized was entertained by a section of the Muslims who apprehended a great danger for their brethren, of being slowly merged among the Hindu population. This idea was rapidly developing with the march of time ; it was

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enhanced by the liberal movement of Akbar and his learned followers. But there was none among the reactionaries so bold as to voice their feeling and shape their idea in words and deeds. At last in the person of Shaykh Aḥmad of Sirhind, the earnestly wished-for opportunity came. His full name was Imām Rabbānī Maḥbūb-i-Subḥānī Shaykh Aḥmad Fārūqī. He is generally known by his title Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī or the Reformer of the Second Millenium of the Hijera. This title is based on the foundation of a popular belief among the Muslims. It is said that there is a tradition to the purport that at the end of every millenium of Hijera, there will appear a reformer in the Muslim world, whose duty is to eradicate all sorts of false beliefs, wicked practices, various superstitions and the similar accretions that a religion may acquire by virtue of its progress and expansion. Shaykh Aḥmad of Sirhind claimed to be that reformer in the second millenium of Hijera. He was born in Sirhind in the year 1563 A.D., and educated there in his early days. In course of time, he became an erudite scholar, possessed esoteric and exoteric knowledge in Islāmic lore, such as theology, science, philosophy and mysticism, and thereby played the part of a doctor of Islām enforcing his discretionary power on the masses in matters that concerned Shāri'at or Islāmic canonical law. There is no doubt that there was not a single learned man like him in India in the sixteenth century A.D. His erudite work, 'Maktūbāt' or 'Epistles' collected after his death by his followers, is the most shining example of his profound learning in one hand and of incessant propaganda work for reform on the other.

From the very beginning of his career, Shaykh Aḥmad assumed a reformatory attitude and his reformation was surely of a sweeping and drastic nature, which the people of other schools than his, could not bear the brunt of. The field covered by his reformation, was a fairly wide one. He not only directed his mighty pen and tongue against the alleged Hinduized beliefs and practices, prevalent among the Muslims of India, but also applied much of his energy to the reformation of the different Ṣūfī orders and diverse Muslim sects, such as Shī'ahs and Rāfiḍīs. Hindus too could not escape him. His 'Maktūbāt' or 'Epistles' contains a few letters addressed to prominent Hindus of different localities. These letters clearly show, how Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī tried to expound the falsity of the Hindu belief in gods and goddesses and the futility of subtle explanations that are generally given by the Hindus in support of their beliefs. He offered the message of unmixed monothism to the Hindus and preached, explained and unfolded to them the beauty and teachings of Islām.

His pose of a Ṣūfī-reformer, is interesting to know. Tadhkirah-

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i-Auliya-i-Hind gives it (part III, p. 95) in the following figurative way :—

'It is narrated that, one day Shaykh Aḥmad, while sitting in a mosque, was surrounded by a group of followers and attentive to the act of imparting them instructions. At this time, Shāh Sikandar of Kithāl came and offered Shaykh Aḥmad the cloak of Qādirī order (Khirqah-i-Khilāfat, when offered, means spiritual successor). On this he (i.e. Shaykh Aḥmad) thought about his initiation in the Naqshbandī order. While he was thinking thus, he saw all on a sudden that there came 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of Jīlān (1078–1166), Khwājah Bahāu-'d-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389), Khwājah 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī (1142–1236), Shaykh Shihabu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī (1147–1234), Shaykh Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā and Badī'u-d-Dīn Shāh-i-Madār (1115–1436) and they all made him their spiritual successor.' This narration which is like a conscious allegory simply means that Shaykh Aḥmad not only claimed to be a reformer in the religious and social field, but also in the field of theosophy or Taṣawwuf as it was then prevalent in India. He chiefly belonged to the Naqshbandī school of mystic thought, but he reformed all schools including his own. Everyone going through his 'Maktūbāt' or Epistles can easily imagine, how he grappled with the situation.

However, as a result of his writing treatises on the falsity of Rāfiḍī and Shī'ah creeds, a class of Muslims, particularly these two sects grew infuriated with him. Shī'ahs had a very strong hold on the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr through his favourite consort Nūr Jahān who was a Shī'ah. They instigated the Empress to take a drastic and immediate step against the rising heretic Shaykh Aḥmad. The Emperor, under the instigation and influence of his royal consort, soon arrested the reformer and passed order to throw him to prison for an indefinite period of time. But Shaykh Aḥmad neither changed his opinion, nor abandoned his convictions. He was even not inactive behind the prison bars where he preached the message of reform to all and sundry who came in contact with him. As a result of his preaching, the prison-house soon turned to be a reformatory platform and he succeeded to win over a large number of prisoners to his side.

After the imprisonment of Shaykh Aḥmad, many changes took place within a short period of two years, at the end of which, Shaykh 'Abdu-'l-Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi (d. 1641) succeeded in convincing the Emperor of the puritanic spirit of Shaykh Aḥmad and of the good and beneficial result of his reform. On this, the Emperor gladly released Shaykh Aḥmad from his prison, showed respect and honour to him and allowed the prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) to be initiated by him. After his release, Shaykh Aḥmad worked very

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vigorously as there was no authority-religious or royal,—to oppose him. (Tadhkirah, part III, pp. 94–99 ; Maktūbāt of Alf-i-Thānī.)

The activities of this celebrated savant, reformer and saint were felt far and wide. Many people from different parts of India were converted to Islām by him and accepted him as a 'Mujaddad' or reformer. Mawlānā Shaykh Ḥamīd Dānishmand of Mangalkot, Burdwan, was his deputy who worked for his master in Bengal. The well-known book Maktūbāt contains a few letters addressed to this Bengali saint and savant.

Shaykh Aḥmad died in the year 1624 A.D. On his death, the Indian Muslims lost a great reformer indeed. His tomb is in Sirhind where thousands of pilgrims from different parts of Northern India, assemble every year.

The movement started by Shaykh Aḥmad, was of mainly Sunni character, in the sense that it tended more to Sunni creed than others. Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (699–767 A.D.) one of the founders of the Sunni sect among the Muslims, was the first religious doctor who introduced reasoning in Islām. He saw that those problems, which had a pure local and occasional origin could not be solved according to the canons of existing creed in Islām, save the employment of a good and sound reasoning. With a view to purify the Muslims of India, Shaykh Aḥmad adopted in many cases, this method of Abū Ḥanīfah (699 A.D.–767 A.D.) and employed his reasoning to the solutions of problems of Indian origin. As the general consensus of Muslim public is that none but a 'Mujaddad' or reformer can do such things, Shaykh Aḥmad had that necessary qualification. Excepting many other similarities between the Sunni creed and the reformatory creed of Shaykh Aḥmad the two erudite doctors of Islām, Abū Ḥanīfah and Shaykh Aḥmad met with each other on the same ground of employing reasoning in the field of religion.

The two other men who carried on the reform of Shaykh Aḥmad were Mawlānā Shaykh 'Abdu-'l-Haqq of Delhi (d. 1641 A.D.) and the Sunni Mughal emperor Aurangzīb. Mawlānā 'Abdu-'l-Haqq was a great doctor of tradition (Muhaddith) and a famous authority on the Qurānic commentary (Mutafassir). He wrote volumes in Persian and Arabic which testify to his profound erudition in many branches of Islāmic lore. His treatises on Taṣawwuf speak of his thorough mastery over this department of Islāmic theosophy. At first this learned man could not agree in many points with Shaykh Aḥmad. He argued against many principles, now embodied in the 'Epistles'. But after all Shaykh Aḥmad convinced this doctor of the infallibility of those controversial principles on which 'Abdu-'l-Haqq raised questions of dissent. After 'Abdu-'l-Haqq was won

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over to the side of Shaykh Aḥmad, he became one of his (Aḥmad's) strong supporters and we have mentioned before, how this man was instrumental to the release of Shaykh Aḥmad from the prison.. (Tadhkirah, part III, pp. 49-50.)

A regular campaign was directed by Aurangzīb against the alleged heresy among the Muslims. The result of this campaign was the compilation of the great Indian Ḥanifī law book, ' Fatwā-i-'Ālamgīrī ' or the Legal Decisions of 'Ālamgīr. Emperor Aurangzīb was an orthodox Sunnī Muslim and he employed a good number of Ḥanafī doctors to compile a law book of simply puritanic character, basing on which, he intended to enforce Muhammadan law among the Muslims of India. The doctors of Aurangzīb worked hard for many years in collecting materials and embodying them in the forementioned book, under different heads, with decisions now based on analogy, now on discretion, now on sound decisions, now on careless whims and often on the taste of a particular group of mediæval doctors of religious law, who generally possessed narrow ideas, small outlook and limited freedom of thought. When we go through the pages of ' Fatwā-i-'Ālamgīrī, we wonder to see often the tremendous struggle of the doctors of Aurangzīb for drawing far-fetched analogies, and employing often unsound discretions. As if, these learned mediæval doctors formed an opinion on some particular problem, before they had thoroughly examined the existing facts with an unbiased mind and then they tried to prove their opinion already formed. However this book is a monumental work in the sense that it is the best orthodox Indian Muhammadan production on orthodox Indian Islām. During six hundred years of Muslim rule in India, only one book was written on a comprehensive basis and that is ' Fatwā-i-'Ālamgīrī ' which could guide the Indian Muslims in all religious matters. As Islām in India had to live under a regular non-Islāmic environment for centuries together, it had naturally to face many new problems of pure local and circumstantial origin. Many of such problems were sought to be solved by the scholars of Aurangzīb and the results have been put down in this memorable book.

Aurangzīb's criterion of reformation was based on his ' Legal Decisions '. When the book was compiled the Emperor enforced his decisions on all Muslims of India who belonged to the Sunnī school of Islāmic principles. His reformations may be characterized as the reformations by force, while those of his predecessors, Shaykh Aḥmad and 'Abdu-'l-Haqq were the reformations by persuasion. The former worked in India because of the imperial power to drive them on, while the latter proved more successful because of the brains to work behind them in the hearts of people. The imperial

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power became intolerable in certain cases : Dārā Shikūh, the learned brother of Aurangzīb, and the most liberal man of the time had to sacrifice his precious life on the altar of force only because of his novel dream of fusion of Hinduism with Islām. The great Suhrawardī Saint Sarmad was beheaded in 1659 A.D., by Aurangzīb, for his alleged heresy. After his execution, he was buried beside the Cathedral Mosque in Delhi. He is generally known as the inhabitant of Armenia or Kāshān.[1] It is said that he came to India as a trader and settled at Thaṭh where he fell in love with a beautiful Hindu lad. This sensual love ('ishq-i-mijāzī) is said to have led him to the love divine ('ishq-i-ḥaqīqī) which ultimately gave him a fore-most rank amongst the darvishes of India. (Tadhkirah, p. III, p. 175). Sarmad was probably not an Armenian ; he seems to have been an Indian. The following ' ruḅāyī ' or quatrain of Sarmad speaks of his early allegiance to Hinduism :—

> ' O Sarmad ! thou hast acquired much fame in this world :
> From the creed of infidelity, thou hast passed over to Islām
> At last what defect didst thou detect, of Allah and His apostle
> By rebelling against the disciple of Lakṣman and Rām ? '[2]

However, on the death of Aurangzīb, the force of his reformation was naturally abated and in course of a few years, it naturally died away. But, the reformation of the orthodox scholars was going on by their lieutenants. It did not cease for ever.

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[1] Kāshān is a city situated midway between Ṭehrān and Iṣpahān.

[2] سرمد بجهان بسی نکو نام شدي  از مذهب کفر سوی اسلام شدي
آخر چه خطا دیدي از الله و رسول  برگشته مرید لچمن و رام شدي

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# ICONOGRAPHY OF HERUKA[1]

*By* BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

In the Indian Buddhist Iconography, published in 1924, I gave a survey of all the different forms of Heruka I could obtain from the Sādhanamālā. I had occasion since to examine a few more manuscripts of Tāntric Buddhism, and I have been able to discover numerous forms of Heruka not recorded anywhere else. Assuming that a correct description of these forms would facilitate further identification of hitherto unidentified images of Heruka, I give below an account of the different forms so far available. It may be noted that Heruka in no way differs from the famous Buddhist deity Hevajra,[2] to whose worship many Buddhist Tantras are dedicated. Heruka, or Hevajra is an object of common worship in Nepal and Tibet, and his images are found in abundance in these countries. The forms here described, therefore, may prove of considerable help in correctly identifying not only the so-called Tibetan banners with forms of Heruka that come exclusively from these countries, but also many other sculptures.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Heruka is either represented singly or in yab-yum (in the embrace of his Śakti). The latter is generally known as Vajravārāhī. When single, Heruka stands on a corpse or on the prostrate figures of Bhairava and his consort Kālarātri in either the Ālīḍha or the Pratyālīḍha attitude, or dances in the Ardhaparyaṅka attitude, with the sole of one foot pressed against the thigh of the other. Born in the family of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya, his person is awe-inspiring to a degree hardly discoverable in other deities, except, possibly Mahākāla and Bhūtaḍāmara. His dishevelled hair rises upwards in a peak of flame. His three blood-shot eyes seem to be coming out of their sockets. His distorted face is terrible, with long bare fangs, and a protruding tongue. His head bears a row of skulls or of severed heads and a necklace of severed heads is also worn round the neck,

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[1] Read before the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference held in Baroda in December, 1933.

[2] Hevajra is described in Getty and Deniker's Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 123, where several of his images are reproduced. I have not been able to trace the Dhyāna described in this book for the main deity Hevajra.

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the blood trickling from the fifty human heads which compose the necklace. He is bedecked with the six mudrās, all made of human bones: namely, the Kaṇṭhikā (neck-lace), Rucaka (bangles), Kuṇḍala (ear-rings), Mekhalā (girdle), the Yajñopavīta (sacred-thread) and Bhasma (ashes),—all these serving to render his already awe-inspiring form most horrible to behold.

In yab-yum the main form remains the same, except that there Heruka embraces Vajravārāhī (or any one among his many consorts) with two hands, while the Śakti holds the same weapons, and is of precisely the same description, as the principal deity.

When single, Heruka may have from one to three faces, and from two to six hands. The forms differ in the number of faces and hands, and in the kind of weapons held in his hands. As a rule, different forms have different names in consonance with the principal idea, or symbolism, they represent. I give below six different forms of Heruka described as single, with citations from the texts.

## I. Single Forms

1. *Buddhakapālin.*

He is one-faced and two-armed. His left hand holds the Kapāla, his right shows the Abhaya Mudrā. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder.

तत्परावृत्तमात्मानं बुद्धकापालिनं परम्

द्विभुजमेकवक्त्रं तु ... ... ...

कपालखट्वाङ्गधरमभयं दक्षिणं करम्

अभिधानोत्तर ६८Bf.

2. *Jñānaviśuddha.*

He also is one-faced and two-armed. He holds the Vajra in his right hand and the Kapāla in his left; the Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder. The Hevajrasādhanatantra, from which this description is quoted, states that the Vajra symbolizes 'Abhedyajñāna' or the Knowledge of Oneness in everything; the Khaṭvāṅga symbolizes 'Prajñā' or the Highest Knowledge; and the Kapāla stands for the 'Bodhicitta' or the Will to Enlightenment.

एकमुखं ज्ञानविशुद्धं, द्विभुजं शून्यताकरुणाविशुद्धं, दक्षिणतो वज्रमभेद्यज्ञानप्रतिपादकं वामे कपालखट्वाङ्गं च; खट्वाङ्गं प्रज्ञास्वभावरूपं कपालं बोधिचित्तप्रतिपादकम्।

हेवज्रसाधनतंत्र प० २४A.

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3. *Sahajanātha.*

He, again, is one-faced and two-armed. His two hands, joined in the Dharmamudrā (which, very probably, is the same as the Dharmacakramudrā), rest against his breast as at the time of lecturing. Heruka in this form sits in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude on the moon over a corpse, unlike the others, who are shown in the Ālīḍha, the Pratyālīḍha, or the dancing attitude.

चन्द्रकान्तमणिप्रभमात्मानं वज्रसत्वं महाशान्तं जटामुकुटिनं द्विभुजैकमुखं त्रिनेत्रं वज्रपर्यङ्किनं धर्ममुद्राधृतकरद्वयं विश्वपद्मे शवोपरि चन्द्रस्थं ... ... सहजहेरुकं ... चिन्तयेत् ।

हेवज्रसाधनतन्त्र प० ३A.

4. *Ṣaṭpāramitāviśuddha.*

He is three-faced and four-armed, and shows the Ghaṇṭā and the Triśūla in his two left hands, and the Vajra and the Kartri in his two right. His three faces stand for Kāya (body), Vāk (speech) and Citta (mind). According to the Hevajrasādhanatantra, from which the Dhyāna is cited, the Ghaṇṭā represents the essential purity of the Śūnya; the Triśūla destroys duality; the Vajra symbolizes 'Samatājñāna' or the Knowledge of Oneness and the Kartri destroys all varieties of ignorance.

षट्पारमिताविशुद्धं त्रिमुखं कायवाक्चित्तप्रतिपादकं वामे घण्टाशून्यताशुद्धा त्रिशूलं ज्ञानद्वयच्छेदनार्थं दक्षिणे वज्रं समताज्ञानविशुद्धं कर्त्रिकाऽग्रेषाज्ञानच्छेदनाय ।

हेवज्रसाधनतन्त्र प० २४A.

5. *Mañjuvajra.*

He is three-faced and six-armed. He bears the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, the sword and the book, and the Utpala and the Aṅkuśa.

अथापरं विधिं वक्ष्ये मंजुवज्रस्य साधनम् ।
त्रिमुखं षड्भुजं शान्तं सितदेहं तु निर्मलम् ॥
त्रिनेत्रं वज्रपर्यङ्कं त्रिमुद्राभरणोज्ज्वलम् ।
... ... ... ... ...
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं असिपुस्तकधारिणम् ।
उत्पलमङ्कुशं चैव ज्ञानमूर्तिं विभावयेत् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७१B.

6. *Mahāsukha.*

He is three-faced and six-armed. Unlike the other forms, he sits in the Sattvaparyaṅka, or reclining attitude, and bears the

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Vajra, Ghaṇṭā, sword, Aṅkuśa, Ratna, and Pāśa. His faces are white, blue and red.

अक्षयमव्ययं शुद्धं आदिमध्यान्तनिर्मलम् ।
आकाशज्ञाननिष्पन्नं वज्रसत्वं महासुखम् ॥
त्रिमुखं षड्भुजं शान्तं त्रिनेत्रकरुणारसम् । ... ...
सत्वपर्यङ्कमासीनं षण्मुद्रादेहभूषितम् ॥
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं असिअङ्कुशपाणिनम् ।
रत्नपाशकरं दिव्यं सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७०

## II. Yab-Yum Forms

From the new materials now available, we can distinguish as many as eighteen different forms of Heruka or Hevajra. In Yab-Yum, he is seen embracing Vārāhī or Vajravārāhī, but the name of the Śakti is different in some cases. He may have from one to eight faces, and from two to sixteen arms. His appearance is rarely, if ever, pleasant and peaceful since all the horrors associated with the most horrible deities of the Buddhist Pantheon are to be found in him. His eighteen yab-yum forms are described below :—

1. *Heruka.*

He is one-faced and two-armed. He bears the Vajra in his right hand and the Kapāla in his left. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder. He embraces his consort Vārāhī.

द्विभुजमेकवक्त्रं तु त्रिनेत्रं विकृताननम् । ... ...
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं वज्रोल्लालनतत्परम् ॥
वाराह्या तु समाश्लिष्टं ... ... ... ...

अभिधानो० प० ५०

2. *Acintyajñāna.*

He is one-faced but four-armed, and embraces the Prajñā, who, in this case, is Vajravārāhī. His first right hand bears the Vajra, and his first left the Kapāla filled with the blood of the Devas and Asuras. The two remaining arms embrace the goddess. The four hands symbolize the four agencies for the destruction of the four Māras, or evil beings, who are generally represented in Buddhism as the four gods of the Hindu Pantheon : Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra. The face of Heruka is purified by the ' Acintyajñāna ', or

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the Highest Knowledge, above all conception. The words Deva and Asura here mean 'Bhāva', 'existence', and 'Abhāva', 'non-existence', and the word Rakta, or blood, represents their unification or commingling. The Kapāla of a human being symbolizes the purity arising out of the commingling of the two opposite concepts of existence and non-existence, when duality disappears.

एवं चतुर्भुजं चतुर्मारविनाशार्थमेकमुखं अचिन्त्यज्ञानविशुद्धं, प्रथमदक्षिणभुजे वज्रं युगनद्धमाङ्कप्रतिपादकं, प्रथमवामभुजे कपालं देवासुराणां रक्तेन पूरितं देवासुरशब्देन भावाभावं रक्तशब्देन तदेकीकरणं, पूरितशब्देन तत्पदप्राप्तं एतद्विशुद्धं नरकपालं शेषभुजाभ्यां वज्रवाराह्या-लिङ्गितम्।

हेवज्रसाधनतन्त्र प० २४A.

3. *Raudrabhīṣaṇa.*

He is four-faced and four-armed, and embraced by the Śakti. He bears the Kapāla, the Vajra, the Ghaṇṭā and the Ḍamaru, and the Khaṭvāṅga hangs as usual from his left shoulder. Presumably, the hands bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā are also engaged in clasping the Śakti.

चतुर्भुजं चतुर्वक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रं रौद्रभूषणम्।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं वज्रघण्टाडमरुकम्।
वाराह्यादिसमापन्नं देव्या कुचनिपीडनम्॥

अभिधानो० प० ५१B.

4. *Vikṛtānana.*

He is described as three-faced and six-armed. He bears the Vajra, the Ghaṇṭā, the Kapāla, the sword, the Ḍamaru and the severed head of Brahmā. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder, and the hands that bear the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā are, presumably, also engaged in clasping the Śakti.

आलिकालिप्रयोगेन आत्मानं हेरुकाकृतिम्।
त्रिमुखं षड्भुजं नाथं त्रिनेत्रं विकृताननम्॥
वज्रवाराह्या समापन्नं जङ्घाद्वयसुवेष्टितम्।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं असिडमरुकं परम्॥
ब्रह्ममुण्डं च अपरभुजैः षड्भिर्विभूषितम्।

अभिधानो० प० ५२B.

5. *Samvarottama.*

He is three-faced and six-armed. The first two hands, holding the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, embrace the Prajñā. The other four

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hands bear the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the Triśūla and the severed head.

नीलरक्तसिताकारं षड्भुजं च त्रिवक्त्रजम् ।
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं त्रिनेत्रं विकृताननम् ॥
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं त्रिशूलमुण्डधारिणम् ।
स्वाभविद्याङ्गसत्त्वङ्गमहासुखपदस्थितम् ॥
पीठादिक्रमयोगेन त्रियोगं संवरोत्तमम् ।

अभिधानो० प० ६९A.

6. *Samayottama.*

He is six-armed and five-faced,—rather an unusual form. The two hands which bear the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā are engaged in embracing the Śakti. The remaining hands bear the screen made up of the skin of Śiva, the Kapāla, the Kartri and the Ḍamaru, while the Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder.

षड्भुजं पञ्चवक्त्रं च नाट्यरसरसोत्तमम् ।
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं वाराहीदेहालिङ्गितम् ॥
शिवचर्मवरधरं वितानं विततोपमम् ।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं कर्त्रिडमरुकं तथा ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७६A.

7. *Yoginīprabhu.*

He is four-faced and eight-armed. The hands bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā embrace the Prajñā, while the remaining hands bear the Kapāla, a portion of the skin of the Jina, the Mudgara, the Śūla, the Paraśu and the severed head of Brahmā. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from the left shoulder as usual.

अष्टबाहुं चतुर्वक्त्रं भयस्यापि भयङ्करम् ।
आलीढपदमासीनं त्रिनेत्रं योगिनीप्रभुम् ॥
वज्रघण्टासमाश्लिष्टं वाराहीजान्ववस्थितम् ।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं जिनचर्मपटार्धकम् ॥
मुद्गरं शूलपरशुमपरं ब्रह्ममुण्डं भुजाष्टकम् ।

अभिधानो० प० ६५

8. *Mahāvajra.*

(*a*) He is four-faced and eight-armed. The right face is blackish-red, the left is blackish-green, the face above is of Garuḍa, while

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the one in front is red, and burning like a dozen suns. One of his right hands bears the Vajra; the corresponding left hand shows the Tarjanī, to which a noose is attached. The remaining six hands bear the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the Aṅkuśa, the Śūla, the skin of Indra and the Ḍamaru. He stands in the Ālīḍha attitude on the prostrate body of Varuṇa. (*b*) He may have another form with twelve hands, when the following symbols are added: the Kartri, the severed head of Brahmā, the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā.

तत्र मध्ये महावज्रं सदंष्ट्रोत्कटभीषणम् ।
अष्टबाहुं चतुर्वक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रं भीमभीषणम् ॥
वज्रोल्लालनतत्परं तर्जन्या पाशसंयुतम् ।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं अङ्कुशं शूलधारिणम् ॥
इन्द्रचर्माम्बरधरं डमरुं चाष्टमं स्मृतम् ।
आलीढपदाक्रान्तं च वरुणं भीतिविह्वलम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ८०A.

9. *Pañcānana.*

He is described as five-faced and ten-armed. He holds the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā in the first pair of hands, with which he also embraces the Prajñā, and the second pair exhibits the cloth made up of human skin. The other hands hold the Triśūla, the Ḍamaru, the Kartri, the Kapāla, the severed head of Brahmā and the axe. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder.

वज्रसत्त्वपरात्मा हेरुकं तं विभावयेत् ।
पञ्चाननं दशभुजं वाराह्या समलङ्कृतम् ॥
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं महासुखसुखोत्तमम् ।
त्रिशूलं डमरुं चैव वज्रकर्त्रिकमेव च ॥
कपालखट्वाङ्गब्रह्मशिरः परश्वं चैव चतुर्थके ।
वामदक्षिणपाणिभ्यां नरचर्माम्बरं तथा ॥
पादद्वये समावेष्ट्य वाराही सम्पुटीकृता ।

अभिधानो० प० ३९Bf.

10. *Vajraheruka.*

He is described as being endowed with four heads, four necks and twelve arms. The first pair of hands bears as usual, the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, and the second the raw skin. In the remaining eight hands he holds the following symbols: the Kapāla, the

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Khaṭvāṅga, the Jharjharapātra, the Śūla, the Pāśa, the Aṅkuśa, the Muṇḍa and the Ḍamaru.

त्रिनेत्रं रौद्रवपुषं चतुर्ग्रीवं चतुर्मुखम् ।
भुजैर्द्वादशभिर्युक्तं शून्यताज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं वाराह्यालिङ्गनं सुखम् ।
नामधूतगुणं श्रीमच्चासुखवज्रहेरुकम् (?) ॥
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं चक्राभ्यर्भरपाचकम् ।
शूलपाशाङ्कुशकरं मुण्डं च डमरुं तथा ॥
वामदक्षिणपार्श्वाभ्यां नवचर्मपटोर्ध्वकम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७६

11. *Samvaravajra.*

He is endowed with four faces,—coloured blue, yellow, red and green—,three eyes and twelve hands. The hands holding the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā embrace the Śakti Vajravārāhī, and the second pair holds the skin flayed from the body of Gaṇapati. The third of the remaining right hands bears the Ḍamaru, the fourth holds leaves, the fifth the Kartri, and the sixth Vajraśūla, in a menacing attitude. In the third of the remaining left hands he bears the Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by a Vajra, in the fourth the Kapāla full of nectar, in the fifth the Vajrapāśa, and in the sixth the severed heads of the four Māras (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra).

भगवन्तं श्रीसंवरवज्रं चतुर्मुखं ... त्रिनेत्रं द्वादशभुजमालीढस्थं ... समयवज्रवाराह्या-लिङ्गनभुजद्वयेन वज्रघण्टा, अपरभुजद्वये गणपतिचर्माम्बरधरं तृतीयदक्षिणकरे डमरुं चतुर्थे पर्णं पञ्चमे कर्त्रीं षष्ठे वज्रशूलमुद्यतम्, वामतृतीयभुजे वज्रखट्वाङ्गं चतुर्थे अमृतपूर्णकपालं पञ्चमे वज्रपाशं षष्ठे चतुर्मारशिरः ।

अभिधानो० प० २०A.

12. *Sadvajra.*

He is described as five-faced and twelve-armed. The first two hands holding the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā embrace the Prajñā ; the second pair holds the cloth made out of the skin of Rudra. The remaining hands bear the Kapāla, the Śūla, the Kartri, the Aṅkuśa, the Pāśa, the Muṇḍa or the severed head, the Mudgara (hammer) and the Ḍamaru. The Khaṭvāṅga as usual hangs from his left shoulder.

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तत्परावृत्य सद्वज्रं हेरुकं तं विभावयेत् ।

वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं देवीकुचनिपीडितम् ॥

रुद्रचर्माम्बरधरं सार्द्ररक्तस्रवद्गजम् ।

कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं शूलं च कर्त्रिकाङ्कुशम् ॥

पाशं मुण्डधरं रौद्रं मुद्गरं डमरुं तथा ।

अभिधानो० प० ४२, ४३

13. *Surata-Śrī.*

He is described as five-faced and twelve-armed. In the first pair of hands, Heruka holds the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā and (with them he) embraces the Prajñā Vajravārāhī, in the second pair (he holds) the skin of Gaṇapati. He bears the Śūla in the third right hand, the Aṅkuśa in the fourth, the Kartri in the fifth and the Ḍamaru in the sixth. In the third left, likewise, he holds the Kapāla, and supports the Khaṭvāṅga against his left shoulder ; in the fourth he holds the Vajrapāśa, in the fifth the severed head of Brahmā and in the sixth the Paraśu (axe). The five faces of Heruka are blue, yellow, white, red and green, and they express Raudra, Hāsya, Śṛṅgāra, Vīra and Bībhatsa (wrath, mirth, amourousness, courage and horribleness).

वज्रसत्वयोगेन सुरतश्रीहेरुकमात्मानं भावयेत् चतुर्मुखं द्वादशभुजं आलीढपदसंस्थितम् । ... ... वज्रवाराह्यालिङ्गितभुजद्वयेन पञ्चशूककपालवज्रघण्टा अपरभुजद्वयेन गणपतिचर्माम्बरधरः, वृतीयदक्षिणकरे वज्रशूले चतुर्थे अङ्कुशं पञ्चमे वज्रकर्त्रिका, षष्ठे वज्रडमरुकं वामवृतीयभुजे कपालं ... ... योगेन वज्रखट्वाङ्गम्, चतुर्थे वज्रपाशं पञ्चमे ब्रह्मशिरः षष्ठे परशुम् ।

अभिधानो० प० २३B.

14. *Herukottama.*

His first two hands, bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, embrace Bhagavatī Vārāhī, the second pair holds the skin of Mahābhairava. The third right holds the Vajra in Tripatākā attitude, the fourth the Triśūla, the fifth the Paraśu (axe), and the sixth the Vajra-Ḍamaru. Likewise, the third left holds the Khaṭvāṅga, the fourth the Vajrapāśa, the fifth the Kartri, and the sixth the severed head of Rudra.

वज्रसत्वपरावृत्या चात्मानं हेरुकोत्तमम्, ... ... वाराह्यालिङ्गितभुजद्वये कपालघण्टा, अपरभुजद्वये महाभैरवचर्मसान्द्राम्बरधरः, वृतीयदक्षिणे करालवज्रोल्लालनं त्रिपताकाभिनयेन,

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चतुर्थे च पञ्चस्यूकं त्रिशूलं, पञ्चमे परशुं षष्ठे वज्रडमरुकम्। वामतृतीयभुजे खट्वाङ्गं, चतुर्थे वज्रपाशं, पञ्चमे कर्त्रिकां, षष्ठे रुद्रशिरः अग्रतो वाराह्यालिङ्गिता भगवती।

अभिधानो० प० २२

15. *Mañjuvajra.*

This is another form of Heruka, and is also described as being embraced by Vārāhī. Obviously, then, Mañjuvajra should be regarded as more akin to Heruka than as is usually done, to Mañjuśrī. Mañjuvajra is described as six-faced and twelve-armed. In the first pair of hands he holds the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā and (with them he) embraces the Devī; with the second pair he covers his waist with the skin of Raudrabhairava. The other hands bear the Kapāla, the Maṇi, the Utpala, the Aṅkuśa, the Pāśa, the Ḍamaru, the severed head and the bow. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder as usual.

षण्मुखं द्वादशभुजं वाराह्या समलङ्कृतम्।
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं देव्या कुचनिपीडितम्॥
रौद्रभैरवचर्मे(?)ण कटिरावेष्ट्य संस्थितम्।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं मणिमुत्पलधारिणम्॥
अङ्कुशं पाशडमरुं सुण्डचापधरं तथा।

अभिधानो० प० ३०A.

16. *Praṇavaḍāka.*

He is described as six-faced, twelve-armed and six-legged. With his six legs he dances in the Ardhaparyaṅka attitude, and embraces the Śakti who is here called Vajradevī. The first pair of hands, bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, embraces the Śakti, while the second pair holds the screen made of the skin of Brahmā. In the remaining eight hands he holds the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the severed head of Maheśvara, the Triśūla, the sword, the Ḍamaru, the noose and the goad. In the text, the weapons are given in the hands of the Devī, and because the Devī is of the nature of the Svābhā Prajñā the same weapons must be assigned to the principal god Praṇavaḍāka also.

तत्परावृत्तमात्मानं प्रणवडाकमुत्तमम्।
षण्मुखं द्वादशभुजं त्रिनेत्रं रागघूर्णितम्॥
अर्धपर्यङ्कनृत्यपदैः षट्चरणविभूषितैः।
वज्रदेवीसमापन्नां नग्नां च मेखलोत्तमाम्॥

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वज्रघण्टासमाश्लिष्टां बोध्यङ्गस्थानपीडिताम् ।
ब्रह्मचर्मवितानाङ्गां करद्वयेन धार्यताम् ॥
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरां महेश्वरमुण्डधार्यताम् (?) ।
त्रिशूलासिडमरुं चैव पाशाङ्कुशकराग्रजाम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७४B.

17. *Nīlogra.*

He is described as six-faced and twelve-armed. With the first pair of hands, bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā he embraces the Śakti. In the second pair he carries the skin of Jina. The eight other hands bear the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the arrow, the Aṅkuśa, the Ḍamaru, the Muṇḍa, the Kartri and the Paraśu.

नीलोग्रं विकृतं रौद्रं त्रिनेत्रं षण्मुखोत्तमम् ।
वज्रघण्टासमापन्नं देव्याधरनिपीडितम् ॥
जिनचर्माम्बरधरं डाकिनीकुलधारिणम् ।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं वज्रचिक्कादलङ्कृतम् ॥
बाणमङ्कुशकरद्वयं डमरुमुण्डधारिणम् ।
कर्त्रिकापरशुं चैव भुजैर्द्वादशभिर्युतम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ८२A.

18. *Āliḍāka.*

He takes his origin from the first syllable 'A', which in the Buddhist Tantras is called 'Āli', and from which the name 'Āliḍāka' seems to have been derived. According to the Dhyāna, Āliḍāka is sixteen-armed and eight-faced, and he clasps the Śakti, Āliḍākinī, against his breast. With his first pair of hands he embraces the Śakti, while with the second pair he spreads the screen made of the skin of Viṣṇu. In the remaining twelve hands he holds : the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the sword, the club, the Triśūla, the Ḍamaru, the Paraśu (axe), the Aṅkuśa (goad) the noose, the severed head of Brahmā, the Kartri and the Cakra (disc).

अकारज्ञाननिष्पन्नं आलिडाकोत्तमोत्तमम् ।
अष्टवक्त्रं षोडशभुजं त्रिनेत्रं भीमभीषणम् ॥
आलिडाकिनीदेहस्थं द्विभुजं नग्नदेहजम् ।
विष्णुचर्मवितानं च द्विभुजेन प्रसारयेत् ॥
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं असिमुद्गरधारिणम् ।

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त्रिशूलडमरुकं चैव परशुमङ्कुशं तथा ॥
पाशं ब्रह्मशिरश्चैव कर्त्रिकां चक्रमेव च ।

अभिधानो० प० ७२, ७३

## III. Extraordinary Forms.

The Abhidhānottaratantra gives further descriptions of the five more varieties of Heruka according as he partakes of the nature of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. These forms, known as Vajraḍāka, Buddhaḍāka, Ratnaḍāka, Padmaḍāka and Viśvaḍāka are also recognized as the five Vajravīras. They are represented as sitting in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude on a corpse, on the animals sacred to them, such as the elephant, lion, horse, peacock and Garuḍa. These five deities wear a crown of matted hair, are decked with six Mudrās, and bear a row of skull on the forehead. In appearance they are as awe-inspiring as the forms previously described.

वज्रडाकेति प्रथमं द्वितीयं वज्रडाकजम् ।
तृतीयं रत्नडाकस्तु चतुर्थं पद्मडाकजम् ॥
पञ्चमं विश्वडाकस्तु ... ... ... ... ।
पञ्चैते हेरुका ज्ञेया वज्रवीरास्तथैव च ॥ ... ...
जटामुकुटिनः सर्वे कपालमालिनस्तथा ।
षण्मुद्रामुद्रिताः सर्वे स्वासनोपरि संस्थिताः ॥
गजसिंहस्य तुरगमयूरगरुडानि च ।
अधोपरि प्रेतासनाः सर्वे ध्यातव्याः सिद्धिप्रदाः (?) ॥

अभिधानोत्तर प० ६३

*Conclusion.*—The study of Iconography is still in its infancy, and it is almost impossible to give an exhaustive description of all the different forms of one single deity whether Buddhist or Hindu. So also it is with the deity Heruka. Heruka in different forms was described in the Buddhist Iconography where a remarkable sculpture in the Dacca Museum was reproduced and identified as that of Heruka. His Tibetan prototype, Hevajra, is described in several places in ' The Gods of Northern Buddhism ' by Getty and Deniker.[1] The iconography of Heruka seemed, for a while, to be complete. But a study, a very cursory one, of only two Buddhist

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 123. Also in N. K. Bhattasali : Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, 1929, p. 35.

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Tantras which happened to be in the collection of the Oriental Institute at Baroda revealed the existence of many varieties which have been described in this paper. If someone with patience makes a further search many more forms will be available, and many more new truths and principles will be discovered.

The Dhyānas quoted, and the forms of Heruka described in this short article will enable students of iconography to identify many of the hitherto unidentified images of Heruka, and classify them accurately. It will also be possible to recognize many of the deities painted on the so-called Tibetan and Nepalese banners as images of Heruka.

But these Dhyānas, occasionally also give indication of the deep-seated symbolism that is contained in this Buddhist imagery. The three faces of Heruka, for instance, are said to represent the three instruments of humanity, body, mind and speech. The blood of the Devas and Asuras really contains a symbolism which will surprise many who seem to be horrified at the idea of representing gods with such gruesome objects, and who seem to think that Buddhists freely gave themselves up to devil-worship. The symbolism really teaches that the cognition of both existence and non-existence is not real but imaginery, and it is only when the duality ceases that the right knowledge is produced ; for, according to the later Buddhists, the Śūnya is the only reality, and everything else is mere manifestation of the great substratum called Śūnya.

In this article I have exhaustively described many different forms of Heruka, but it does not seem to me that I have succeeded in describing all.

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# THE OCCUPATION OF BENGAL BY THE KINGS OF KĀMARŪPA

*By* NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

The discovery of the two lost plates of the Nidhânpur copper-plates[1] of Bhâskaravarman, King of Kâmarûpa, have revealed the fact that the locality of the grant was 'Mayûra-śâlmal=âgrahâra' in the district (*viṣaya*) of Candrapurî. The difficulty of identifying this particular Candrapurî cannot be exaggerated, as it is a common place-name in India, particularly in North-Eastern India, but attention is drawn to the fact that in the Khâlimpur copper-plate grant of Dharmapâladêva, one of the four villages granted is 'M â ḍ h â - ś â l m a l î'.[2] Neither 'Candrapurî' nor 'the dried river Kauśikâ' finds place in this inscription, but what is essential to note in this connection is that the 'Gaṅginikâ', which in case of the Nidhânpur copperplates is the name of the river that formed the western boundary of the lands granted, is found associated with that village in that inscription. Since 'Mâḍhâ' is a very natural corrupt form of 'Mayûra', and such a peculiar name is not commonly met with of a place, the 'Mâḍhâ-śâlmalî' of the one grant may not improbably be identical with the 'Mayûra-śâlmala' of the other. We have also a statement on the position of the village Mayûra-śâlmala that 'it was situated in a place lying very close to the kingdom of Gauḍa between the rivers Teestâ and Karatoyâ which was the western boundary of Kâmarûpa and now forms part of the district of Rangpur in North Bengal'.[3] If so, the lands donated by the Nidhânpur copperplates lay in the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* of Bengal, as all the four villages granted by the Khâlimpur inscription lay in the Vyâghrataṭî-*maṇḍala* of that *bhukti*.

But Bhâskaravarman only renewed the grant that was originally made by his great-great-grandfather, Mahâbhûtavarman, alias Bhûtivarman, whom we may place, without any great risk of error, towards the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The *bhukti* of Pauṇḍravardhana, we know, was included in the empire of Budhagupta, whose dates range from 476-77 to 495-96 A.D., and it, therefore, appears likely that it, or a part of it which included the Mayûra-śâlmala tract, came to be occupied by

[1] Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 115–25.
[2] Ep. Ind., IV, p. 253.
[3] *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 246, and p. 117, foot-note 2.

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Bhûtivarman shortly after Budhagupta had ceased to reign. That a part, or rather the eastern part of what was Pauṇḍravardhana, had always been a component part of the kingdom of Kâmarûpa in those times, is a presumption that may safely be discarded.

The reason for renewing the grant was that the original plates issued by Bhûtivarman had been burnt. But the renewal was made not by an immediate successor of Bhûtivarman, but by one who was fourth in descent from him, while, again, the fifth of the Dâmodarpur copperplates shows that the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* was (again) swayed over by a Gupta prince in 543-44 A.D. The loss, therefore, of what Bhûtivarman had acquired in Bengal by his son, Candramukhavarman, or his grandson, Sthitavarman, may well be presupposed.

When exactly Bhâskaravarman came to conquer Karṇasuvarṇa cannot be determined, until and unless fresh data are forthcoming to this effect. There is no proof whatever in favour of that ' during the first quarter of the seventh century Bhâskaravarman assisted by Śrî Harsha, defeated Śaśâṅka and re-acquired this area . . . .'[1] or that ' the grant was made . . . . . by the beginning of his reign when he was helping his friend Harṣavardhana in conquering Karṇa-suvarṇa ',[2] or a like other statement. Equally, there is no absolute indication in the materials we possess that ' on the anarchy which ensued on that monarch's (Harṣavardhana's) death, it (Karṇa-suvarṇa) may have been annexed by Bhâskaravarman '.[3] But one thing appears to be certain, that Bhâskaravarman's subjugation of Karṇa-suvarṇa was not merely of the nature of a raid on it, as is sometimes asserted.

Bhâskaravarman, who had the title of ' Kumâra ' (Keu-mo-lo),[4] is sometimes described by the Chinese as ' the king of Eastern India '.[5] And a seal of his has been discovered at Nâlandâ,[6] the significance of which seems to be much greater than is ordinarily supposed to bear.

I-tsing in his 'K'au-fâ-kao-sâng-chüen ', written sometime between 700 and 712 A.D., gives, after alluding to the journeys of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang, brief memoirs of fifty-six Buddhist monks who visited India and the neighbourhood from China and bordering districts, after Hiuen Tsang and before him. One of these, Hwui

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[1] Indian Culture, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 427.
[2] Indian Historical Quarterly, 1927, p. 839.
[3] History of Assam, by Sir Edward Gait, Second ed., 1926, p. 26 ; also cf. ' Harsha ' by R. K. Mukherjee, Oxford, 1926, p. 74.
[4] Beal, *Records*, II, p. 196.
[5] Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 20 ; Gait, op. cit., p. 29.
[6] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, pp. 302-4.

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Lun, a native of Corea, following after Hiuen Chiu who visited India after 650 A.D., reached India, 'dwelt for ten years in a covenant in the country of Amarâvat', and then went to Northern India. His account, we are told, contains the following description about a temple in Bôdh-Gayâ: 'To the N.E. of the great Bodhi (the temple just named) about a couple of stages, is another temple called Châlukya. This is the one which was formerly built by a king of the Châlukya kingdom in South India. This temple though poor is remarkable for the religious life of its inmates. In more recent times a king called Jin-Kwan ('Sun-army') (i.e. Âdityasena) built a new temple by the side of the old one, which is now getting finished, and in which many priests from the South take their residence'. 'Forty stages or so to the eastward of this' Hwui Lun's account continues, 'we come to the Nâlanda Temple. First taking the Ganges and descending it, we reach the Mṛigaśikhavana Temple. Not far from this is an old temple, the foundations of which alone remain—it is called China Temple..... The territory now belongs to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarmâ. He has given back the temple and land to the villagers to avoid the expense of keeping it up as he would have to do, if many priests of China came there.'[1]

The actual date when this account was set down in writing is unknown, but that it was written sometime before 673 A.D., the date of I-tsing's arrival at Tâmralipti, is beyond all doubt, and in the year when it was written, Bôdh-Gayâ, as the above excerpt very conspicuously brings home, was within the dominion of Âdityasêna, doubtless of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, while Nâlandâ, lying 40 stages or so to the eastward of Bôdh-Gayâ, was within that of one Dêvavarmâ. Who is this king? Dêvavarmâ, who bore the title of 'Varman', has been described as 'the king of Eastern India', ruled in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D., and whose kingdom included the Nâlandâ region (in the west), appears in the best of probability to have been a lineal descendant of Bhâskaravarmâ, who bore the same title of 'Varman', equally described as 'the king of Eastern India', ruled in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and whose seal has been discovered at Nâlandâ. Bhâskaravarmâ was not a Buddhist, and so, too, Dêvavarmâ looks not to have professed that religion, for otherwise he would on no account give back the (Buddhist) temple at Nâlandâ, where (Buddhist) priests from China used to come to the villagers, simply to avoid the expenses of keeping it up.

[1] Life of Hiuen Tsiang, Beal, Intro., p. xxvi f.; J.R.A.S., 1881, pp. 558–72, and Ind. Ant., 1881, pp. 109–11 and 192-93.

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Contemporary, or nearly so, with Dêvavarmâ was 'Hoh-lo-she-po-t'a', king of Samataṭa, whom Seng-Chi, another Chinese priest and a predecessor of I-tsing in India, describes as 'a Upâsaka (who) greatly reverenced the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious studies'.[1] Seng-Chi is placed between 650 and 655 A.D.,[2] which if not precisely true, makes a near approach to truth. The king continued to rule till I-tsing's own times,[3] but the restoration of his name is not altogether free from doubt. Beal first restored it as 'Harshavardhana',[4] but in his introduction to the 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang',[5] he puts it as 'Râjabhata (or °patu)', 'Râjabhaṭa' being the name suggested by Watters, in modification of 'Harshabhaṭa', as restored by M. Chavannes.[6]

The resemblance that lies between the names of 'Râjabhaṭa' of Seng-Chi's description and 'Râjarâjabhaṭṭa' the son of Dêvakhaḍga of the Khaḍga dynasty of East Bengal, was enough for Mr. N. N. Vasu[7] and Dr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśâlî[8] to postulate that they were one and the same prince. And labouring under this idea, it was much too easy for them to believe that palæographically the two Âsrafpur copperplates, which give out the name of the Khaḍga prince, the Madhuban and Bâñskherâ plates of Harṣavardhana, the Shâhpur image inscription of Âdityasêna (672 A.D.) and the Âpshad inscription of the same prince, all belong to the same century. Subsequently Dr. R. C. Majumdâr, going a step further, identified Hwui Lun's 'Dêvavarmâ' and Seng-Chi's 'Râjabhaṭa' with respectively 'Dêvakhaḍga' and 'Râjarâjabhaṭṭa' of the Khaḍga dynasty.[9] He also read a date in Plate B of the Âsrafpur plates as 'year 79 (or 73) day 28', and referring the year 79 (or 73) to the Harṣa era, obtained the date 685 (or 679) A.D. for Dêvakhaḍga. Dr. Râdhâ Gôvinda Basâk, on palæographical considerations, first referred the Âsrafpur plates to a period between the last quarter of the seventh and middle of the eighth century A.D.,[10] but later to a date 'not posterior to the beginning of the eighth century A.D.'[11] But,

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[1] Life, Intro., pp. xl-xli; J.R.A.S., 1881, pp. 561-62; Ind. Ant., 1881, p. 196.
[2] 'Vaṅger Jâtîya Itihâsa' by N. Vasu, Râjanya-Kâṇḍa, 1321 B.S., p. 76. Also cf. 'Bâṅglâr Itihâsa', by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 141.
[3] Watters, 'On Yuang Chwang', Vol. II, p. 188.
[4] J.R.A.S., 1881, p. 562; Ind. Ant., 1881, p. 196.
[5] Pp. xl-xli.
[6] Watters, op. cit.
[7] N. Vasu, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
[8] J.A.S.B., 1914, pp. 86-87.
[9] J.A.S.B., 1923, pp. 376–78; also 'Early History of Bengal' (Dacca University Bulletin, No. 3), 1925, pp. 22-23.
[10] Sâhitya (Bengali journal), 1321 B.S., pp. 468-69.
[11] History of North-Eastern India (circa 320–760 A.D.), London, 1934, p. 202.

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nevertheless, as to Dr. Majumdâr's reading of the date in Plate B, he says, 'Attention may be drawn to the fact that the day of the month in the plate, whether it be 25 or 28, is indicated by the system of letter-numerals, the first sign being a symbol for 20, and the second for either 5 or 8. The use of two different systems in two successive lines in the same inscription for indicating number cannot easily be explained, although one may admit that the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one.'[1] I do not want here to enter into palæographical controversy about the Âsrafpur plates, but beg to add, with reference to Dr. Majumdâr's theory, that there is absolutely no warrant for describing Seng-Chi as 'one of the last batch of priests described by I-tsing',[2] as he has done, for the names of the priests are not given to us in order of their dates; and even if it were so, a date like 679 or 685 A.D., for Dêvakhaḍga, would mean that Dêvakhaḍga, the father, followed Râjarâjabhaṭṭa, the son, on the Khaḍga throne, if the latter be identified with Râjabhaṭa, as described by Seng-Chi who came to India before 673 A.D. Secondly, the Khaḍgas could never possibly exercise any sway over the Nâlandâ region. Again, it follows from the account that Dêvavarmâ professed Brâhmanical religion, but Dêvakhaḍga was a Buddhist ('Parama-Saugata').

A gold-plated metal image of Sarvâṇî (Durgâ, Caṇḍî), bearing an inscription of Prabhâvatî, queen of Dêvakhaḍga, was discovered at Chandagrâma, a few miles south of Comilla in the district of Tipperah.[3] Dr. Bhaṭṭaśâlî naturally finds the characters of this inscription, too, as akin to those of the inscriptions of Âdityasêna, and Dr. Majumdâr's identification of Dêvavarmâ with Dêvakhaḍga lends such a happy and substantial corroboration to his initial theory that he is over-confident to declare that, 'The striking coincidence of the names mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, viz. Devavarma, king of Eastern India, and his successor Râjabhaṭṭa, king of Samataṭa, with the names Devakhaḍga and Râjarâjabhaṭṭa of the plates, both the pairs reigning in the same locality during the same period . . . . .' etc. etc.[4] But the evidence furnished by the Sarvâṇî image is twofold; besides the evidence of the characters of the inscription, it also bears the evidence of art, which is extremely valuable for our purpose. The anatomy of the figure shows a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[2] J.A.S.B., 1923, p. 378.
[3] Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Dacca, 1929, by N. K. Bhaṭṭaśâlî, Pl. LXX; Art of the Pâl Empire, by J. C. French, Oxford, 1928, Pl. II; Eastern India School of Mediæval Sculpture, by R. D. Banerji, Delhi, 1933, Pl. I(*c*).
[4] Bhaṭṭaśâlî, Iconography etc., p. 6.

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somewhat abnormal elongation of the legs. The lengthening of the limbs is a feature, characteristic of no inconsiderable a number of sculptures of the so-called Gauḍîya School of Art, and they mostly date from the 9th-10th century A.D. The stone image of Târâ at Itkhôri with an inscription of (the Gurjara Pratîhâra king) Mahêndrapâla's reign, the stone image of Lôkanâtha from Bihâr in the Indian Museum (No. 3796),[1] the stone image of Mârîcî in the Râjshâhî Museum probably from Vikrampur,[2] a mutilated stone image of the Buddha from Bihâr in the Museum of the Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad,[3] the stone image of Gaurî from Ârial, District Dacca,[4] and a stone image of Vasudharâ in the Sârnâth Museum,[5] may be mentioned as some of the typical examples of it. But the metal image of Sarvâṇî in question may best be compared with the metal image of Lôkanâtha, discovered at Bandarbazar in the district of Sylhet,[6] which Dr. Bhaṭṭaśâlî assigns to the 8th-9th century,[7] and the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, to 'the period of renaissance of art in Bengal in the latter half of the tenth century'.[8] But judging from the grounds of style of art—(comparative strength and simplicity or rather crudeness), techniques (spare decoration, etc.), and the standard of perfection the art of metal-casting did attain in East Bengal from the tenth century, it should best be referred to the 9th century. The image of Sarvâṇî has been ascribed by Mr. J. C. French to the eighth century under the impression that 'it bears an inscription which gives its date as the eighth century'.[9] But irrespective of all other considerations, this sculpture has got to be assigned to the 8th-9th century, on stylistic grounds, just what the late Prof. R. D. Banerji also suggested.[10] To fancy that it belongs to 7th century is, we must agree, worse than idle, and violates all iconological rules.

This is, again, it should be called up, precisely the period (viz. 8th or 9th century) in which the Âsrafpur plates were placed by the

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[1] French, op. cit., Pl. XX and Pl. XVIII.
[2] Catalogue of the Archæological Relics in the Museum of the V.R. Society, Râjshâhî, by Basak and Bhaṭṭâcâryya, 1919, Pl. I.
[3] Handbook of the Sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad, by Manômôhan Gânguli, Cal., 1922, Pl. IV.
[4] Bhaṭṭaśâlî, op. cit., Pl. LXVIII(*b*), and Addenda, p. 273.
[5] Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sârnâth, by D. R. Sahni, Cal., 1914, Pl. XV(*b*), No. B(*f*) 19.
[6] Bhaṭṭaśâlî, op. cit., Pl. IV ; A.S.I. Ann. Rep., 1924-25, Pl. XXXIX(*a*).
[7] Bhaṭṭaśâlî, op. cit., p. 25.
[8] A.S.I. Ann. Rep., 1924-25, p. 156.
[9] French, op. cit., p. 2.
[10] Eastern Indian School of Med. Sculp., p. 123.

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late Mr. G. M. Laskar, who edited them.[1] Dr. R. C. Majumdar also, it must be noted here, admits that, 'In general the alphabets of the two plates A and B resemble those of the Khalimpur copper-plates of Dharmapâla'.[2] The late Prof. R. D. Banerji in the first edition of his 'Bâṅglâr Itihâsa'[3] and his monograph entitled 'The Pâlas of Bengal'[4] referred the plates to the (first half) of the 10th century, but in the second edition of the former it was emended to 9th century.

So, then, it is absurd to credit the possibility of Dêvavarmâ being the same as Dêvakhaḍga. On the contrary, there is nothing that goes against finding in Dêvavarmâ a successor to Bhâskaravarmâ. When and how Bhâskaravarman extended his conquests up to the Nâlandâ region is a guess too difficult to hazard at present, but the discovery of his seal at Nâlandâ, as has been indicated above, is not an accidental phenomenon. Devavarmâ (or his successor) was, however unable to retain the lordship over the Nâlandâ region, and had to lose it to his mighty neighbour, Âdityasêna, in or before 672-73 A.D., for the Shâhpur stone image inscription of the time of Âdityasêna, and dated in that year, records the installation of an image of his *Balâdhikṛta*, Śâlapakṣa, in evidently the *Agrahâra* of Nâlandâ.[5] Dêvavarmâ (or his successor) also lost his mastery over Karṇasuvarṇa, as is testified to by the Vaidyanâtha Temple inscription of Âdityasêna at Deoghar, which describes him as a ruler 'of the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans'.[6] By the time of this inscription, which is, however, undated, Âdityasêna presumably domineered over Western Bengal, including Karṇasuvarṇa, by ousting the king of Kâmarûpa.

With the knowledge of an heir of Bhâskaravarman to the throne of Kâmarûpa, we can no more asseverate that 'the greatness of Kâmarûpa did not last long', and that 'Bhâskaravarman was shortly after overthrown by a barbarian, Sâlastambha by name'.[7] The date 664 A.D. for Sâlastambha has been got on a very rough calculation, by 'allowing an average of sixteen years for each of the twenty-one kings' that preceded Brahmapâla, according as recorded in the inscriptions of Ratnapâla, supposed to belong to the period

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1 Mem. A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 86.
2 J.A.S.B., 1923, p. 377.
3 Vol. I, Ch. VIII, p. 207.
4 Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 67.
5 Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, No. 43.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 213, foot-note.
7 Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization, by R. C. Majumdar, Cal., 1927, p. 348.

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between 1010 and 1050 A.D.[1] Whether Âdityasêna first dispossessed Dêvavarmâ (or his successor) of his territories in Eastern Magadha and Western Bengal, or Sâlastambha first deprived him of his paternal kingdom of Kâmarûpa, the future will ascertain.

The next king of Kâmarûpa who had for some time subjugated Gauḍa, was Śrî-Harṣa, the father-in-law of Jayadêva, the Licchabhi or Licchavi prince of Nepâl. The Paśupatinâtha Temple inscription of Jayadêva, dated in 759 A.D., tells us that Śrî-Harṣa was the lord of Gauḍa, Ôḍra, Kaliṅga, Kôsala (evidently Mahâ-Kôsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kôsala, identified with Gondwânâ to the south-west of Ôḍra) and other lands, and describes his daughter, Râjyamatî, as 'the noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line'.[2] The latter expression clearly holds out that the father of Râjyamatî, Śrî-Harṣa, as a king of Kâmarûpa,[3] although his identity with 'Śrî-Hariṣa', as proposed, has not yet been conclusively proved. Sir Edward Gait opines that 'although he (Śrî-Harṣa) is said to have ruled over Gaur, Orissa and other countries this may be really an instance of the poetic exaggeration which was so frequently indulged in by the scribes and panegyrists of early Hindu kings'.[4] Such also is the view of Mr. F. J. Monahan.[5] But the Sâmangaḍ copper-plate inscription of Dantidurga, the Râṣṭrakûṭa king, dated in 753-54 A.D., states that he (Dantidurga) 'quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karṇâṭaka (i.e. the army of Kîrttivarmâ II, the Western Câlukya prince), which has been expert in defeating the lord of Kâñcî and the king of Kêrala and the Côlas and the Pâṇḍyas and Śrî-Harṣa and Vajraṭa'.[6] With regard to Śrî-Harṣa of this passage, Dr. Fleet conjectured that 'this refers to the conquest of Śrî-Harsha or Śrî-Harshavardhana of Kânyakubja, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north", by Pulakêśî II in the seventh century A.D.'.[7] But this does not maintain, it is too palpable, consistency of facts, for if 'the boundless army of the Karṇâṭaka' means, as it doubtless does, the army of Kîrttivarmâ II, the Śrî-Harṣa whom the army had defeated must be supposed to have been a contemporary of Kîrttivarmâ II, as Vajraṭa and the other kings mentioned therewithal were. In view of the fact that Śrî-Harṣa of Kâmarûpa was a contemporary of Kîrttivarmâ II, the conclusion is irresistable that it was he, who, as the lord of Ôḍra, Kaliṅga and

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[1] Gait, op. cit., p. 30.
[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 178.
[3] Cf. Le Népal, par Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1905, Vol. II, p. 171.
[4] Op. cit., pp. 30-31.
[5] Bengal: Past and Present, July–September, 1916, pp. 62-63.
[6] Ind. Ant., 1882, p. 114.
[7] *Ibid.*, foot-note.

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Kôsala, is alluded to in the Sâmangaḍ inscription as to have been worsted (evidently somewhere in the South) by the army of Kîrttivarmâ II. As Kîrttivarmâ commenced to reign in 747-48 A.D., the defeat of Śrî-Harṣa by him must have taken place between that date and 753-54 A.D., or approximately in 750 A.D. It is almost certain that till about that date he (Śrî-Harṣa) did not cede his suzerainty over Gauḍa in the North. But in any case, we must admit that the statement in the Paśupatinâtha Temple inscription about the lordship of Śrî-Harṣa over Gauḍa and the southern provinces is not an instance of poetical exaggeration by his son-in-law's panegyrist.

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# A NOTE ON THE SUCCESSION OF FĪRŪZ SHĀH

*By* ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

Sir Wolseley Haig says: 'The death of Muhammad (bin Tughluq) left the army without a leader and threw it into confusion. Some historians allege that on his death-bed he designated his cousin, Fīrūz, the son of Rajab, as his heir, but these are the panegyrists of Fīrūz, who made no attempt to claim the throne but merely associated himself with other officers in the endeavour to extricate it from a perilous situation . . . . . the officers urged Fīrūz . . . to ascend the throne, but the situation was complicated by his professed unwillingness to accept their nomination and by the presence of a competitor, a child named Dāvar Malik, whose claims were vehemently urged by his mother, a daughter of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. She was silenced by the objection that the crisis required a man, not a child, at the head of affairs, and . . . the nobles overcame the protests of Fīrūz by forcing him on to the throne and acclaiming him . . . On his way towards Delhi Fīrūz learned that the aged minister, Khvāja Jahān, had proclaimed in the capital . . . a child whom he declared to be the son of Muhammad Tughluq, but whom the historians represent as supposititious. We have, however, no impartial chronicle of this reign and there is much to justify the belief that the child was Muhammad's son and that the allegation that he was not was an attempt by panegyrists to improve their patron's feeble hereditary title.' [1]

The suspicion that Fīrūz Shāh was an 'usurper' was expressed by Briggs [2] more than a century ago. Sir Wolseley Haig's attempt to prove it, therefore, deserves more than a passing notice. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has refused to agree with him on this point.[3] I propose to examine whether it is possible to accept Sir Wolseley Haig's point of view.

The principal contemporary authorities on this question are Baranī [4] and Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf [5]; but they are, according to Sir

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 173-4. Sir Wolseley Haig has discussed the question in detail in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1922, pp. 365–72.

[2] *Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, Vol. I, p. 446 note.

[3] *History of Medieval India*, Second edition, p. 257 note.

[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 266-7.

[5] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 274–86.

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Wolseley Haig, ' panegyrists of Fīrūz ' and cannot be regarded as ' impartial ' historians of this reign. Of the later writers, the earliest and perhaps the most reliable is the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī*.[1] Then we have the general works of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad,[2] Badāonī[3] and Firishta.[4]

We shall discuss the various arguments put forward by Sir Wolseley Haig.

(1) His first point is this : Of the five brothers of Muhammad bin Tughluq, one—' Mubārak Khān, at least, seems to have been living when Fīrūz was proclaimed in Sind, and unless he had been blinded, a recognized disqualification, his claim was superior to that of Fīrūz. Nor is it certain that all the brothers of Muhammad Tughluq died without male issue . . . . . '

Now, if we do not believe the story of nomination given by Baranī, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, Badāonī and Firishta, or if we refuse to recognize the legal validity of nomination on the ground that in the cases of Raziyyat[5] and Kāi Khusrav[6] the nominations of Iltutmish and Balban were set aside, the claim of Mubārak Khān, or of the sons of his older brothers, if any, was, from the technical point of view, undoubtedly superior to that of Fīrūz Tughluq. But we must remember that in those days hereditary right was not the sole determining factor in complicated questions of succession. Kaiqubād was placed on the throne of Delhi during the life-time of his father, Bughrā Khān[7] ; and Sikandar Lodī was preferred to his elder brother, Bārbak Shāh.[8] The real fact, however, is that we know nothing of Mubārak Khān or his nephews, and no whisper about their claims has reached our ears. The position they occupied is altogether unknown, and their very existence is doubtful. Under the circumstances it is useless to consider them as rivals, in law or in fact, of the man who at any rate commanded the allegiance of the *amīrs* and the army.

(2) Sir Wolseley Haig's second point is that ' . . . it is possible that Muhammad himself left a son ', and that this son was the boy enthroned in Delhi by Khvāja Jahān.

No contemporary or later historian except Firishta gives any direct or indirect support to this view. Khvāja Jahān's protégé is

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1 Translated by K. K. Basu, pp. 121, 123–6.
2 Translated by B. De, Vol. I, pp. 239–43.
3 Vol. I, translated by Ranking, pp. 321–4.
4 Translated by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 444–8.
5 Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Vol. II, pp. 638-9.
6 Baranī's account, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 124.
7 Baranī's account, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 124.
8 Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part I, pp. 55-6.

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described by Baranī as ' an unknown bastard ', by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* as ' a youth of obscure origin ', by Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad as ' a boy of unknown birth ' and by Badāonī as ' an obscure child '. Firishta himself describes him as ' a boy of obscure origin ', but later on suggests that he might have been a son of Muhammad Tughluq. It is difficult to prefer his testimony to that of all other writers.

Indeed, we have some positive, though indirect, evidence against the legitimacy of the boy. In the first place, Baranī describes a significant incident.[1] While suppressing a revolt in Gujarāt towards the closing part of the reign, Muhammad bin Tughluq said : ' If I can settle the affairs of my kingdom according to my wish, I will consign my realm of Delhi to three persons, Fīrūz Shāh, Malik Kabīr and Ahmad Ayyār, and I will then proceed on the pilgrimage to the holy temple '. There is no mention of abdication in favour of a son. In the second place, when the election of Fīrūz was made known, Khudāwand-zāda, daughter of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, claimed the throne for her son, saying : ' Whilst her son lived, how could any stranger sit upon the throne ' ? She did not refer to the claim of Khvāja Jahān's candidate, although she must have known whether her brother had left a son.

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, the fact that ' 'Afīf himself says not a word suggesting that the child was supposititious ', is a good point. But 'Afīf says : ' When these proceedings and rumours (concerning Khvāja Jahān's plans) were reported to Sultān Fīrūz, he called a council of all the princes and nobles in his army. It was unanimously agreed that Sultān Muhammad Shāh had no son . . . . . Where, it was asked, had Khvāja Jahān found the pretended son ? All wise men spoke in the same strain, expressing their astonishment at the Khvāja's error . . . . . ' The *amīrs* might well have preferred a strong king to an infant, but why should they ' unanimously ' deny the legitimacy of the boy ? It may be said that the recognition of his legitimacy would have made it difficult for the *amīrs* to set aside his claim. But what could a helpless boy aided by an old man of ninety do against the powerful *amīrs* supported by the army ? The rightful claims of Kāi Khusrav and Bārbak Shāh were set aside ; why should the claim of Muhammad bin Tughluq's son be regarded as sacred and inviolable ?

Sir Wolseley Haig's next argument is undoubtedly forceful. He says : ' Khvāja Jahān had been the most devoted of Muhammad's servants and had regarded Fīrūz as a son, and it is most improbable that he should have foisted on the people of Dihlī,

[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 263.

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as his dead master's heir, a supposititious child'. The conduct of Khvāja Jahān is mysterious; and I frankly admit that I cannot explain it. Perhaps it is best to say that it is a case of honest mistake, the origin of which cannot be traced. In any case, his conviction (for there is little doubt that he was honest and loyal) cannot be allowed to nullify the facts and inferences derived from all other sources.

'The situation in the capital', says Sir Wolseley Haig, '... was doubtless critical, but the veteran minister did not require the assistance of a puppet to enable him to cope with it'. But Khvāja Jahān required a name for which to fight—he had to invoke the authority of a legitimate ruler in order to invest his own proceedings with legality. Why should the people of Delhi obey him, if he did not represent the Sultān and exercise his delegated powers?

'Nor is there any reason why Khvāja Jahān should have despaired of the clemency of Fīrūz.' Against this point of Sir Wolseley Haig we may say that the 'veteran minister' who regarded Fīrūz as a son must have known how weak-minded he was. He must have suspected that Fīrūz would submit to the *amirs* who had placed him on the throne and who were not well-disposed to the old minister. In all probability Khvāja Jahān anticipated the fate which ultimately fell on him, and this is why he did not submit to Fīrūz until the last moment.

Next, Sir Wolseley Haig says: 'Nobody was more likely than Fīrūz to know whether Muhammad had left a son or not, and consultation with courtiers would have been unnecessary'. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī*, Fīrūz spoke to his advisers in the following strain: '... if the late Sultān had any issue left I might have been in the know, and if he had any son he must have had placed him under my guardianship, for none was a better patron and a friend of his than I'. Fīrūz knew very well that Muhammad had left no son, but 'consultation with courtiers' was necessary on two grounds. In the first place, he had to make himself sure that Khvāja Jahān had no ally in the imperial camp and that none of the *amīrs* recognized the legitimacy of the child. Secondly, he had to take the advice of his counsellors as to the best method of dealing with the situation.

Again, Sir Wolseley Haig refers to the fact that Fīrūz consulted the doctors of the law, and remarks: '... if it had been certain that the child was not Muhammad's, there would have been no necessity to consult them'. But Fīrūz, being an extremely orthodox man, may well have wanted to be sure of his own ground. Moreover, the verdict of the *'ulamā* would, it may have been expected, remove the suspicion, if any, of his subjects.

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I have tried to show that it is extremely difficult to accept the legitimacy of Khvāja Jahān's protégé.

(3) Sir Wolseley Haig's third point is this: 'Nothing that Muhammad may have said on his death-bed, so long, at least, as he retained possession of his senses, amounted to recognition of Fīrūz as his heir, though it is highly probable that he bequeathed to him the regency and exhorted him to do all in his power to extricate the army from its dangerous situation'. For this hypothesis he has given us no authority except his own.

'Baranī's statement that Muhammad on his death-bed made Fīrūz his heir is to some extent discounted by his obligation as a court official, in both reigns, to represent the succession as being perfectly regular . . . This could easily be accomplished by representing a few kindly words spoken by a dying man as a nuncupative will.' But what about the testimony of 'Afīf, who, as Sir Wolseley Haig himself says, 'wrote when Fīrūz had occupied the throne for many years and it was no longer necessary to justify an accomplished fact'? He says that during the early years of his reign Muhammad bin Tughluq kept young Fīrūz 'constantly near his person' and 'used to explain to him . . . all affairs of state'; that, later on, when Muhammad 'divided the territories of Delhi into four parts . . . he placed one part under the charge of Fīrūz Shāh, so that he might acquire experience in the art of government'; and that Muhammad 'used to keep Fīrūz Shāh continually at work in various matters' with a view to make him 'thoroughly versed in the duties of royalty'. If the story of nomination were untrue, 'Afīf might have kept silence; but why does he dwell on Muhammad Tughluq's constant anxiety to train Fīrūz in the art of government?

Moreover, the speech of Fīrūz Shāh, which we have quoted above from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī*, clearly contradicts Sir Wolseley Haig's assumption that 'it is highly probable that he (i.e. Muhammad) bequeathed to him (i.e. Fīrūz) the regency'. The *amīrs* to whom Fīrūz delivered that speech were present in the imperial camp when Muhammad died, and they must have known if Muhammad had bequeathed the regency to Fīrūz. How, then, could Fīrūz tell them that 'if he had any son he must have had placed him under my guardianship'? Nor is it possible to dismiss the author of this work as a court official, for he wrote when the Tughluq Shāhī kings had ceased to rule in Delhi, but when it was not too late to ascertain the truth about them.

(4) Badāonī's story that Fīrūz once 'raised the banner of sovereignty' during the life-time of Muhammad, is regarded by Sir Wolseley Haig himself as 'apocryphal', but to him 'it suggests the existence of a legend to the effect that the succession of Fīrūz was

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not regular'. It is difficult to understand why the story of Fīrūz Shāh's rebellion against his patron should suggest that the former's succession was not regular; Jehangir revolted against Akbar, but nobody ever regarded his succession as irregular on that ground. But whatever the meaning of the 'legend' may be, the important fact is that no other historian speaks of, or even alludes to, it. Baranī and 'Afīf, being court historians, might have had a motive in suppressing it. But why are the authors of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* altogether silent on it? Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad mentions the current story about Muhammad bin Tughluq's responsibility for his father's death; it is strange that he should have considered it unnecessary to refer to the persistent 'legend', if any, about the irregularity of Fīrūz Shāh's succession.

(5) Sir Wolseley Haig argues that the real reason which led Fīrūz to 'exhibit a reluctance' to ascend the throne was his own belief that he was not Muhammad's heir. We have seen that the speech attributed to him in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* conclusively proves that he had no such belief. But let us assume that Sir Wolseley Haig's argument is true. The best course for Fīrūz would then have been to take up the cause of the infant enthroned by Khvāja Jahān and to act as the regent in accordance with the true wish (as interpreted by Sir Wolseley Haig) of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He could thus save his own conscience and ensure the legitimacy of succession; the desire of the *amīrs* to have a strong ruler would have been satisfied, for Fīrūz himself would have been the *de facto* king. Why, then, did he go to contest the claim of the true heir of a patron of whom he regarded himself, even after the accession, as 'the slave'? [1] Why did he go to vanquish Khvāja Jahān whom he respected as his father? Why did the man who had to be 'forced on to the throne' (to quote Sir Wolseley Haig's own words) by the *amīrs* exhibit all on a sudden a mad desire to maintain his unsought for position by trampling alike upon principles of law and gratitude? The hypothesis which explains all the facts is that Fīrūz sincerely believed Khvāja Jahān's protégé to be supposititious and regarded himself as the true heir of Muhammad. He hesitated to accept the supreme responsibility; but when it was thrust upon him, he decided to do his duty at all costs. It was natural for him to refuse to allow 'an unknown bastard' to sit upon the throne of his family.[2]

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[1] *Futuhāt-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 374.

[2] I am grateful to Dr. H. C. Raychoudhuri of the Calcutta University who has kindly revised the article.

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# HISTORICAL NOTES AND QUESTIONS

*By* SUSHIL KUMAR BOSE

## (1) VÂKÂṬAKA KING PRAVARASÊNA I

Besides the two plates of Prabhâvatî-Guptâ, Chief Queen of the Vâkâṭaka *mahârâja* Rudrasêna II there are four copper-plates mentioning the Vâkâṭakas. These are (1) the Chammak, (2) Siwani, (3) Dudia Plates of Pravarasêna II, and (4) the Balaghaṭ Plates of Pṛithivīsêna II. All these plates present one common draft setting forth the genealogical table.[1] We shall consider one of these plates, the Chammak Plate, here, which has the following[2] :—

*samrâḍ Vâkâṭakânâṁ mahârâja-śrî-(śrî)-Pravarasênasya sûnôḥ sûnôḥ. . . . . Gautamiputrasya Vâkâṭakânâṁ mahârâja-śrî-Rudrasênasya sûnôr . . . Vâkâṭakânâṁ mahârâja-śrî-Prithivîsênasya sûnôr . . . . . Vâkâṭakânâṁ mahârâja-śrî-Rudrasênasya sûnôr . . . . Vâkâṭakânâṁ mahârâja-śrî-Pravarasênasya . . . . .*

This preamble is a stereotyped feature of the other plates also. From all these records, we shall try and find out whether and when the Vâkâṭakas were really paramount monarchs. Mr. Sur,[3] after questioning the status of the Bhâraśivas, asks : 'Similarly is the Vâkâṭaka king Pravarasêna I to be considered paramount sovereign because he celebrated four Asvamêdhas ? If so, why is he . . . . . designated simply *mahârâja*, whereas Dêvagupta (=Chandragupta II) is styled as *mahârâjâdhirâja* . . . . ?'. As I have noted above, in the dynastic list of all these copper-plates, Pravarasêna I is called *samrâḍ-Vâkâṭakânâṁ mahârâja*. The *sashrâṭ* of the Siwani plate has been corrected by Fleet into *samrâḍ*.[4] The words *samrâṭaḥ* and *samrâḍ* occur respectively in Dudia and Balaghaṭ plates.[5] But with Kielhorn[6] we may quite reasonably take the words to stand for *samrâjaḥ*. Now Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar[7] holds that Pravarasêna I has been called *samrâṭ* which never signifies a subordinate chief and refers us to the Balaghaṭ plate.

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1 Bhandarkar's List—Nos. 1703–1705, 1707, 1708.
2 I.A., Vol. XII, pp. 239 ff.
3 Ind. Cult., Vol. I, p. 114.
4 C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 245 f.n. 5.
5 E.I., Vol. III, p. 260, *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 270.
6 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 260, f.n. 7.
7 Ind. Cult., Vol. I, p. 312.

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A little grammatical manipulation will, however, make the situation clear. The inscription to which he has invited our attention, goes on like this[1]: *samrâṭ(jô) Vâkâtakânâṁ mahārāja-śrî-Pravarasênasya* . . . . . Mr. Sur takes it to mean that Pravarasêna was the sovereign of the Vâkâṭakas. But what of that? The Roman Pater familius was also the absolute sovereign in his own family. A very close examination of the language of the inscription will, however, show that this sort of interpretation can scarcely be maintained. The name Pravarasêna occurs in the sixth case-ending, and as such is to be taken in the genetive sense. *Samrâṭ* and *Vâkâṭakânâṁ* are not two different words as apparently taken by Mr. Sircar, but rather one word in composition. Fleet himself has taken this sense of the word and has said that the final *ḍ* of *samrâḍ* (or possibly *ṭ* of *samrâṭ*), rather small and faint, stands below the line, just above the *mi* of *svami* in the next line.[2] Mr. Sur has put a wrong meaning into the word *Vâkâṭakânâṁ*. It never means as has been shown by him, that the king is the king of a people called the *Vâkâṭakas*. The proper idea is that the king belonged to the dynasty of the *Vâkâṭakas*[3]; as in the case of the *Kadambânâṁ* and the *Pallavâṇa* the meaning is 'of the Kadambas and of the Pallavas.'[4] I cannot do better than reproduce here the very pertinant observation of the late Dr. Kielhorn.[5] 'Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genetive *Vâkâṭakânâṁ* were governed by the title *mahârâja* . . . . ; but it may be as well to state that from a grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable.' The form as required by Mr. Sur, ought to have been something like '. . . . *mahârâjasya Pravarasênasya* . . . '. Since this is not the case, we have no other way than to say that it means 'Of Pravarasêna of (i.e. belonging to the dynast of) the Imperial Vâkâṭakas'. The conjunction of the word *smrâḍ* with the word *Vâkâṭakânâṁ* is a deliberate feature and is quite significant. Gautamiputra does not receive any appellation whatsoever. In the case of Rudrasêna, Prithivîsêna I, Rudrasêna II and Pravarasêna II, we have simply *Vâkâṭakânâṁ* and not *samrâḍ-Vâkâṭakânâṁ*. If Mr. Sur's argument is to hold water at all, he should explain why there is this absence of the word *samrāḍ* in all these cases. The above named kings were surely supreme among

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[1] E.I., Vol. IX, p. 270, l. 4.
[2] C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 236, f.n. 5.
[3] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX, p. 67.
[4] E.I., Vol. I, p. 5, e.g. *Pallavâ ṇa Sivakhaṁdavamo* . . . . . *Kadambânâṁ Kâkusthavarmâ* (I.A., Vol. VI, p. 26). We have similar instance of *Viṣṇukuṇḍinâṁ* in Chikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman II. (E.I., Vol. IV, p. 195.)
[5] E.I., Vol. IX, p. 269.

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their own clan or tribe. Apparently then, the significance is otherwise. We are to understand that at least in the time of king Pravarasêna I the Vâkâṭakas had become overlords of the realm. The absence of the word *samrāḍ* in the case of subsequent kings clearly indicates that during their reigns the Vâkâṭakas were no longer the dominant clan of the land and hence there was a consequent dimunition in the prestige of the kings as well as of the tribe which did not any longer claim to be *samrâṭ* of the realm. How this supremacy suddenly disappeared after Pravarasêna I., we do not know. We have no information as to who was Pravarasêna's son and why his name has not been mentioned in the dynastic lists. We can at best conjecture that he did not become a king. Not a single word is written about him in the inscriptions. Gautamiputra comes in next as the grandson of Pravarasêna I.[1] This grandson also does not receive any royal title in the inscriptions. Probably he also never became a king; otherwise the titles appended to the names of other kings could not have been omitted in his case. Rudrasêna I, son of Gautamiputra, is the next real king after Pravarasêna I. We can reasonably ascribe a period of fifty years for two generations of which we have no account. During this gap of fifty years the Vâkâṭakas must have fallen on evil days. Very likely they were deprived of all their political powers. Mr. Jayswal is inclined to think that the Imperial period of the Vâkâṭakas continued right up to the end of the reign of Rudrasêna I, and he observes that it was 'the position of . . . . . Pravarasêna the Vâkâṭaka, which Samudragupta took over from . . . Rudrasêna described as Rudradêva . . .'.[2] The learned author goes on to say that Rudrasêna inherited the Bhâraśiva empire as he is expressly called *Bhâraśivânâṁ mahârâja*. But these views are absolutely without any foundation. Because he forgets that in the Balaghaṭ plate the expression *mahârâja-śrî-Bhavanâga dauhitrasya Gautamiputrasya putrasya Vâkâṭakânâṁ*, which ought to have occurred between *Bhâraśivânâṁ* and *mahârâja* is erroneously omitted. Kielhorn himself has observed this.[3] Rudrasêna I must have ruled over a people shorn of their imperial power. It may be noted that kings after Pravarasêna I drop out the epithet *samrâṭ-Vâkâṭakânâṁ*. There must have been some sort of break in the line after him and very probably for this reason we do not hear anything about the son and grandson of Pravarasêna I.

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[1] Gautamiputra has been taken to be the son of Pravarasêna I by almost all the scholars. I have taken the natural sense of the inscriptions and think that *Súnôḥ súnôḥ* of Pravarasêna I refers to Gautamiputra.

[2] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX, p. 5 ff.

[3] E.I., Vol. IX, p. 270 f.n. 13.

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The one serious objection against the imperial rank of the Vâkâṭakas after Pravarasêna I is that in the same plates in which they are designated as *mahârâjas*, Dêvagupta (=Chandragupta) is styled *mahârâjâdhirâja*. It is true that Pravarasêna I is also mentioned as *mahârâja*. But we shall see that *mahârâja* did not signify 'feudatory chief' in his time. Pravarasêna II was the *dauhitra* of Chandragupta II. The grandfathers, on the mother's as well on the father's side, ought to be contemporaries. Prithivîsêna of the Vâkâṭakas and Chandragupta II of the Gupta lineage were thus apparently contemporaries. Their fathers, Rudrasêna I and Samudragupta respectively, were similarly contemporaries. Between Rudrasêna I and Pravarasêna I there is an interregnum of about fifty years, as already shown above. Pravarasêna must, thus, have flourished at a time when the Gupta power was not in existence. We cannot definitely say what was the proper significance of *mahârâja* at this period. *Mahârâjâdhirâja* as an imperial title had probably not yet settled down. As a matter of fact, we have actual records to show that sovereign kings also used the title of *mahârâja*, at this period, to denote their independence. In the Mathura inscription, the names of Chandragupta and Samudragupta are not coupled with the gorgeous epithet of *mahârâjâdhirâja*, which they invariably assumed later on, but with *mahârâja râjâdhirâja*, which, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, is an exact replica of *mahârâja râjatirâja* borne by the Kushans.[1] The import of the title *mahârâja* found associated with the name Pravarasêna I is different from that borne by the subsequent kings of his dynasty. It will be thus seen that at that period paramount sovereigns generally designated themselves *rājādhirāja* to denote their suzerain rank and also used *mahârâja* in conjunction therewith to denote their independent position. Hence *mahârâja* about the beginning of the Gupta period and earlier did not signify 'a feudatory chief'.

## (2) Pâṭaliputra in the time of Patañjali

Prof. Bhandarkar, in a recent issue of the *Indian Culture*, laments that the Mahâbhâṣya of Patañjali has been neglected by scholars though it is a mine full of historical information for the contemporary period. He also nourishes a hope that younger scholars would turn their attention to this close preserve. In the following lines an attempt has been made to collate together whatever the grammarian knew about the Imperial city of Pâṭaliputra.

In the entire book of the Mahâbhâṣya, Pâṭaliputra is referred to as many as thirty times. Most of these references are by way of

[1] E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 3.

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illustrating simply grammatical rules. These do not, therefore, help us much in squeezing out historical information. But there are some passages which, when properly understood, will yield some valuable information regarding contemporary things. Firstly I shall consider the situation of the imperial city. Megasthenes says that 'the largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land ..... where is the confluence of the river Erannobâos and the Ganges, .....' The Greek ambassador also tells us that the longest extension of the city was 80 stades (9½ miles). Situated as the city was on the confluence of the Śon and the Ganges, one wonders on which of the river banks it stood lengthwise. Scholars have already drawn our attention to Patañjali's illustration *Anûśonaṁ Pâṭaliputraṁ*. On a more critical examination, this illustration throws new light on the subject. The passage under consideration is a gloss on *Pâṇini*. The sutra is *Yasya ch-âyâmaḥ*. The lexicon meaning of *âyâma* is 'length'. The illustration of this length is given by Patañjali as *Anu-Śoṇaṁ Pāṭaliputraṁ*. We are then to understand that the imperial city had spread lengthwise on the Śon bank and not on the Ganges, as one might think from the present situation of Patna. So that according to Megasthenes the city extended about nine and half miles along the Śon and about one mile along the Ganges.

The Greek ambassador after seeing things for himself has left us the impression that the city was almost a modern one. An advanced municipal administration, which even maintained vital statistics, was in existence. Few of us are probably aware that at least during the time when Patañjali flourished there was, among the many other achievements of the city fathers, a very valuable guide-book for the capital. It is now a well-known fact that foreigners frequently used to visit the city. The maintenance of a city directory for the use of the state and also of visitors would be just the thing required for such an advanced city as Pâṭaliputra. While commenting on Pâṇini, IV. 3. 66. Patañjali says that the guide-book of Pâṭaliputra was called Sukosalâ—*Pâṭaliputrasya vyâkhyâni Sukosalêti*. To come to the exact nature of this guide (*Vyâkhyâni*), the following statement of Patañjali in that connection may be considered: *Pâṭaliputrakâḥ prâsâdâḥ Pâṭaliputrakâḥ prâkârâ iti*. We thus see that the book contained minutest details of the *prâsâdâs* and *prâkârâs* of the capital. What would *prâsâdâḥ* mean here? Of course, it certainly denotes the palaces of previous as well as contemporary kings. It may be noted, however, that *prâsâda* does not exclusively mean palaces only. It also means 'temples and shrines'. Patañjali himself is aware of this meaning as will be clear from his comment on Pâṇini, II. 2. 34. where he quotes: *prâsâdê*

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*Dhanapati-Râma-Kêśavânâṁ*. The meaning is quite clear. The temples of Dhanapati, Râma (=Balarâma) and Kêśava are evidently referred to here. Regarding the *prâkârâ* of the city, it may be said that Megasthenes himself realized the importance of the ramparts of which he gives a graphic account : ' . . . . that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 plethra (606 feet), and in depth 30 cubits ; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates '. For a long time we had to remain in dark regarding the actual nature of this complicated structure. It was not till 1926-27 when systematic excavations were undertaken by Mr. J. A. Page at Bulandi Bagh,[1] some four miles east of Patna, that the remains of the original palisade of Pâṭaliputra were discovered. It is now definitely known that this palisade was a wide wooden wall, consisting of two rows of upright timbers running west to east and each ten feet above the floor level. It was 14′ 6″ wide across the wooden uprights, which were spanned originally at the top by beams. It will be seen that the palisade was hollow inside to serve possibly as a passage. At places the palisade was decorated with toraṇas or gateways and also provided across it with large wooden drains. At places, again, openings were left into this wall which were filled up with earthen ramps affording access to the top of the palisade. It is no wonder that such a complicated structure as the palisade of this city was described in details in Sukosalā the guide-book of Pâṭaliputra. By the by, it may be asked why the guide-book of Pâṭaliputra is called Sukosalâ ? Are we to assume that the kingdom of Kosala at any time was so extended as to include Pâṭaliputra ? We would very much appreciate scholars enlightening us on this point.

Many scholars are doubtful as to where the Śuṅgas had their seat of government. The Divyâvadâna speaks of Pâṭaliputra as the capital of the Śuṅgas. But since it is a later work its evidence is often questioned. From Patañjali, however, we learn that Pâṭaliputra had a king, as when he says *râjna Pâṭaliputrakasya*. The contemporaneity of Patañjali with the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra is established beyond all doubts. From that familiar passage—*iha Pushyamitraṁ yâjayâmaḥ*—it can be concluded that Patañjali was himself a priest when the sacrifice of Pushyamitra was being conducted at Pâṭaliputra, the capital of the Śuṅga king. Better evidence can be adduced if the proper connotation of '*rājan*', as it was known at this period, be critically examined. We have reasons to believe that at this period '*râjan*' was scarcely applied to a mere feudatory chief. It is well-known that the Mauryas at the apogee

[1] A.S.I. An. Rep., 1912-13, p. 80.

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of their power assumed simply the epithet of '*râjan*'. The mighty Aśoka had no charm for long and high sounding titles. The Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas and we can affirm that they also kept up the old traditional custom of signyfying overlordship by the simple epithet of '*râjan*'. Most of the contemporary kings used the title of '*râjan*'. Bhâgabhadra is mentioned as a '*râjan*' in the Besnagar pillar inscription.[1] The Greek king Antialkides, from whose court Heliodorus came, is designated as *mahârâja*, apparently an Indian equivalent of the Greek Baselues. Bhâgabhadra, though spoken of as the saviour, still receives the epithet of '*râjan*'. It was probably this intercourse with the Greeks and its consequent effect that later on Indian princes of power coupled with their names the title of *mahârâja*. In the Besnagar inscription[2] Bhâgavata is mentioned as *mahârâja*. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that this *mahârâja* Bhâgavata of the inscriptions is the actual name of a king and identifies him with the ninth Śuṅga ruler Bhâgavata whose reign extended over 32 years. It is permissible to conjecture that before this monarch (surely at least up to the time of Bhâgabhadra) the Śuṅga rulers were spoken of as '*râjans*'. In the Bārhut railings the Śuṅgas are depicted as '*râjans*'. From all these considerations we arrive at the fact that Patañjali's *râjan* was not a feudatory chief but an independent king residing at Pâṭaliputra. Any such potentate other than the Śuṅga Pushyamitra is unknown to us. In all probability then the reference here is to the Śuṅgas and surely to Pushyamitra so that when the Divyâvadâna speaks of Pâṭaliputra as the capital of the Śuṅgas it only records the actual fact.

We generally know that the Śuṅga period was marked by an outburst of activity in the domains of art, literature and learning. The names of Vidiśa, Gonarda and Bârhut stand out prominent in this respect. Patañjali throws new light on this point. In the course of commenting on many sūtras of Pâṇini such as V. 3. 57. the grammarian says—*Sâṅkâsyakêbhyaḥ=ch Pâṭaliputrakêbhyaḥ=ch Mathura abhirûptarâ iti*. We cannot be definite as to what *abhirupa* meant. In any case, whatever the meaning be, we see that a comparison has been instituted by Patañjali between the three cities and Mathura comes first from the point of view of *abhirûpatva*. Let the scholars decide whether the quality of learning or beauty was implied by *abhirûpa* in this case. Common sense tells us, however, that more learned men should pour in the capital than in Mathura.

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[1] A.S.I. An. Rep., 1908-9, pp. 127-9.
[2] A.S.I. An. Rep., 1913-14, p. 190.

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# MR. K. P. JAYASWAL ON THE GUPTAS AND THE VĀKĀṬAKAS[1] (II)

*By* (Miss) Karuna Kana Gupta, M.A.

In my former paper, I had made a summary review of Mr. Jayaswal's theories about the Bhāraśivas contained in his 'History of India, 150 A.D.–350 A.D.'. In this paper I propose to take up for discussion some of his remaining views, that is, his main theories about the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas.

His main theses about these two dynasties, by which he proposes to throw new light on their history, may be summarized as follows :—

(1) Rudrasêna I the Vākāṭaka and Rudradêva mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta are one and the same person (pp. 77, 141).

(2) The era of 248-249 A.D., known generally as the Chêdîor Kalachuri era, was in reality founded by the Vākāṭakas and most probably by Pravarasêna (pp. 110ff.).

(3) The passages in the Purāṇas, beginning with (1) *Vindhyakānāṃ Kulê'-tītê*, etc. (Pargiter, *Dy. Kali Age*, p. 50) and (2) *Anu-Gaṅgāṁ Prayāgañ-cha* (*ibid.*, p. 53), etc. describe successively the extent of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta empires. The different kings and dynasties mentioned in these passages are to be taken not as contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas respectively, as has hitherto been done (*ibid.*, pp. 73-74), but as the feudatories of these two imperial lines (pp. 83–90, 122–130).

(4) Samudragupta had to face several great confederacies during his career of conquest, of which he has left a record in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Three great battles, in which the fate of India was decided, were fought by him, at Eran, Kausambi and Kolair Lake. At Eran, Rudrasêna the Vākāṭaka was defeated, and thus this was the most important of all the three. After it the Vākāṭaka empire of India passed to Samudragupta (pp. 132–141).

(5) The Allahabad Pillar Inscription also proves that Further India at that time, acknowledged his sovereignty (pp. 156-157).

(6) The early Gupta King Chandragupta I was a great tyrant and usurper. His misbehaviour led to his expulsion by the citizens of Pāṭaliputra, who rose in revolt against him in the cause of their

[1] The pages referred to in this paper indicate, unless otherwise stated, the pages of Mr. Jayaswal's Article published in the J.B.O.R.S., XIX.

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former rulers. Chandragupta I had to die in exile in misery and despair. Samudragupta reconquered the city and won more favour by his reformed behaviour. But that the Guptas were never really liked by the people, is evident from Alberuni's statement about the Gupta era and also from several passages in the Purānas, i.e. Vāyū Purāṇa—verses 61–63, 64–68, 72–75, etc. (pp. 113-114, 117-118, 209).

Now let us take up his points one by one.

(1) The identity of Rudrasêna I, and Rudradêva was first suggested by Mr. Dikshit, and, even if not definitely established as yet, has certainly much to say in its favour. But Mr. Jayaswal's argument that since Rudradêva's name tops the list of the Āryāvarta Kings conquered by Samudragupta, he must have been Rudrasêna, the most important among the contemporary rulers, adds little strength to this theory. We have no ground to suppose that Hariṣêṇa adopted any definite principle in naming the conquered kings, instead of putting down their names at random. Mr. Jayaswal would also read a sense of break in the rule between the lines of Vākāṭaka inscriptions after Rudrasêna I (p. 17). But unfortunately this does not appear to us as self-evident.

(2) Mr. Jayaswal attributes the so-called Chedi era of 249 A.D. to the Vākāṭakas on the ground, that since all the great imperial dynasties immediately before and after the Vākāṭakas established an era, the Vākāṭakas too must have had an era of their own (p. 111). And since they rose to power towards the latter part of the 3rd century A.D., and most probably about 240–48 A.D., the era of 249 A.D. must have been founded by them (p. 111). But it is impossible to accept this view merely on the above grounds, when the era in question has never been associated with the Vākāṭakas, and the more so, when all the known Vākāṭaka records are found to be dated in regnal years. Mr. Jayaswal reads 'Yr. 100' on a coin attributed by him to Rudrasêna I (p. 73). But the decipherment is by no means definite, and according to our judgment his Vākāṭaka coins bear the same value as his so-called Bhāraśiva coins. Thus there is no indication of any era ever being used by the Vākāṭakas, much less of the era of 249 A.D. being started by them. And yet Mr. Jayaswal makes the Traikuṭakas Vākāṭaka feudatories, only because they use the era of 249 A.D. (p. 110)!

(3) The Purāṇic passages referred to by Mr. Jayaswal run as follows :—

(*a*) Vindhyakānāṁ Kulê'tīte nṛpā vai Bāhlikās trayaḥ,
Supratīko Nabhīraś ca samā bhokṣyanti triṃsatim
Śākyamān ābhavad rājā Mahiṣīnām-Mahīpatiḥ
Puṣyamitra bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās trayodaśa

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Mêkalāyāṁ nṛpāḥ sapta bhaviṣyant-iha saptatim
Kośalāyāṁ tu rājano bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ
Mêghā iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaivatu
Naiṣadhāḥ pārthivāḥ sarve bhaviṣyantyā Manukṣayāt
Nala vaṁśa-prasūtās te Viryavanto Mahābalāḥ, etc. etc.
(Pargiter—Dy. K. Age, p. 51.)

(*b*) anu Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁ ca Sākētam
Magadhaṁstathā
etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante
Gupta vaṁśajāḥ
Naiṣadhān yadukāmś caiva Śaiśītān
Kālatoyakān
etan janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante
Maṇidhānyajāḥ, etc.
(Pargiter, *ibid.*, p. 54.)

Now in both the cases, Mr. Jayaswal has made the respective contemporaneous dynasties feudatories of the two empires, by interpreting anew the construction of the Purāṇic statements. This becomes clear when a comparison is made between his and Mr. Pargiter's translations. Mr. Pargiter's translation of (*b*) runs thus :—

'Kings born of the Gupta race will enjoy all these territories, namely, along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and the Magadhas. Kings born from Maṇidhānya will enjoy all these territories, namely, the Naiṣādhas, Yodukas Śaisitas and Kālatoyakas . . .' etc. (Pargiter, p. 73).

But Mr. Jayaswal translates it in the following manner : —

'the Guptas will rule,
(*a*) the provinces of Anu-Gaṅgā, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadhas ;
(*b*) [will rule, *bhoksyante*, or will rule over *bhoksyanti*] the Maṇidhānya provinces of the Naisādhas, Yodukas and Kālātoyakas . . . . .' etc. (p. 124).

Thus he takes the several kingdoms as three Imperial Provinces, governed in the name of the Guptas by the Maṇidhānyas, Dêvas (or as he suggests Prince Dêva, i.e. Chandragupta II—p. 127), and the Guhas. Similarly in passage (*a*) he takes Mêkalā, Kosalā, etc. as Vākāṭaka feudatory States, instead of independent kingdoms. But such a reading appears to be wholly forced and most unlikely. Even leaving aside the author's suggested identification of these States and rulers, of which he does not appear to give any reasonable ground, it is impossible to agree with his main theory, i.e. that

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the Purānas contain full accounts of the Gupta and Vākāṭaka empires at their climax.

(4) As regards his suggested confederacies, his explanation is, that since Harisêna was a royal official recording his imperial master's conquests, his order of naming the conquered kings could not have been haphazard (p. 135). So far as present identifications allow, it is apparent that the principle followed was not one of geographical order. The kings must have therefore, formed confederacies and together met Samudragupta at particular places. To quote Mr. Jayaswal's own statement, 'From Erandapalli to Kānchī is a big jump. This (i.e. the fact that the kings of these states are mentioned in immediate succession) can be consistent only on the hypotheses that they were together at one and the same spot' (p. 138). So far we can only say, that the explanation may be held as probable IF Harisêna be credited to have possessed the same amount of historical sense which Mr. Jayaswal attributes to him. But we know what careless recorders the ancient Indian officials often were. They might not have inserted conquests not really undertaken by their kings. But it is too much to expect them to remember that they were 'composing history for all ages to come' (p. 135), when they were composing such praśastis, and consequently to adopt definite principles of treatment.

But Mr. Jayaswal does not stop even here. He gives us exactly the three confederacies with whom Samudragupta had had to fight, with their leaders and other details all complete. Next he proceeds to give us detailed accounts of the Battles of Eran, Kośambi and Kolair Lake, which according to him, must have taken place, only because they are natural battlefields! Then again he declares Eran to have been the scene of Samudragupta's victory over Rudrasêna, who fell there in battle, only because one panel discovered at Eran bears in relief a cremation-scene. It is absolutely certain, that there is not a single thing in the relief to indicate the identity of the body in question. It is impossible to accept such theories when they are not supported by one single fact.

As for the author's grouping of kings, we have only one question to ask. Even if we admit that Harisêna was recording kings as they were grouped under different confederacies, what led Mr. Jayaswal to declare that there were THREE alliances, instead of two? The division into Northern and Southern powers might seem natural enough. The Pallavas too, might have been the southern leaders, if the Vākāṭakas did head the northern confederacy. But why does Mr. Jayaswal make Mantarāja of Kurala form a separate group with Svāmidatta and Damana instead of taking him under the Pallava camp? And where does Mahêndragiri

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of Pishṭapura go? He does not come under any of these three groups. Did he fight alone, and thus form a sort of exception to the rule?

(5) Ll. 23-24 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription run :—*Saiṁhalakādibhiś=ca sarvva-dvīpa-vāsibhir=âtmanivêdana=Kanyôpayanadāna . . . . . ādi-upāya-sêvâ-kṛta . . . . .* Mr. Jayaswal takes this to mean that 'the King of Siṁhala and all the other islanders (or Oceanic rulers) . . . made their submission and acknowledged Samudragupta as their Emperor . . . His India therefore embraced within its bounds Further India' (p. 156). Here too, the question is whether we are to take Hariṣêṇa as 'seriously' as Mr. Jayaswal has done. It would have been easiér to accept Hariṣêṇa's statements if the islands were mentioned separately by name, as Siṁhala has been done. We cannot doubt that Siṁhala *had* come into some sort of relation with Samudragupta, because it is thus mentioned by Hariṣêṇa although we are still left in the dark as to the nature of the relation. But such sweeping statements as the submission of *all* islanders, we must continue to regard with much suspicion and place little or no value on them.

(6) Mr. Jayaswal's theory about the tyranny of the early Guptas and their expulsion, etc. etc. is based primarily on a drama called *Kaumudī-mahotsava*. This drama, of which neither the author nor the age is known, informs us, that a certain Caṇḍasêna, who had usurped the throne of Pāṭaliputra from the Varman Kings with the help of the Licchavis, lost his kingdom through his tyranny and died in exile. Mr. Jayaswal's present theory hangs entirely on the reference to the Licchavis and to the faint similarity of the name Caṇḍasêna to Candragupta. The method in which he shows how Caṇḍasêna could easily have been a corruption of Candragupta, is ingenious. But it would have been difficult to rely on the evidence of a mere drama even if the hero had been called Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Even then it would have been at best a mere probability. As it is, we can hardly accept his theory when the very identity of the hero is questionable.

Mr. Jayaswal seeks to support his theory by reading in ll. 7-8 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, a tragic tone of despair and last entreaty to Samudragupta on the part of his father, to revive the paternal kingdom. Combining these two evidences with Alberuni's statement, Mr. Jayaswal considers it sufficiently established, that the Guptas were tyrannical rulers. But the passage in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, referred to above, is full of gladness and joy. There is no despair in it save that of the rejected rival princes. As for Alberuni's statement, there must have been some basis behind it. But the tyranny that tradition attributed to the

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imperial Guptas in Alberuni's time, might have referred in reality to other kings of the same dynasty, for all we know. As for the Purāṇic passages, referred to by Mr. Jayaswal, it will be clear to any one who cares to read them, that there the author is seeking to bring out the futility of *all* empires, ancient and modern, rather than express his disapproval of the rule of a particular dynasty. 'Vanity of vanities! All is vanity'!—this is the dominant cry of the Purāṇas—which neither excludes the Guptas nor lays any special emphasis on them.

In these articles, I have criticized Mr. Jayaswal's views only so far as they refer to the Bhāraśivas, the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas. Many other views, expressed by him in the course of his dissertation are also liable to similar objections. One of them—his theory about the Śālankāyanas—has already been ably refuted by Mr. M. Rama Rao in I.H.Q., March, 1934, pp. 158ff. I shall conclude this paper by referring to another. Mr. Jayaswal would identify the Kushān general Vaṇasphara with the Purāṇic Visasphāṇi (pp. 41–43). But Vanasphara's date is generally accepted as 1st century A.D., while Visasphāṇi, since he comes after Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra, is likely to have ruled in the 3rd century A.D.

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# FURNITURE

## [MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

*By* GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

The common Indian term to denote furniture is Pāli *Senāsana* and Sanskrit *Śayanāsana*. The *Śayanāsana* or *Senāsana* is a compound consisting of two words,—*śayana* and *āsana*. When furniture is meant to be denoted in a collective sense we have the use of the form *Senāsanaṃ* or *Sayanāsanaṃ*; and where it is meant to be denoted in detail, we have the use of the plural form, *Śayanāsanyāsanāni*.[1] In the Suśruta, the Rajavallabha and the Bhāvaprakāśa we come across the use of *Śayyāsana* instead of *Śayanāsana*.[2]

In dealing with *Senāsanaṃ* Buddhaghosa says: the *Senāsana* is that which provides accommodation for sleep and rest. This stands as a general term for bedstead, seat and the rest (which go to constitute furniture, and structural or natural places for sleep, rest and comfort). It is, therefore, suggested in the Vinaya-Suttavibhaṅga that the term *Senāsana* signifies such things as—

Mañca—a couch or bed. Cf. Vin. IV, 39, 40, where 4 kinds are mentioned: *masāraka, bundikābaddha, kuḷīrapādaka, āhaccapādaka. Masāraka* is a kind of couch or long chair. Its construction is described in Vin. II, 149; IV, 357, where it is said that it is made by boring a hole into the feet of the bed and putting through a notched end (*mañca-pāde vijjhitvā tattha aṭṭaniyo pavaseṭvā kato*); cf. also Vimānavatthu Comm. 8, 9; *bundikābaddha*—is a sort of seat or bedstead; see Vin. II, 149; IV, 40, 357; *kuḷīrapādaka*—a sort of bedstead; Buddhaghosa explains it as a bedstead with carved legs, especially when carved to represent animal's feet (Vin. Texts, III, 164); and *āhacca-pādaka* is a collapsible bed or chair, i.e. whose legs or feet can be put on and taken away at pleasure (by drawing out a pin)—Vin. II, 149; IV, 40, 46, 168, 169; see also Vibhaṅga Comm. 365; Suttanipāta 401; Jātaka III, 423; Dhammapada Comm. I, 89, 130; IV, 16; Vibhaṅga Comm. 20 and so on.

Pīṭha—a seat, or chair, stool or bench. As in the case of Mañca four kinds are given at Vin. IV, 40=168; cf. also Vin. I, 47, 180;

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[1] Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarākāṇḍa, VI, 41.

[2] S.S., IV, xxiv, 81; for Rajavalladha and Bhāvaprakaśa, see below.

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II, 114, 149, 225 ; Aṅguttara N. III, 51 ; IV, 133 ; Vimān-Vatthu I, discussed in detail at commentary 8. Mañca-pīṭha—couch and chair—is mentioned at Vin. II, 270 sq. ; Aṅguttara, III, 51 ; and so on.

Bhisí—a bolster, cushion,—Vin. I, 287 sq. ; II, 150, 170 ; III, 90 ; IV, 279. Five kinds are allowed in a Vihāra, viz. uṇṇa-bhisí, cola, vāka, tinu, paṇṇa, i.e. bolsters stuffed with wool, cotton, cloth, bark, grass or talipot leaves—Vin. II, 150=Vibhaṅga Comm. 365.

Bimbohana—pillow ; cf. Vin. I, 47 ; II, 76, 150, 208, 209, 218 ; III, 90, 119 ; IV, 279 ; Saṃyutta II, 268 ; Aṅguttara III, 240 ; Vibhaṅga Comm. 365 ; Visuddhimagga, 70 ; bhisí—bimbohana—bolster and pillow, Vin. I, 47 ; II, 208 ; Dhammapada Comm. I, 416 ; Vibhaṅga Comm. 365.

Vihāra—a place of living, abode, a single room ; cf. Vin. II, 207, sq. ; Dígha N. II, 7 ; a larger building for housing bhikkhus, Vin. I, 58 ; III, 47, etc.

Aḍḍhayoga—a certain kind of house ; cf. Vin. I, 58=96, 107, 139, 239, 284 ; II, 146.

Pāsāda—palace ; a building on high foundations ; cf. Vin. I, 58, 96, 107, 239 ; II, 128, 146, 236 ; Dígha N. II, 21 ; Aṅguttara I, 64, etc.

Hammiya—a long, storied mansion which has an upper chamber placed on the top ; cf. Vin. I, 58, 96, 239 ; II, 146 ; hammiya-gabbha—a chamber on the upper storey. Vin. II, 152.

Guhā—natural cave ; according to Buddhaghosa (Vin. I, 58=*Vin. Text* I, 174) Guhā means 'a hut of bricks, or in a rock, or of wood'. Cf. Vin. I, 58, 96, 107 ; II, 146 ; III, 155 ; IV, 48 (cf. Sattapaṇṇi guhā) ; Jat. II, 418 ; VI, 574 ; Vimānavatthu 50.

Aṭṭa—a watch-tower ; cf. Vin. I, 140 ; Dígha Nikāya Comm. I, 209.

Māla—open shed ; it may mean mālaka which 'is a space marked off and usually terraced'. In the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhāpur there were 32 mālakas : Dīpavaṃsa XIV, 78 ; Mahāvaṃsa 15, 192.

Leṇa—cave dwelling ; cf. Vin. II, 146, where it is used as a collective name for five kinds of hermitage, viz. vihāra aḍḍayoga, pāsāda, hammiya and guhā. Leṇa-guha—mountain cave—J. III, 511 ; cf. also Vin. I, 206=III, 248, etc.

Veḷu-gumbha—bamboo grove ; cf. Suttanipāta Comm. 49, 75.

Rukkha-mūla—foot of a tree (taken as a dwelling). Commentary on Dīgha Nikāya I, 209, specifies this as 'yaṃ kiñci sanda-cchāyaṃ vivittaṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ'. Cf. Aṅguttara II, 38 ; IV, 139, 392 ; etc. Vin. I, 58, mentions 'rukkha-mūla-senāsana' (having

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one's bed and seat at the foot of a tree) as one of the 4 *nissayas*. Cf. also A. IV, 231.

Maṇḍapa—pavilion ; a temporary shed. Cf. Vin. I, 125 ; Visuddhimagga 96, 300, 339 sq. Dhammapada Comm. I, 112 ; II, 45 ; Petavatthu Comm. 74, 171, 194 ; Vimānavatthu Comm. 173.

In short whatsoever the bhikkhus have recourse to as a resort, all that is called *Senāsanaṃ*. The difference, however, is that such structural or natural resorts, as vihāra, aḍḍhyayoga, pāsāda, hammiya, and guhā are regarded as *vihārasenāsanaṃ* (retreats for dwelling) ; such things of use as mañca, piṭha, bhisí and bimbohana go by the name of *mañca-piṭha-senāsanaṃ* (elevated fixtures or furniture used for sleep and rest) ; such things as cilimikā (cimilikā—carpet—cf. Vin. II, 150, IV, 40), cammakhaṇḍa (piece of skin), tiṇa-santhāra (grass mat) ; paṇṇa-santhāro (leaf mat) are distinguished as *santhata-senāsanaṃ* (furniture that can be spread and folded), and whatsoever resort (bamboo-grove, tree shade and the like) is used as occasional retreat, is called *okāsa-senāsanaṃ*. These *four* kinds of *senāsana* (dwellings, retreats, fixture or furniture), are all comprehended by one and the same term—*senāsana*.[1] Here we are just concerned with that kind of senāsana which corresponds with household furniture. The necessity or the utility of such senāsana is clearly set forth thus in the Suśruta, the Rajavallabha and the Bhāvaprakāśa[2] :—

The beds and seats (constituting the household furniture) are useful and indispensable as a means of relieving fatigue, inducing sound sleep, maintaining vigour and providing restful ease and comfort. It is definitely suggested that the furniture is no furniture if it fails to serve as a means to these ends.[2]

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[1] Seti c' eva āsati ca etthāti senāsanaṃ, mañca-piṭhādinaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ. Ten' āha : senāsanane ti. Mañco pi senāsanaṃ piṭhaṃ pi bhisí pi bimbohanaṃ pi vihāro pi aḍḍhyayogo pi pāsādo pi hammiyaṃ pi guhā pi aṭṭo pi māḷo pi leṇaṃ pi veḷu-gumbo pi rukkha-mūlaṃ pi maṇḍapo pi senāsanaṃ. Yattha vā pana bhikkhū paṭikkamanti sabbaṃ etaṃ senāsanaṃ' ti. Api ca vihāro aḍḍhayogo pāsādo hammiyaṃ guhā ti, idaṃ vihāra-senāsanaṃ nāma. Mañca piṭhaṃ bhisí bimbohanaṃ ti idaṃ mañca-piṭha senāsanaṃ nāma. Cilimikā camma-khaṇḍa tiṇa-santhāro paṇṇa-santhāro ti idaṃ santhata-senāsanaṃ nāma. Yattha vā pana bhikkhū paṭikkhamantiti, idaṃ okāsa-senāsanaṃ nāmāti evaṃ catubbidhaṃ senāsanaṃ hoti. Taṃ sabbaṃ pi senāsana-gahaṇena gahitaṃ eva.—Sumaṅgala-vilāsiní, Sāmāññaphala-suttavaṇṇanā, D. II, 66; P.T.S., part i, pp. 208-09; Pāli-English Dictionary—Rhys Davids and Stede.

[2] श्रमानिलहरं दृष्यं पुष्टिनिद्राधृतिप्रदम् ।
सुखं शय्यासनं दुःखं विपरीतगुणं मतम् ॥ S.S., IV, xxiv, 81.

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The earliest record of household furniture is to be found in the Vedic texts where we get mentioned such articles as :

Akṣu—wicker-work.[1]
Upa-barhaṇa—cushion or pillow.[2]
Upadhāna—cushion of a seat.[3]
Upastaraṇa—in the description of a couch—a coverlet.[4]
Talpa—a bed or couch[5] ; it sometimes used to be made of udumbara wood.[6]
Paryaṅka—seat.[7]
Pīṭha—stool.[8]
Proṣṭha—a broad bench over which women lay down to sleep.[9]
Bhitti—mat of split reeds.[10]
Vahya—a couch or bed of a comfortable kind used by women.[11]
Śaṅku—wooden peg. [12]
Śayana—couch.[13]
Śūrpa—a wicker-work basket.[14]
Spinning wheels—spindles and looms formed furniture in every house ' as women wove their own clothes '.[15]

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सुखशय्यासनं सेव्यं निद्रापुष्टिधृतिप्रदम् ।

श्रमानिलहरं श्रस्यं विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ॥ राजवल्लभः ।

सुखशय्यासनं हृद्यं पुष्टिनिद्राधृतिप्रदं ।

श्रमानिलहरं दृष्यं विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ॥ भावप्रकाशः ।

Cf. Atthasāliní, p. 80—Mañcapiṭhādisu yaṃ kiñci rajaníyaṃ phoṭṭhabbavatthuṃ (among beds and seats whatsoever is agreeable to sense of touch).

[1] R.V., I, 180, 5 ; A.V., VIII, 8, 18 ; IX, 3, 18.
[2] R.V., X, 85. 7 ; A.V., IX, 5, 8 ; XII, 2, 9, 20 ; etc.
[3] A.V., XIV, 2, 65.
[4] R.V., IX, 69, 5 ; A.V., V, 19, 12 ; Kauś. Up. i, 5.
[5] R.V., VII, 55, 8 ; A.V., V, 17, 12 ; XIV, 2, 31, 41 ; Taitt. Saṃ. VI, 2, 6, 4.
[6] Taitt. Brāh., I, 2, 6, 5.
[7] A.V., XV, 3, 3.
[8] Vāj. Saṃ. XXX, 21 ; Taitt. Brāh. III, 4, 17, 1.
[9] R.V., VII, 55, 8.
[10] Śat. Brāh. III, 5, 3, 9.
[11] R.V., VII, 55, 8 ; A.V., IV, 5, 3 ; 20, 3 ; XIV, 2, 30.
[12] R.V., I, 164, 48.
[13] A.V., III, 25, 1 ; V, 29, 8.
[14] A.V., IX, 6, 16 ; X, 9, 26 ; XI, 3, 4 ; XII, 3, 19 ; etc.
[15] R.V., I, 92, 3. Cf. Aṅguttara-Nikāya III, 37, where the Buddha instructs the newly married daughters of rich householder thus—' Ye te bhattu abbhantarā kammantā uṇṇā ti vā kappāsā ti vā, tattha dakkhā bhavissāma analasā '. See Vedic Index, 2 vols. ; Rig-Veda—Eng. transl. by Wilson, 6 vols. ; Rig-Vedic Culture by A. Das, pp. 193-197.

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In the next stage we have certain definite statements in the Pāli Nikāyas and Vinaya texts enumerating certain typical articles of household furniture and indirectly throwing light on the actual state of things. All that they set forth is but a stock list of articles from the use of which the Buddha himself refrained, and of articles of which a restricted use was allowed in the case of the bhikkhus. Similar light may be obtained also from certain prohibitive rules in the Jaina canons regarding the use of such articles.[1]

First, in connection with the statement in the Dīghanikāya (I, i, 15), we may note that the list supplied contains articles of luxury and comfort which were in use among certain sections of *religieux*, the Śramanas and Brāhmanas,[2] and from the use of which the Buddha himself refrained.[3] The list contains such articles as :—

Āsandī—Moveable settees, high and six feet long. According to the commentary on Pācittiya 87 the height of chairs and beds should be limited to 8 great inches (aṭṭhaṅgulapādakaṃ kāritabbaṃ sugataṅgulena aññatra heṭṭhimāya aṭanīya 'ti ṭhapetvā heṭṭhimaṃ aṭaniyaṃ). Cf. Jātaka I, 208, where a man lies down on an āsandi so as to be able to look up and watch the stars. The smaller āsandiko is allowed in the Buddhist order by the Vinaya II, 149 ; cf. also Vin. I, 192 ; II, 142, 163, 169, 170. The āsandi is selected, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III, 35, 105 (Eggeling), as the right sort of seat for the king in both the Vājapeya and the Inauguration ceremonies because of its height. In later days āsandi came to mean a four-footed bedstead—like bier carrying dead body. According to Ajita Kesa-Kambali's doctrine—*āsandi-pañcama purisā*—

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[1] For such articles of furniture as seat (muktāsana, kāraṇata, pāda-puñchanādigata), stool, bed, pleasant seats, lofty beds, curtains, screens, couches, ceiling cloth, broom, basket, chamber-pot, chair with woven twine seat, etc. etc., see Uttarādhyayana, Lect. I, 22 ; VII, 8, 9 ; XV, 4 ; XVI, 1, 5 ; XVII, 2, 14 ; XXI, 22 ; XXIII, 17 ; XXIX, 31 ; XXX, 28 ; XXXV, 4 ; Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Bk. I, Lect. III, Ch. ii, 17 ; Lect. IV, Ch. ii, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15 ; and Lect. IX, 21.—Jaina Sūtras, part ii, S.B.E. 45, Oxford, 1895.

[2] 'Yathā va pan' eke bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā saddhā-deyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te evarūpam uccāsayana-mahāsayanaṃ anuyuttā viharanti, seyyathīdaṃ āsandiṃ pallaṅkaṃ gonakaṃ cittakaṃ paṭikaṃ paṭalikaṃ tūlikaṃ vikatikaṃ uddalomiṃ ekanta-lomiṃ kaṭṭhissaṃ koseyyaṃ kuttakaṃ hatthattharaṃ assattharaṃ ajina-ppaveṇiṃ kadali-miga-pavara paccattharaṇaṃ sauttara-cchadaṃ ubhato-lohitakūpadhānam-iti vā iti evarūpā uccāsayana-mahāsayanā paṭivirato Samaṇo-Gotamo ti'. Dīghanikāya, i, 1, 15, Majjhima-śila. This list also recurs at Aṅguttara III, 63, 3 (A.I. 181), Mahāvagga V, 10, 4 ; Cullavagga, V, 3, 37 ; VI, 8, 1 ; 13, 14.

[3] Uccāsayana-mahāsayanā paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo-Culla-śila, D. i, 1, 10.

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besides the four men the corpse on the four-footed bier formed the fifth (*āsandi-pañcama purisā matamādaya gacchanti*—D. ii, 23; Majjhima Nikāya I, p. 575, D.N. I, p. 55). Here *āsandipañcama* means *āsandipañcamāti nipanna-mañcena pañcama*; but according to Buddhaghosa the bier itself is the fifth: *mañco-c'eva cattāro mañca-pāde gahetvā ṭṭhitā cattāro purisā cāti attho.*

Pallaṅka—Divans with animal figures carved on the supports. Cf. Vin. II, 163, 170; Saṃutta I, 95; Jāt. I, 268; IV, 396; V, 161; Vimānavatthu 31; Petavatthu II, 12; III, 3; and so on.

Goṇaka—Goat's hair coverlets with very long fleece (of a pallaṅka)—cf. Vimāna Vatthu 81, Petavatthu III, 1; Aṅguttara I, 137=III, 50=IV, 394.

Cittakā—Patch work counterpanes of many colours. Citta-atharaka—a variegated carpet. Dígha N. Comm. I, 256.

Paṭikā—White blankets; cf. Aṅguttara I, 137, 181; III, 50; IV, 94, 231, etc.

Paṭalikā—Woolen coverlets embroidered with flowers, usually combined with paṭikā. Cf. Vin. I, 192; II, 162; Aṅg. I, 137, 181; III, 50, etc.

Tūlikā—Quilts stuffed with cotton wool, or mattress. Cf. Vin. I, 192; II, 150; Aṅg. I, 181.

Vikatikā—Coverlets embroidered with figures of lions, tigers, etc. Cf. Aṅg. I, 181; Vin. I, 192.

Uddalomí—Rugs with fur on both sides; according to Vinaya I, 192=II, 163, 169, it is a kind of couch or bed (or rug on a couch).

Ekantalomí—Rugs with fur on one side. Cf. Vin. I, 192; II, 163; 169; Aṅg. I, 181.

Kaṭṭhissa—A silken coverlets embroidered with gems. Cf. Vin. 192=II, 163; Commentary on Díghanikāya I, 87.

Koseyya—Silk coverlets. Cf. Vin. I, 192, 281; II, 163, 169.

Kuttaka—Carpets large enough for 16 dancers. Cf. Aṅg. I, 181; Vin. I, 192=II, 163.

Hatthatthara assatthara rathatthara—Elephant, horse and chariot rugs; *attharaṇa*—is a covering, carpet, cover or rug. Cf. Vin. II, 291; Aṅg. II, 56; III, 53, etc.

Ajina-ppaveṇi—Rugs of antilope skins sewn together to form a covering of the size of a couch. Cf. Vin. I, 192; it is described as *ajina-cammehi mañcappamāṇena sibbitvā katā paveṇi*—Díghanikāya Comm. I, 87; Aṅg. I, 181.

Kadalí-miga-pavara paccattharaṇa—Rugs of the skins of plantain antelope. Cf. Aṅg. I, 181=Vin. I, 192=II, 163, 169; it is mentioned in connection with *pallaṅka* in Aṅg. I, 137; III, 50; IV, 394.

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Sauttara-cchada—Carpets with awnings above them. Cf. Aṅg. I, 181 ; III, 50.

Ubhato-lohitakūpadhāna—Sofas with red pillows for the head and feet. Cf. Saṃutta II, 267; Milinda. 366; Aṅg. I, 137, 181 ; III, 50 ; Jāt. IV, 201 ; V, 506.[1]

Secondly, the injunction in the Vinaya Piṭaka allowing restricted use of domestic furniture, sets forth the following articles[2]:—

VI, 2, 3—Bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo (p. 164).

VI, 2, 4—A rectangular chair, an armed chair, a sofa, a sofa with arms to it, a state chair, a cushioned chair, a chair raised on a pedestal, a chair with many legs, a board (to recline on), a cane bottomed chair, a straw-bottomed chair,—were allowed to the Bhikkus by the Blessed One (p. 165).

VI, 2, 5—A low couch and a lofty couch.

VI, 2, 6—Carpet, mattress stuffed with cotton, cotton pillows, cotton—if it be of any of these three kinds: cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers, cotton produced on *potāki* grass (p. 167).

VI, 2, 7—Bolsters of five kinds : those stuffed with wool, or cotton cloth, or bark, or grass, or talipot leaves, a bed coverlet, chairs and bedsteads covered (with upholstered cushions to fit them) : coverings were bespattered with dye and coloured in patches (pp. 168, 169).

VI, 3, 3—Curtains (p. 173).

VI, 3, 5—Ceiling cloth to protect against snakes falling. Bamboos to hang your robes on and strings to hang robes on (p. 175).

VI, 3, 6—Moveable screens (p. 176).[3]

Then again in the Pātimokka we find mention of a bedstead, a chair, a mat, a stool apparently of wickerwork, or as the Vibhaṅga says, made of bark, of *muñja* grass, of *uśira* roots, or of bulrushes ; bedsteads or chairs with removable legs (p. 34). In Pā. 53-54 we notice directions as to the constructions of bedsteads and chairs for a Bhikkhu are given. The Mahāvagga (I, 25, 15-16) mentions

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[1] Dighanikāya I, i, 15 ; Dialogues of the Buddha, Rhys Davids, S.B.B. II, pp. 11–13—High and large couches ; Pāli-English Dictionary, Rhys Davids and Stede.

[2] For original texts, see the Vinaya Piṭaka in Pali, Vols. I–IV, Oldenberg.

[3] Cullavagga VI. On Dwellings and Furniture. S.B.E. XX ; Vinaya Texts, Part III, pp. 157–223 ; also Cu. VIII, 1, 3–5 ; and the foot-note 3 to Cu. VIII, 1, 4, pp. 278-279, S.B.E. XX.

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carpets, chair, bedstead with movable supporters, spitton box and a board to recline on—as bed-room furniture. The Cullavagga (V, 19) gives decorated divans as dining hall furniture. The floor of the bed-rooms and other halls used to be matted (Cu. viii, 1, 4-5). But their usual seat was mat and the great personages used variously ornamented mats and the royal seats used to be beautifully painted and enriched.[1]

Thus we have a fairly exhaustive list of articles of household furniture which were in use among the members of the Buddhist Holy Order and among certain classes of Indian *religieux*, in a more or less restricted sense as early as the fifth or sixth century B.C., if not earlier. The Pāli texts and commentaries give us not only names but descriptions, and even details of material and make. The monks or the ascetics did not make them, these were generally made for them and given them as gifts, or procured from the funeral ground where these were left unused (*tena kho pana samayena saṃghassa sosāniko masārako mañco*, etc., *uppanno hoti*—Cu. VI, 2, 3-4). Moreover, when these articles were found in use among the ascetics and recluses, the general people of the time used to complain of a life of luxury and ease befitting the man of the world (*manussā vihāracārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā passitvā ujjhāyanti khíyanti vipācenti: seyyathāpi gihī kāmabhogino 'ti*). The description, therefore, is primarily a description of secular life,—the state of things which characterized the actual social life of ancient India, particularly the life lived by the aristocracy. On this head we have a clear evidence in the Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra giving a vivid description of typical articles of domestic furniture then in use among the fashionable people, the *Nāgarakas*.

'The articles that Vātsyāyana first draws attention to, in the Nagaraka's appartment, are two couches with beds, soft and comfortable and spotlessly white, sinking in the middle, and having rests for the head and feet at the top and the bottom. At the head of his bed is a *kūrca-sthāna*, a stand, or perhaps a niche for placing an image of the deity he worships, besides, at the head there is also an elevated shelf serving the purpose of a table, whereon are placed articles necessary for his toilet in the early dawn. On the floor is a vessel for catching the spittle. On the wall, on *nāgadantakas* (brackets) are ranged his *viṇa*, a casket containing brushes and other requisites for painting, a book, and the garland of the Kuraṇṭaka flower. Not far from the couch, on the floor, is spread a carpet with cushions for the head, and besides, there are boards

[1] Buddhist Records of the Western World, I, ii, 6, p. 75.

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for playing a chess and dice. Outside the room is the Nāgaraka's aviary where are hung cages of birds for game and sport.'[1]

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[1] "वाह्ये च वासगृहे सुश्लक्ष्णसुभगोपाधानं मध्ये विनतं शुक्लोत्तरच्छदं शयनीयं स्यात्। प्रतिशय्यिका च। तस्य शिरोभागे कूर्चस्थानं, वेदिका च। तत्र रात्रिशेषमनुलेपनं माल्यं सिक्थकरण्डकं सौगन्धिक पुटिका मातुलुङ्गत्वचस्ताम्बूलानि च स्युः। भूमौ पतद्ग्रहः। नागदन्तावसक्ता वीणा। चित्रफलकम्। वर्त्तिका समुद्गकः। यः कश्चित् पुस्तकः। कुरण्टकमालास्च। नातिदूरे भूमौ दत्तासरणं समस्तकम्। आकर्षफलकम् द्यूतफलकम्च। तस्य बहिः क्रीड़ाशकुनिपञ्जराणि।" Kāmasūtra, Sādhāraṇamadhikaranam, Ch. iv, 4, pp. 115-116—Mahesh Pal edition; see also Social Life—Chakladar, pp. 154-155.

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# PREHISTORIC TRADE-ROUTES AND COMMERCE

*By* PANCHANAN MITRA

It is very difficult to trace the trade-routes and channels of commerce in times of which we have no written records or literary tradition. We have mainly to rely on distribution of objects not made out of local materials and to trace the source of origin of the material and find out the route of its possible distribution through a survey of all the sites excavated in the intermediate zones. It is also very much possible that trade routes and migration routes would often coincide both being selected by man for his easiest convenience and carried through paths of the least difficulty.

In Palæolithic times we can speak of no trade-routes properly so-called for it is very doubtful if there was any trade as we understand by that term amongst hunting tribes when surplus products would hardly be available. But if any methods of preservation of food were known surely some means would be found to carry food from tribe to tribe and this would break the monotony of the food supply and the available food resources of each tribe. If Australians are taken to be a survival from a hunting mode of existence which was the only possible type of life in Palæolithic times and if Totemic organization has as one of its functions the raising of different types of food by different totem-bearing tribes then it seems that Palæolithic peoples might also have evolved some methods of barter or exchange between contiguous tribes.

Besides exchange of food from tribe to tribe within a limited area there would be also a great trade in rare products which would be prized for beauty as objects of vanity and serve for personal adornment or would be specially prized as being more durable and so highly more efficacious in the use as weapons of offence or implements to shape other objects. The use of sea-shells as necklaces would be very ancient in Palæolithic times and we know in Combe Capelle perforated shells have been found with the skeleton. 'Perforated shells of *Littorina obtusa* were extensively used as ornaments by the Aurignacians of some 30,000 years ago, especially on head dresses and other apparel as well as necklaces'. (MacCurdy, Human Origins, I. 157.)

We also know of the dispersal at least in one case of one type of specially prized flint, the bees-wax flint. 'De Saint-Venant who made a special study of the subject found Pressigny flints far away

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from the centre of dispersal in Indre-at Loire to Brittany, Northern France, Belgium, Italy and Western Switzerland'. (MacCurdy, Human Origins, II. 159.)

In reading the accounts of travels of early explorers in North America such as Mackenzie we find that the Esquimaux in those tracts had regular depredatory raids on Chippewayan territory coming in search of good flint.

We can have some, if not definite, at least vague idea of the regular avenues of human communication from the fact that the migrations of Palæolithic peoples evidently came along well-defined tracts. It is very difficult to map out the routes as we cannot do yet till all the regions are thoroughly explored. But that the Neanderthal had some centre of dispersal and much more so the Cro-Magnons came from some region and spread in a regular fashion over the most of Europe cannot be denied.

The Palæolithic migration-routes in Europe are not very definitely traceable and yet we could see from the distribution of Chellean and Acheullean as contrasted with Mousterian two channels one the Pre-Mousterian spreading through Central Europe gradually to France, the other originating we know not where but apparently connected with the distribution area from Kenya across the Mediterranean in Africa and going further East right through Arabia into India. The distribution of the Neanderthal types in Galilee, Tabun and Skuhl, the Neanderthaloid character of the Rhodesian and Ngandoang skulls, the finding of Mousterian type of implements from Gobi desert not to speak of other parts like Egypt and Arabia and India from which they have been reported shows also the possibility of there having been one or more culture-centres and the spread therefrom along definite routes.

Morgan's map of the Early Palæolithic cultures in relation to the possible glaciated portions of the earth of that epoch shows that geographic factor was very important. The routes of migration then in Palæolithic times would obviously be those that would be availed of in later times with this difference that glaciation would make a great change in Northern latitudes and higher altitudes where the routes would have been much further south.

The origins of the Cro-Magnons have not yet been finally ascertained and yet if we map out the distributions of the different Palæolithic cultures and superpose them on one another certain interesting lines would obviously stand out. It is rather unfortunate that we cannot get the maps of the areas outside Europe so definitely as in the European zone and even in the latter horizon there are immense tracts that still await systematic survey. Taking up Prof. MacCurdy's maps of the distribution of the Chellean and

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Acheullean, Mousterian and Upper Palæolithic cultures we find definite zones where the distribution is thicker and also well-defined area. We would leave aside the heavily dotted areas in France and England and study the distribution areas on the other side of the Mediterranean in N. Africa and Asia Minor. We find the Mediterranean coast of Syria, the North of Africa near Egypt and Gafsa in Tunis and another point near Gibralter occurs in most of the cases. This shows that the centres of culture of the Old Stone Age or rather their channels of movement had fixed definite tracts when a large area is taken into consideration. It is true that in the Chellean and Acheullean distribution we miss the African site opposite Gibraltar but Gafsa, and Adlun or Antelias, Egypt, East Africa and South Africa seem to have been occupied by Early Palæolithic, Mousterian and Aurignacian men-so the route round the Mediterranean lay more likely through the North of Africa for on the European side we miss the Balkans definitely in Chellean and Acheullean times and Central Europe comes in with many sites in Mousterian and Aurignacian cultures. On the other hand if the ethnographic connections with the Bushman paintings and cave-art of Palæolithic France and Spain have any basis we may be permitted in thinking of dispersal of peoples in Southern Europe in connection with the cultures of Kenya and Cape Colony. Similarly if the Esquimaux as Boule thinks are comparable with the Yellow(?) Chancelade races of France the retreat of these races must have followed the same tracts as those of the Reindeer across the North of Europe.

With the advent of Neolithic times and its pottery, agriculture, domestication of plants and animals grew the sense of property and surplus materials were available for exchange. The mining of bees-wax flint has already been referred to.

'The geographic distribution of obsidian is likewise easily traceable because of its color and its association with volcanic regions; it is confined in Europe to limited areas in France (Cantal) Bohemia, Hungary, the Greek Archipelago, and in Italy (vicinity of Naples). Neolithic traffic in obsidian is traceable in Italy and the Greek Archipelago.

The frequency with which one encounters ornaments and implements of jade or nephrite in Neolithic stations of Europe can be explained only on the ground of its being an object of barter. Heinrich Fischer was obviously wrong in supposing all jade and jade ornaments to be of Asiatic origin. Although the occurrence of jade in nature is much more limited geographically than the Neolithic distribution of jade objects, G. F. Kunz in 1899 found at Jordansmuhl (Silesia) a single mass of jade large enough to have met the needs of Neolithic man over the whole of Europe. Jade in Europe can thus

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be accounted for without making a draft on Asia, but commerce is the logical explanation of its Neolithic dissemination.

A very important line of evidence bearing on prehistoric commerce is furnished by amber. During the Neolithic Period amber continued to be rare except in the Baltic region. It has not been reported from the kitchen-middens, but northern sepultures dating from the later epochs of the Neolithic have yielded many amulets and ornaments of amber. Symbolic axes and hammers of amber have been found in various northern stations (Bornholm, Vester-Gottland and Bohuslan). The first Bronze age merchants who carried metal wares into the North brought back amber which thereafter became an important articles of commerce throughout Europe.'[1]

The nature of Neolithic trade is not yet fully understood as is more and more apparent from a study of tribes who have not had any metals. Neolithic man had very much complex life and the need was always present of exchange of one kind of commodities for another. The sphere of exchange might have been usually a very narrow or a restricted one or it might have been widespread. The different strands of Neolithic culture have not yet been clearly differentiated. All the different items of Neolithic culture may have had a long history and separate centres of origin and dispersal. The domestication of plants and animals shows really that the origin lay somewhere very far from the centres of culture in Europe where we find them at times almost side by side as in the early Lake Dwellings. So every item of culture of Neolithic times has a different history and the routes by which they travelled are bound to throw some light on the prehistoric route. Wheat, Barley, rye, linen, the pig, the horse, the cattle had been domesticated and had been some objects of value and importation before they were locally raised from the foreign imported stock. So also would have been different objects of basketry and matting which must have preceded and persisted in times to be used as objects of every day use or clothing even prior to weaving proper. But these perishable objects would leave no vestiges archæologically. That is why our history of prehistoric trade has to begin with the tale of the metal and precious stones. True it is pottery is imperishable and someday the whole question of origin and distribution of handmade and the later wheelmade pottery may be cleared up. The wheel itself made such a difference to transportation in the old world as we know from its contrast with the New world—has its history been clearly traced except leading to the usual wrangle between Egyptologues and Sumerologues as to the priority in one place or another. Elliot

[1] Prof. G. G. MacCurdy—Human Origins, Vol. II, pp. 159-160.

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Smith however much he might be decried against opened some of the studies by a study of prehistoric boat designs—from Scandinavia to the Pacific regions. Sea-borne traffic however slow and primitive it might have been did and could exist among primitive peoples. A Neolithic invention might have upset the economic structure of a tract and led to considerable barter and trade and resulted in one tribe becoming rich with that wealth which would have been considered valuable no matter whether it was cowry shell or some staple food. The complexity of the processes would have led to specialization and careful guarding of the secrets for a good long time when it would be a trade monopoly of a particular primitive guild. Man was a great wandering animal and if here was a common cradle from which he had travelled to the furthest extremities even in Eolithic times with the canoe or sledge and still more the wheeled vehicle he would have not only migrated once in awhile but also moved to and fro and carried on barter and trade in a crude way. The picture drawn by Prof. Cleland of Neolithic life is somewhat different. ' The Neolithic peoples no longer wandered from place to place but had fixed places of abode with crude but not uncomfortable huts and villages. They were nearly or quite self-supporting ; they made their own cloth, manufactured their own pottery, raised crops, and supplied their larders with meat from their own flocks supplemented by what they could get by hunting. Under conditions such as these, there was little incentive for trade. Each village was sufficient for itself. If a village was situated in a region deficient in flint or rocks needed for stone hammers and axes, it might be necessary to go long distances for it, or to secure it by barter. Small quantities of amber in the Lake dwellings of Switzerland must have been secured by trade from neighbouring tribes and there is evidence that tribes in Eastern Galicia gave flint to the people of the Baltic coast for amber. Trade such as this was chiefly confined to the community or the cultural circle, and had little effect on the general culture of the time."[1]

About amber trade in the Neolithic age Navarro writes :—' The evidence is not at present sufficient to warrant the assumption that there was a transcontinental trade in amber prior to the Bronze Age. If Northern amber was finding its way to the Mediterranean before that epoch it must have come by the sea. A maritime route between the British Isles and the Iberian peninsula was it is generally admitted in existence in very early times. The idea of building megalithic tombs was probably brought into these islands from

[1] H. F. Cleland : Commerce and Trade routes in Prehistoric Europe (Economic Geography, Vol. III, p. 233.

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Spain by way of Brittany and the introduction of the flat axe seems to have come from the same direction. In spite of the sporadic occurrence of natural amber on the East coast of England, it is not improbable that in these islands also as Montelius has shown that as far back as the Late Stone Age, a lively commerce existed over the North Sea between England and Scandinavia. The possibility of Northern amber reaching the Iberian peninsula is not therefore as strange as it might seem at first glance. Amber occurs on two chalcolithic sites: twice at Alcala (South Portugal) and once at Los Millares (South Eastern Spain). It has been also found on two early sites in the East Mediterranean region.' [1]

## Chalcolithic trade relations in the East

Long before the copper and Bronze ages set in Europe there was a great ferment and cultural interrelationships and evidently trade in the early chalcolithic centres in Asia. V. Gordon Childe[2] in his several works is trying to trace the connections of the far-spread cultures in times of the early invention of metals and slightly prior to them. From ethnographic considerations it is certain that some sort of primitive navigation sufficient to take men of a very lowly palæolithic culture across the Banda deep into Australia is extremely ancient. The presence of Azilo-Tardenoisian fishers on the island of Oronsay at a time when it was submerged 25 feet more than to-day has the same implications. The Syrian coast and presumably also the shores of Little Africa were all occupied by fishing tribes in Upper Palæolithic times. Such may very well have ventured upon short coastal voyages. The hoe cultivators of the interior in the course of their expansion would impinge upon the maritime communities. Mutual accomodation might result in a new economy based upon cultivation plus fishing. The communities of the coast, their numbers augmented by the improved food-supply thus assured, would then participate in the work of propaganda and colonization, this time by maritime routes.

It is not irrelevant to recall how early voyagers were supplied with foodstuffs. The sailors sent by Necho to round Africa took a stock of grain with them in their ships. During the bad season, they beached their vessels, planted grain and awaited the harvest before proceeding. At least on the Nile by the time of the new Kingdom cattle were transported by boat from Nubia to Lower

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[1] J. M.de Navarro—Prehistoric Routes, etc. (Geographical Journal, Vol. LXVI, 1925), p. 483.

[2] See specially Ch. X, New Light on the Most Ancient East—the oriental prelude to European Prehistory (London, 1934).

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Egypt. On the Aegean the transportation of a horse by water is depicted on a Minoan seal. The propagation of a culture by seaways, including the transportation of cereals and even animals is by no means incompatible with quite early means of navigation.'[1]

In prehistoric Egypt the earliest evidences of trade are to be found in Badarian culture—the oldest agriculturists perhaps. They lived in regular villages and were skilled in polishing hard stone, weaving basketry, potmaking and the carving of wood bone and ivory. In addition they were acquainted with copper. They had some trade being plentifully supplied with marine shells from the Red Sea for necklaces and of malachite probably from Sinai for eye-paint.[2]

Near the Fayum there was almost a cognate culture which also had a plentiful supply of shells from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.[3]

In early predynastic Egypt 'Foreign relations were more extensive and regular than before. Besides copper and malachite from Sinai and gold from Nubia, obsidian and lapis lazuli from Western Asia, coniferous woods from Syria and perhaps emery from Naxos found their way to upper Egypt. Perhaps to facilitate such intercourse the Egyptians had evolved a very serviceable boat made out of bundles of papyrus lashed together. It gave support for two square cabins amidships and was propelled by seven or eight pairs of oars, the steersman standing sheltered by a bow of the stern. Boats of this type are never depicted with sails spread while the later "foreign" barques are thus represented. With the same trade might be connected the elaboration and widespread of those alphabetiform signs that appear scratched on our vases, signs whose original is ultimately to be sought in palæolithic marks.'[4]

In the second predynastic civilization we find some elements struck deep into the Asiatic soil in connection with the Osiris legends and the chief port that lay in the Western delta in the harpoon nome. It is through the medium of the latter that Egypt came into contact with Crete and probably some Syrian influences too were transmitted across the sea across this channel. In any case, in one Predynastic grave was found a miniature celt pierced for suspension as an amulet: a type very common in Crete and Syria.[5]

Coming to a little later time, just in the early beginnings of the Dynastic cultures in Egypt we find the trade relations were becoming

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[1] The Most Ancient East, pp. 231-232.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

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more wide-spread. 'Copper ore must be mined in Sinai, gold in Nubia, and cedar woods for the royal tombs was imported from Paros and from Asia came obsidian, now in quantities sufficient for the manufacture of vases, lapis lazuli, and other stones.

Direct proof of protodynastic intercourse with North Syria is afforded by the French excavations at Byblos where a flint knife, alate theriomorphic palette a vase in the form of a camel and other articles of indubitably Egyptian provenance have been unearthed. Corresponding proof of trade along the Red Sea is afforded by the late Predynastic cemetery at Ras Samudai containing Late Predynastic vases and slate palettes. The multitude of Red Sea shells and protodynastic graves and town sites indicates the regularity of trade in this direction, and the Tridacna shell that begins to appear in Crete about this time must have come by way of Egypt.

Certain or problematic Mesopotamian contacts have been thought to exist on the evidence of devices and artistic motives that constituted permanent elements in Mesopotamian civilization by the Proto Dynastic Egyptians.'[1]

Coming to what Childe calls the first Prediluvian culture or rather the Elamite culture of Susa I and Al Ubaid we find that 'Commercial relations of some sort were sufficiently well established to bring obsidian in abundance from Armenia to the banks of the Kerkha and Southern Babylonia together with bitumen from the wells near Hit. Lapis lazuli from Central Persia or Afghanistan has been found at Susa I, and at Eridu, at Tell Kaudini in Baluchistan.'[2]

Quite an advance is marked in the Second Prediluvian civilization of Mesopotamia and Elam with the invention of writing and the harnessing of animal motive power who extended their trade relations essential to an existence on an alluvial plain till they exchanged goods with Anatolia and Egypt.[3]

'The same pictographic writing as was current at Jemdet Neser was in use in Southern Mesopotamia as tablets from Umma and Urshow though the cities of its cribes have not yet been reached by excavations . . . Writing wheeled vehicles seem all purely Mesopotamian . . . Egyptians and Babylonians were no longer who at best bartered their manufactures for the gleanings of barbarous Beduins or sent out occasional expeditions to win copper in Sinai or the Taurus. The products of the Babylonian industries were being marketed on the Nile; the fabrics of Egypt were in use in Elam. Caravans were travelling up and down the Euphrates across the deserts; ships were sailing between Syria and the delta.'[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

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With the rise of Sumer as a factor in the intercourse in this region we find the coming in of very distant Indus valley regions in the horizon of the trade. 'Egypt and Sumer were civilized countries, whose citizens were not restricted to the external relations of direct or indirect barter or to the planting of mining colonies. In each country there existed specialized craftsmen who whether free or servile, were emancipated from the bonds of the primitive clan and would gravitate in accordance with purely economic laws to the centres where trade and wealth were concentrated. At the time Sumer was the focal point, and thither would come artificers from other lands bringing with them their native crafts and inventions . . . The first prosperity of Sumer was bound up with Indian intercourse . . . The regularity and intimacy of the intercourse with India is proved by the occurrence of Sumerian sites of objects imported from the Indus valley, the oldest indisputable instances in the world of manufactured goods of precisely defined provenance being transported for long distances from the centre of their fabrication. At Umma Lagash, Ur, and Kish, in the last two instances in Pre-Sargonic deposits, have been found rectangular stamp-seals of steatite in some instances glazed, which agree precisely in shape, material, and design with those found in great abundance in the ruins of prehistoric cities in the Indus valley. Then in the archaic tombs Mackay found beads of cornelian etched with patterns by an elaborate process. Such beads, to which Ur has now yielded parallels are in Mesopotamia confined to this one period, but in India they are common and enjoyed a long popularity. Finally from al Ubaid come fragments of vases made from a rock, identified as the "pot-stone" which is still used in India for the manufacture of vessels. The survival of such scraps is some indication of the liveliness of commercial intercourse between the two distant lands.'[1]

Thus the direct intercourse between Sumer and Sindh is attested by the importation into the former region of typical Indian products, particularly seals. A possible reflex of the traffic in India is the bitumen used for the damp-courses at Mohenjo Daro. But it cannot be positively asserted that the material itself came from Babylonia in view of local supplies available in the Suleiman ranges and west in Baluchistan. None the less commercial relations between the two mature civilizations is proved to the hilt . . . The figurines from Mohenjo Daro are certainly identical with the ethnic types from Sumer in features and dressing of the hair. The daggers from Harappa belong to the same tanged family as the Sumerian but to a more primitive stage. The Indus and the Sumerian beakers have

[1] *Ibid.*, pp 198-199.

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the same family likeness. The cylindrical vases of silver from Mohenjo Daro invites comparison with the alabaster vessels of the same shape from Ur and Susa. The Sumerian and Indus toilet sets are in the principle identical, and each show the same peculiar construction of the looped head. Artistic devices like the use of shell inlays connect the two regions strikingly. Motives like the trefoil and the rosette, even religious themes such as monsters are common to both countries. It is fantastic to suggest that the wheel and carts had been independently invented in both lands.'[1]

'Thus perhaps commerce with India explains the rapid concentration of wealth and also of ideas in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The cities of Babylonia throughout history have owed their prosperity to their position at junctions of the great overland trade routes to India and Inner Asia on the one hand and to Syria and the Mediterranean on the other, with the maritime route to India and Abyssinia.'[2]

We find trade of this early period quite extensive. 'The accumulation of wealth and the aggregation of population in great cities obviously intensified the demand for all sorts of raw materials, luxury articles like spices and precious stones, no less than necessities like copper and timber. The same circumstance would stimulate an intellectual ferment and a spirit of adventure to which the histories of Greece or Venice offer parallels. The Egyptians apparently colonized Byblos in early dynastic times. Semitic merchants were established in Cappadocia, working the mines to supply the Babylonian market before the rise of the dynasty of Agade. The first impetus to Minoan civilization in Crete was given by a colony of Egyptianized Libyans, plausibly regarded as refugees from the conquering Menes. Ships flying the standard of a predynastic Delta nome anchored in Cycladic ports. A partial transplantation to Phoenicia of South Arabian maritime culture is a legitimate inference from traditions . . . And so trade goods of Egyptian or Babylonian ancestry are to be found in the islands of the Aegean on the Anatolian coasts and far away in Macedonia. From Egypt were derived amulets in the form of claws, of flies, of the papyrus sceptre, of the dove or falcon and toilet articles such as palettes and tweezers. The jewelry of East Crete and the smaller islands includes articles such as gold rosettes and diadems whose prototypes have recently come to light at Ur. At Troy we find filigree work reminiscent of that of Ur, and using the spiral too, and ear-rings with flattened ends at Kish. The last-named type eventually made its way right up the Danube to the tin-lodes of Bohemia where it is associated with other

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

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Babylonian forms, the raquet pin, a pin with knot head, and later with eyelet pins with shafts engraved in Kish patterns . . . In another direction beyond the Caucasian passes and on the great caravan routes that traverse Central Asia similar trade-goods are found. Gold vessels of archaic Sumerian style were unearthed in a tumulus near Astrabad in Northern Persia. As far away as Turkestan the third settlement at Anau in the Merv oasis yielded figurines model-carts, wheel-made vases, copper daggers and sickles, stamp seals, and fayence and lapis beads all suggestive of western influence. The word trade if invoked is quite significant to explain such phenomena.' [1]

## Bronze Age and Early Iron Age trade in Europe

Montelius the great Swedish prehistorian in his paper on Der Handel in der Vorzeit [2] first accumulated all the elements of cultural similarities to be found between Northern Europe and the South in the Prehistoric ages. 'Um 2000 v.Chr. Geburt und bis ins dritte Jahrtausend hinein-wir viele Zeugnisse dafur finden, dass der Norden bereits damals in Verbindung mit dem Suden stand.' He goes on to describe the 'Becherahnlichen' clay vessel and stone axes of middle European types in Sweden. He similarly shows the Italian type of Bronze dagger from Mecklenburg, a Bronze sword of Austrian type from Denmark and an Italian Bronze axe from Scania.[3] Similarly in the Swedish fibulæ with spirals he traces a southern influence. Similarly in the ornament motives on the pottery 'Ein Beispeil hierfur ist der Mäander der in der ersten Jahrhunderten von Chr.Geburt oft auf nordischen Tongefassen vorkommt, und der sich auch nordischen Bronzegefassen findet, die aus dem Jahrhundert vor der Grundung Roms stammen'.[4] Further the metals are adduced as another example of connection. 'Eine weitere Folge der Verbindung unserer Vorvater mit andern Landern und noch ein Beweis dafur, dass solche Verbindungen bestanden, haben wir in den Metallen, die wahrend der behandelten Zeit hier zu Verwendung kamen. Diese sind namlich nicht von den nordischen Volkern entdeckt worden, sondern diese haben sie erst durch den Verkehr mit andern Volkern kennen gelernt'.[5]

H. F. Cleland has given a very detailed illuminating map of the trade-routes of Europe in Prehistoric times. He gives a list of seven principal routes in his map :

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.
[2] Praehistorische Zeitschrift (II Band 1910).
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 267.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

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1. *Route I.*—' The sea was used as early as the new stone age and it is possible that mariners from the Mediterranean reached Great Britain, Ireland and as far north as Denmark before metals were known probably before 3000 B.C. In the early Bronze Age mariners were attracted to Denmark by the amber to Ireland by the gold, to Cornwall by the rich deposits of tin and copper. When the Irish gold deposits were exhausted trade with Ireland practically ceased and civilization stagnated or decayed. Cornwall was the principal source of tin for 3000 years and the metal was transported, largely as bronze across the English channel to Gaul and thence to the Mediterranean and elsewhere. There was also a trade between Great Britain and Denmark. Marine trade with Denmark became unimportant after the opening of the land-routes, specially the important Elbe route (Route II). When metallic iron came into use, land routes became less important and sea trade increased because of the widespread distribution of iron ore.

*Route II.*—The Elbe route (the Elbe Moldau, Inn, Adige) and route III were the most important thoroughfares in prehistoric times. The Elbe route was first used about 1800 B.C. and continued in use until after the beginning of the Christian era. Along it amber was transported to South and exchanged for the Bronze of Bohemia and the manufactured Bronze weapons and vessels of Italy. The civilization of the Bronze Age in Europe which was far from barbarous was largely due to the ideas and wares carried over this route by traders. When salt was mined at Hallstatt and Salzberg in the early Iron (and doubtless in the Bronze) Age, it was probably carried long distances, to Bohemia on the North, which is destitute of salt, and East and west along the great Danube route (Route VII).

*Route III.*—The Vistula, Oder, March route became important when the amber of East Prussia was rediscovered early in the Age of Iron and along it a brisk trade was carried on beginning about 700 B.C.

*Route IV.*—The Vistula Dneister route to the Black Sea was opened when Greek colonies were established on the Black Sea.

*Route V.*—The Rhone-Rhine route became an important artery of commerce specially after the establishment of the Greek colony at Marseilles and along it the arts and crafts of the South were carried to the North. But it had been used many centuries before this.

*Route VI.*—A route of some importance which led into Italy passed along the Upper Rhine, over the St. Bernard pass and down the Ticino to the bronze workers of the Po valley.

*Route VII.*—The Danube valley has been populous since early Neolithic times ; along to there have been repeated movements of

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peoples and trade-routes have traversed it. The salt of Hallstatt and Salzberg and the iron workings of the early Iron Age give it a greater importance than it previously had.

*Other routes.*—The Seine Loire and other rivers in France, the Werra Fulda Saale in Germany and other stream valleys were used for local trade.' [1]

Finally the trade and commerce in the Bronze and early Iron Ages centres more or less round amber, an object of great value and perhaps of medicinal properties to the prehistoric peoples of Europe. Navarro has made an excellent study of it which he summarizes thus :—

'During the Stone Copper (and Bronze) ages northern amber was finding its way as far south into Central Europe as Bohemia, where its appearance is sporadic.

During the Middle Bronze Age, Southern and Western Germany seem to have played a larger part in the amber trade than Italy . . . There is not at present sufficient evidence for warranting an assumption that northern amber was reaching Crete and Greece during the Bronze Age by way of Russia.

During the Bronze age the amber trade with Italy, though important was not so intense as that with Central Europe.

During the first of the early Iron Ages a lively amber traffic was still maintained with Central Europe, while with Italy this commerce was greatly intensified. Trade relations from circa 700 B.C. became more highly organized.

Southern amber was imported into Switzerland during the Hallstatt and La Tene periods . . . Three-quarters of the specimens of the Early Iron Age amber found in Italy and subjected to chemical analysis, contain a sufficient percentage of succinic acid to warrant our assuming them to be of northern origin.

Prior to the seventh century amber frequently occurs in the burials of the second Bonacci period in the Bologna region. As the Eastern Route had not then opened it must have reached the latter area by way of the Central System. The sudden increase of amber antiquities about the middle of the seventh century may have been due in part to the opening of the Eastern route, Italy being then supplied from the East Baltic as well as the Jutland deposits . . . As Italy became imbued with Greek classical culture amber went out of fashion. The trade with Central Europe lingered on but it was not as lively an intercourse as during the Hallstatt period. The traffic along the Eastern route with Bosnia and Croatia seems to

[1] Herdman F. Cleland—Commerce and Trade routes in Prehistoric Europe (Economic Geography, 1927, p. 235).

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have continued more or less undisturbed down to the Roman Imperial epoch.[1]

We happen to know a good deal of these prehistoric Europeans, mainly owing to the labours of scholars in the field. But trade and commerce are not unknown in distant sea-scattered islands. Perhaps the most intrepid sea-voyagers were the Polynesians who scarcely emerged out of a very complex Neolithic civilization and yet had covered thousands of miles in open sea in outrigger canoes. Studies of the ancient legends of the Polynesians from various islands have made us recover the names of some of the brilliant sea-captains worthy to be placed beside Cooks and Magellans. They entered the Pacific somewhere in the middle of the second century A.D. One great chief Irapanga is recorded to have sailed from some Indonesian islands to Hawaii at that time. About the seventh century the Polynesians had visited Fiji, Navigator, Marquesas, Sandwich, Tonga, Paumotu, Society, Austral and Cook Archipelagos and possibly the New Hebrides. From 10th to 16th centuries extensive voyages were undertaken between Tahiti and various islands including Kermadec and New Zealand and Marquesas and Hawaii and even the far off Eastern Islands. Hui-Te-Rangi roa perhaps shares with Commander Byrd the exploration of the Antarctic as early as the 7th century A.D. Toi is said to have made his voyage to Chatham islands and thence to New Zealand about 1100 A.D. The Hawaiians used to visit the Marquesas and Society groups and an old time Hawaiian seafarer is said to have made four voyages to Tahiti, 2300 miles distant. One Uenga is said to have in the 12th century started from Savaii, in the Samoan group and sailed to Tonga (480 miles S.S.E.) thence to Vavau (150 miles N.N.E.) and then he reached Tongareva (900 miles N.E. of Savaii) then sailed to Rimatara (780 miles S.S.E.) thence to Fakauu (480 miles N.N.E.) and then to Tahiti whence he went back home again.[2]

Similarly the voyages of the Malays and the carrying of their culture to the far off Madagascar is well known though the details have yet to be recovered but the cultural trits in Madagascar derived from the Malays have been studied so well by Linton.

Caravan routes still carry on some of the old old time-worn trade routes. In the Real Lexicon der Urgeschichte some tracts of Northern Africa have been studied as to the primitive trade and

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[1] Prehistoric Trade-routes between Northern Europe and Italy as defined by the amber trade by J. M.de Navarro (The Geographical Journal, Vol. LXVI, No. 6, Decr., 1925, pp. 501-502).

[2] *Vide* Elsdon Best—Polynesian Voyagers (Dominion Museum Monograph, No. 5, 1923) also Percy Smith-Hawaiki (4th edn., 1921).

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barter by these caravan routes. 'Die Karawanenhandel folgt sowohl alten Seiten wie alten Wanderwegen.'

The caravan routes from India to Asia Minor are the same as that followed by Alexander the Great in his invasion in the 4th century B.C. So also the routes between China and Central Asia and Europe had existed since prehistoric times. 'The avenue between China and the West of which we know the most is the classical road which still survives and is commonly known as the Imperial highway. It leads in our time from the Peking-Hankow railway (which links the capital and Yangtse valley) past Hsi-ngan, the greatest of the ancient capitals of China and on across the provinces of Shen-hsi and Kansu as far as Ngan-hsi, near the jade gate of classical times, the Chinese taking off point for the West in all the great ages. From Ngan-hsi the road has taken different entries into Central Asia, according to the conditions of different times and the extent of the power exercised by China over outer nations. This was the road followed in one or other of its variants by the Chinese armies which set up their standards as far away as the Pamirs and Samarcand by the Buddhist pilgrims going to Northern India and by the Western adventurers like the Polos and Benedict Goes.'[1]

Thus it is by very different lines of enquiries that we can get a complete picture of the trade in the old times prior to history. We have to trace the history of roads of navigation and even such studies as the culture dissemination from Central America to distant parts of North and South America may lead us to new trails. Then alone we can get a picture of interchange of commodities in the hunting stage if possible but very likely in the nomadic stages and surely in amongst communities where agriculture has set in. The dynamic conditions which lead to quickening of the activities and relations abroad at times and again mysteriously slackens them at a decadent period have got be found out by a study of these. Trade is the circulatory system in a social organism. When the body is growing the circulatory channels become deepened and widespread. With the shrivelling of the organism again the channels become constricted. It is an index of the growth of a group and it has to be seen that even the most primitive material culture in a state of expansion would not start inter-tribal exchanges and might have its

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[1] Owen Lattimore—The Desert Road to Turkestan (Boston, 1929).

There were similar sea-routes from the sea-coasts of Bengal and Orissa to Orissa and Java and China coasts as known to us definitely from Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang's return travels or regular Arab-Indic trade between Africa, India, and Arabian sea and Persian gulf routes as we know from the Periplus.

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ramifications far-flung. Migrations may precede as well as succeed routes which have been casually opened up by a casual traveller returning with a valuable or new commodity by exchange or primitive presentation system from abroad.

Trade was slower in the slower means of transport existing in early times. But the Polynesians are an object lesson and show what could be done by the veriest primitive sea-craft which was known as early as Neolithic times at least. The different means of transport, different primitive economic systems again made a lot of difference to the trade. The object of common value whether a cowrie shell or cattle (fee from feoh, cattle, also pecunia cattle) or the yellow metal supposed to have magic properties in early times or whale teeth whenever found indicate trade conditions. Barter even of excess food of one type for food of another type between communities might have been very much more in use than known in latter times amongst Totemic communities. Art products had an enormous value in settling intertribal relations in primitive communities and who knows if the Magdalenian batons de commandement did not serve the same purpose as Polynesian whale teeth and stood for bodily transfer of the prestige from one group to another.

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# PARASITOLOGY IN THE ATHARVA VEDA

*By* RULIA RAM KASHYAP

An attempt is made in this article at giving a rational interpretation of those passages of the Atharva Veda which deal with the Krimís. It is not intended to discuss the meanings of those passages as propounded by the previous commentators, nor to support the explanation given by quotations from scientific treatises, as both these will lengthen the article unnecessarily. However, if any of the learned readers requires this information same will be supplied.

These passages may be termed the ' Krimihsúktas ' on the bases of the subject dealt with therein. There are only three full Súktas dealing with this subject. These are Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Súktas 31 and 32 and Kānda V, Sūkta 23.

Apart from these the word क्रिमिः occurs only twice in all the four Vedas, viz. Atharva Veda, Kānda XI, Sūkta 11, Mantra 10 reading :—

"अधो सर्वं श्वापदं मक्षिका पप्यतुः क्रमिः ..."

which means

' . . . . . may the leaping and jumping common housefly . . . '

and Atharva Veda, Kānda XII, Súkta I, Mantra 46 reading :—

"यस्ते सर्पो ... क्रिमिर्जिन्वत् पृथिवि ..."

which means :—

' The creeping snake that propells itself forward in contact with the ground . . . . . '

These two examples may be taken to illustrate the statement made in Nurukta Naigama Kānda, Adhyāy 6, Khanda 12 reading as under :—

"क्रिमिः ... क्रमतेर्वास्यात्सरणकर्मणः क्रामतेर्वा ॥"

and meaning :

' The word क्रिमिः is derivable from the root giving क्रमति and meaning " creeping along or propelling oneself forward." Also it may be derived from the root giving क्रामते or क्रामति (and meaning leaping up or jumping).'

The housefly is an instance of the leaping up, jumping Krimih and the snake that of a crawling, creeping Krimih which moves by propelling itself forward.

Another very similar word bearing more or less the same meaning and often used as a synonym for क्रिमिः : is the word

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क्रमिः occurring only once in all the four Vedas, in Yajura Veda, Adhyay 24, Mantra 30 as under :—

"... ... नीलङ्गोः क्रमिः ... ..."

which means :—

'... a worm or small insect (as food) for the Indigo-visitor (insect) ...'

In these stray references then the word क्रिमिः is used to qualify a house fly or a snake in the sense of a jumping and leaping up insect or a crawling, creeping creature which moves by propelling itself forward. The word क्रमिः has been used to denote a worm or small insect serving as food for another insect such as the Indigo-visitor.

Having thus dealt with the stray references the Krimih-Súktas can next be taken up. What does the word Krimih stand for in these Súktas ? Veda itself should be allowed to interpret this Vedic word. Says Atharva Veda, Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 3 :—

"यो अक्ष्यौ परिसर्पति यो नासे परिसर्पति ।
दतां यो मध्यं गच्छति तं क्रिमिं जम्भयामसि ॥"

which means :—

'We kill that Krimih which moves into the place between a couple of teeth and even into a tooth itself, which crawls into the nostrils, or which creeps along into the eyes by propelling itself forward towards them.'

Illustrating, as it does, the above referred to Nirukta interpretation, it furnishes us with two very important diagnostic characteristics of a Krimih. These are :—

(1) A Krimih is something which can creep along, crawl, move or propell itself forwards towards a definite direction.
(2) A Krimih is something which we have to kill. It is necessarily destroyable.

Again it is stated in Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Súkta 31, Mantra 5 that :—

"... ये अस्माकं तन्वमाविविशुः सर्वं तद्वन्मि जनिम क्रिमीणाम् ॥"

meaning :—

'... I destroy the whole generation of Krimís which have entered the various parts of our bodies'.

This gives us two more distinguishing features for a Krimih, which are :—

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(3) Krimis have a generation or race as well, i.e. they are necessarily living organisms. Moreover, the need for destroying them is emphasized upon here as well.

(4) They enter the organs of the bodies of the human beings from without. In other words they live outside too but therefrom they make their way into the human frames somehow.

Regarding the size of the Krimihs Veda states :—

(१) "दृष्टमदृष्टमटचम् ... क्रिमीन् ... ॥"

Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Súkta 31, Mantra 2 :

meaning :—

'I have killed the visible and the invisible Krimis . . .'

(२) "... दृष्टांश्च घ्नन्नदृष्टांश्च सर्वांश्च प्रमृणन् क्रिमीन् ॥"

Atharva Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 6 :

meaning :—

'. . . Injuring the visible and the invisible ones and in fact destroying all the Krimis.'

(३) "... दृष्टश्च हन्यतां क्रिमिरुतादृष्टश्च हन्यताम् ॥"

Atharva, Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 7 :

meaning :—

'. . . The visible Krimih may please be destroyed as also the invisible one.'

These references furnish us with another very important point regarding the Krimis. This is regarding their size. It runs :—

(5) The Krimis may be visible to the naked eye or they may be altogether invisible to the unaided eye.

Veda was not unaware of the microscopic invisible Krimis revealed by modern scientific appliances. This fact is fully borne out by the insistence on the destruction of the invisible Krimis in the Vedas. Three references to this effect have been given above but the fourth one is still more emphatic. In the No. (२) given above we have only an amplification of the previous half of that very mantra which running as under :—

(४) "उत पुरस्तात् सूर्य एति विश्वदृष्टो अदृष्टहा । ..."

Atharva, Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 6 :

means :—

'. . . Seen by all, the sun rises in the east, killing the invisible ones . . .'

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and adding to it the above given half :—

> ' injuring the visible and invisible ones and in fact destroying all the Krimis,'

would suffice to convince every seeker after truth that Veda really means the invisible Krimis here ; otherwise there would be no sense in the use of the word ' invisible ' twice in one and the same mantra.

Combining all the five deductions into one will give a correct idea of what the word Krimih stands for in the Krimih-súktas as those deductions are based upon actual quotations from these very Súktas. Thus the following definition of a Krimih is arrived at :—

> ' A Krimih is a living organism capable of running into generations or races. It can move, crawl or creep or propell itself forward towards a definite direction too if it so chooses. It lives outside but therefrom enters the human organisms too somehow. It is therefore destroyable and has to be entirely got rid of. By virtue of its size it may be visible to the naked eye or absolutely invisible to the unaided eye.'

It need hardly be added that another name for such an organism is a ' parasite of man '. This scientific term can safely be taken as a correct rendering of the Vedic word Krimih especially as used in the Krimih-súktas. Any parasite naturally causes some disease in the body of the host. Therefore it is briefly termed a ' disease germ ' or even simply a ' germ '. We shall therefore use either of these three terms in our explanation of the Súkta as and when convenient.

The germ-destroying action of the sun has already been referred to previously in the evidence No. (8) for the deduction No. (5). The particular germs that are successfully destroyed by the sun are the invisible ones as is evident from the double use of this word in the same Mantra, viz. Atharva, Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 6.

The last two Mantras of the 31st Súkta and the first Mantra of the 32nd of Kānda II, Atharva Veda, discuss this subject in detail, and may therefore be studied together with advantage. The last but one Mantra of the 31st Sūkta reads :—

"अन्वान्त्रं शौर्षण्यमथो पार्श्वेयं क्रिमीन् ।
अवस्कवं व्यध्वरं क्रिमीन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥"

Atharva Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantra 4 :

and means :—

> ' By means of Vacha we kill the germs residing in the small intestine, brain and nervous tissue or ribs and side walls of the lungs. (We also destroy the germs) that are as if

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fallen down and those which make one prone towards indecent actions.'

A discussion on individual words of the mantras will follow a literal translation of the Mantra-trio referred to above and at present being translated. This Mantra beautifully describes the human abodes of the invisible disease germs or Krimís.

The next Mantra similarly describes the abodes of these invisible germs outside the human body. It reads :—

"ये क्रिमयः पर्वतेषु वनेष्वोषधीषु पशुष्वप्सुन्तः।
ये अस्माकं तन्वमाविविश्युः सर्वं तद्धन्मि जनिम क्रिमीणाम्॥"

Atharva, Kānda II, Súkta 31, Mantra 5 :

and means :—

'I destroy that whole generation of germs who have entered the organs of our bodies (but originally resided) on hills and mountains, in forests, on plants, in animals and even in water.'

Having thus described the abodes of human parasites both in the human body and outside Veda next sums up in the next Mantra reading :—

"उद्यन्नादित्यः क्रिमीन् हन्तु निम्रोचन् हन्तुरश्मिभिः।
ये अन्तः क्रिमयो गवि॥"

Atharva, Kānda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 1 which means :

'May the rising sun destroy the disease germs and the setting one too do the same by means of its rays—the germs that have penetrated below the surface layer of the soil.'

This Mantra-trio thus beautifully summarises the human abodes of the invisible germs, as also their natural abodes outside the human frames. It, in the end, discusses the continuous efforts of the sun to eradicate them and thereby to diminish disease. It would therefore not be irrelevant to quote here some examples of the invisible germs by discussing the individual words of the Mantras giving the abodes of the germs.

I. अन्वान्त्र्यः—Anvāntryaṇ is some one who resides in the अन्वन्त्र which may be taken to be अणु+अन्त्र meaning 'narrow and intestine'. In medical books 'small intestine' is the term applied to the narrower part of the intestines. There is a special disease germ which is killed by the gastric acid or other juices in the stomach but thrives quite undisturbed in the alkaline juices of the small intestine if it happens to tide over the stomach portion somehow.

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Naturally this would be the germ referred to by the name अन्वान्त्र in this Mantra of the Krimih-Súktas. Modern science names this germ Cholera Vibrio as its shape is like a minute curved rod and it causes the wellknown disease Cholera. Outside the human body this germ is met with in contaminated water or food contaminated with such water and thus it exemplifies the Vedic words, अप्स्वन्तः and ओषधीषु of the next mantra. From there it enters the human stomach when man swallows contaminated water or food. Thus it fulfils the Vedic condition "ये अस्माकं तन्वमाविविशुः" put down in the same Mantra. If thus swallowed on empty stomach (when there is very little gastric juice present there) it is liable to pass on into the small intestine quite hale and hearty and quite uninjured by the juices of the stomach. If, however, it is taken on a full stomach the ample gastric juice present destroys it and does not allow it to pass, in a living condition, into the small intestine. In the former condition it thrives in the small intestine and is thus अन्वान्त्र and causes a disease, i.e. Cholera and is worth being destroyed. The sun's rays dry up the moist substratum in which it thrives outside the human frame and ultimately kills all the germs in that substratum. Thus the Cholera Vibrio not only fulfils the ordinary characteristics of a Krimih but at the same time fulfils the specific conditions for being an अन्वान्त्र and, ओषधीषु, अप्स्वन्तः and also the condition laid down in "ये अस्माकं तन्वमाविविशुः".

II. शीर्षण्यः—Shírshaṇyaṇ is that which resides in the head or brain. Naturally it implies germs living upon the tissues of the brain and nerves. These parasites cause diseases like lunacy and mania.

III. पार्श्ट्येयः—Párshteyaṇ is that which attacks the पृष्टि which is a name for the side walls of the lungs and ribs supporting them. The well known 'disease of the side' called 'Bakkhiká Dard' in the Punjabi language is 'Pneumonia' of the modern medical science. The germs referred to as living in the side walls are obviously the Pneumococcii of Pneumonia.

IV. अवस्कावः—Avaskavaṇ means fallen below and also that which causes a disease in which the patient's whole body resorts to involuntary leaps and jumps. This disease is the Tetanus and the germ causing same is the Tetanus bacillus. The disease is characterized by forceful involuntary stimulation and contraction of the muscles of the whole body especially the extremities, and the germ is characterized by being met with in ordinary dry soil wherefrom it enters any wound that the human foot may happen to have been inflicted upon previously. Thus the word अवस्कावं is very

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suggestive as to the germ and the disease it causes by entering the human body.

V. व्यध्वरः—Vyadhwaraṇ means वि+अध्वरं reverse of Yajnas or noble deeds. It thus implies germs causing diseases which upset the moral balance of the human patient and make him inclined towards the committment of ignoble deeds or indecent action. Such germs are the Gonococcii and the Spirochaeta pallida, causing Gonorrhœa and Syphilis respectively. Under the effect of these deadly foes the human society is every day going from bad to worse and all well-wishers of the human race are trying their level best to eradicate them.

VI. ये क्रिमयः पर्वतेषु:—The disease germs met with on hills and mountains. An example is met with in the germs of a troublesome fever prevailing in Gujhandi, a small town, in Northern Bengal, situated on the dry Vindhyachal hills. In external characters it more or less resembles malaria but it is more or less a local malady restricted to those dry hills.

VII. वनेषु:—In the forests of Assam is met with the black fever termed ' Kala-azar '. Germs causing such ailments are hinted at by this word.

VIII and IX. ओषधीषु and अप्सु:—These two words have already been illustrated under the heading I, अन्वान्त्रं.

X. पशुषु:—In the animals are to be met with germs of some serious human diseases. A parasite of man is swallowed by him in wrongly cooked measly pork, another in uncooked beef and a third in improperly treated fish. All the three are difficult to be got rid of once they have caught hold of the human intestines. The ancient Indians were wise in condemning beef as an article of diet and so was the Prophet Mohammed in similarly condemning pork.

According to the Vedas the sun is constantly trying to eradicate these germs from morning till evening and is successfully destroying them, the invisible ones in all their forms and the visible ones in their spore or cyst forms in which they are usually met with outside the human body or the bodies of their animal hosts. We should assist the sun in this job by adopting methods for the entire annihilation of the race or generation of the disease germs—the parasites of man—the Krimis referred to in the Vedas.

The ending Mantra-half, of the Mantra-trio discussed fully in the preceding pages, reads as under :—

"... ये अन्तः क्रिमयो गवि ॥"

Atharva, Kānda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 1 :

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and translated above as under :—

'. . . the germs that have penetrated below the surface layer of the soil.'

has been translated by Achárya Sáyaṇ as under :—

"कुचत्यान् क्रिमीन् इति तच्चाह । ये क्रिमयः गवि ।
जातावेकवचनम् । गोशरीरेषु अन्तः मध्ये सन्ति ।
तान् क्रिमीन् इति पूर्वत्र सम्बन्धः ॥"

Sáyaṇ's commentary on the Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Anúvák 6, Súkta 32, Mantra 1.

It clearly shows that Achárya Sáyaṇa takes this Mantra-fragment to mean 'the Krimís in the body of the cow'. In the विनियोग or application given as introduction to his commentary on this Súkta he also refers to this fact by the words :—

"... गोक्रिमिभैषज्यकर्मणि ... गोनामेत्याह असाविति ..."

which also means that the Súkta is to be used for curing the cow of its Krimís.

Our justification for translating as above is to be met with in :—

"... गौरिति पृथिव्या नामधेयं ..."

Nirukta Naigama Kánda, Adh. 2, Khanda 4:

meaning—

'the word गौः is also a name of the earth' but Achárya Sáyaṇa's simple translation of the word गौः into a 'cow' helps us immensely at this juncture. It acts as a very suggestive hint for the proper understanding of the next mantra which reads :—

"विश्वरूपं चतुरक्षं क्रिमिं सारङ्गमर्जुनम् ।
पृष्ठ्याम्यस्य पृष्टीरपि वृश्चामि यच्छिरः ॥"

Atharva, Kānda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 2.

and means :—

'I cut off and crush and reduce to a fine powder the head, sides (and in fact the whole body) of this parasite, which though colourless is yet spotted (on the head), is all-formed, and possesses four organs functioning to save it from being destroyed.'

Modern Science has described the life history of such a parasite of man. In its mature form it is met with in the human host but the embryonic form termed Cysticercus is met with in the bovine species.

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It is all formed in the sense that it has a more or less rounded head, narrow thread like neck, whence backwards the body gradually becomes thicker and wider ultimately assuming the ribbon form. The segments when mature are longer; when immature they are broader. Thus practically all forms of shape are exhibited by the parasite.

It is Chaturaksh not in the sense of being four-eyed as translated by the previous scholars but in the sense of being possessed of four Akshas or organs that do not allow it to get perished. These are its four suckers which it has at its anterior end on the four sides of its head. It is these suckers which fix it into the intestinal wall. So long as these suckers are so fixed the parasite is quite safe and goes on developing and shedding the last segments full of fertilized ova which passing out with the human fæces go on reproducing the parasite. Once suckers lose hold, off goes the head from the intestinal wall and by means of purgatives, etc. the parasite can then be easily got rid of by its human host; it has to leave him and pass out with his faeces and naturally perish. Suckers are thus its real saviours from destruction and are Akshas in the true sense of that word (अ=not, क्षि=to be destroyed). Moreover, these suckers are fixed in the wall of the intestine, therefore, they, so to say, pervade the intestinal wall and enjoy an abode there. In this case the word, अक्ष would be derivable from अक्ष्नूव्याप्तौ. Both the root meanings of the word चतुरक्ष thus give the correct zoological interpretation.

Undoubtedly it is a parasite of man, living in his intestine and causing disease.

Spotted it is in the sense that round the suckers coloured spots are met with.

It is colourless or white as almost all the internal parasites usually are. This is due to the dark environment in which they live where eyes or colour would be of no use and is therefore usually not developed. The segments as they leave the body are definitely stated to be white.

Regarding the special mention of the head as the organ that must be crushed we might state that it is the head which possesses the capacity for redeveloping the whole posterior portion. Therefore unless the head is got rid of the worm is there in its full vigour and the patient is in reality as sick as ever. Therefore does the Veda insist so much upon the destruction of the head. Sides may be taken to signify the remaining portions of the body, thus simply meant to emphasize upon a thorough destruction of the parasite as a whole.

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The scientific name of the parasite described above is Tænia Saginata, popularly known as the Beef-Tape-Worm. Its other names are Tænia mediocanellata and the 'Unarmed' Tape worm.

The next three mantras of this Súkta, viz. Atharva Veda, Kánda II, Súkta 32, Mantras 3, 4, and 5, are almost identical with Mantras 10, 11, and 12, respectively, of Atharva Veda, Kánda V, Súkta 23. We shall therefore take these up together later on.

The Mantra following, which is also the last Mantra of the present Súkta, runs as under :—

"प्र ते शृणामि शृङ्गे याभ्यां वितुदायसि ।
भिनद्मि ते कुषुम्भं यस्ते विषधानः ॥"

Atharva, Kánda II, Sukta 32, Mantra 6 :

and means :—

'I utterly destroy your horny hooklets—(their) double (circle), by means of which you cause your specific irritation. I break open your most destructive organ, the storehouse of your (living) venom.'

This Mantra is very instructive. Whereas in its first half it describes the specific differentiating character of another closely related parasite, in the latter half it gives the most important common feature of the two species. The Pork Tape Worm named 'Tænia Solium' differs from the beef tape worm mainly in the possession of a double circle of horny hooklets surrounding a central protrusion from the anterior end termed rostellum, behind which the four suckers like those of the Beef Tape Worm are met with on the four sides of the head. Other differences amongst the two species are only minor.

Ordinarily a शृङ्ग is translated as a 'horn'. These hooklets have the shape of a horn in being curved and pointed. Moreover they fulfil the conditions laid down in Yaska Nirukta Naigama Kānda, Adhy. II, Khánda 7, in the following manner :—

(1) They protrude from the head.
(2) They are protruded for the protection of him who bears them, as they penetrate into the intestinal wall, fix the parasite into the same and thus help the suckers in saving the parasite from destruction.
(3) These, themselves too, do dwindle and break and medical men try their level best to disentangle these after which they must perish as also the remaining portions of the body of the parasite.

and (4) They take the support of the intestinal wall.

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The Pork Tapeworm passes its embryonic stage in the muscles of the pig exactly as the Beef form does in the muscles of the ox.

In both the segments become maturer as we proceed towards the posterior end and in fact the end segments are merely store-houses of ripe fertilized ova enclosed in the greatly distended uterus. When it is remembered that every segment contains a great number of ova, each ultimately capable of infecting a human being and causing disease there, one immediately realizes that every such ripe segment is veritably a store-house of poison—actually living venom, capable of reproducing itself enormously. He then feels the supreme necessity of destroying everyone of them. They are then realized to be really destroyable (कुषुम्भ from कुषुभ क्षये) store-houses of poison (विषधान). The word वितुदायसि describes the specific irritation, itching, etc., caused by these parasites in the human host.

Exactly as the two mantras just discussed specifically describe the Tænias—Saginata and Solium, so does Atharva Veda, Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 9, describe another important parasite of man. It says :—

"त्रिशीर्षाणं त्रिककुदं क्रिमिं सारङ्गमर्जुनम् ।
शृणाम्यस्य पृष्टीरपि वृश्चामि यच्छिरः ॥"

and means :—

'I cut and crush and reduce to powder the head and sides of the colourless parasite with a floating head and three raised papillæ. It creeps along and travels far and wide.'

This Mantra immediately precedes the three Mantras, common to both the Kándas and referred to above which insist on a complete annihilation of the whole race of parasites. This Mantra, therefore, is technically quite as important as the Tænia mantras.

The word त्रिशीर्ष need not compel the interpreters to imagine a hypothetical three-headed imaginary being as it can equally well mean 'one with floating head' (तरतेः त्रिः). This is a specific diagnostic character as its opposite 'a fixed head' is the characteristic of the Tænias. Against same the parasite now under discussion possesses a head which floats free in the juices of the intestine and is not fixed into its wall.

Similarly the word त्रिककुद does not signify the three-humped but one possessed of three raised surfaces or projections from the body. The parasite under discussion bears three papillæ or raised lips round the mouth and is thus really त्रिककुद.

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Being a parasite of man it is a क्रिमिः.

Being more or less colourless it is अर्जुन, i.e. greyish white or pinkish.

Although it usually inhabits the small intestine, it wanders far and wide reaching even the nose, ears, and throat. Its very wandering habits thus give it the specific name सारङ्ग, i.e. सरति गच्छति च meaning ' creeping along it changes on its position and travels over great distances '.

Another Mantra more or less dealing with this parasite exclusively is the last Mantra of this Súkta. It states :—

" सर्वेषां च क्रिमीणां सर्वासां च क्रिमीणाम् ।

भिनद्म्यश्मना शिरो दहाम्यग्निना मुखम् ॥ "

Atharva : Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 13

and means :—

' Of all the male and female parasites, I fatally injure the mouth and benumb the head as if fire had burnt their mouths and a stone crushed their heads.'

This is simply a poetical way of emphasizing upon making the mouth and head of the parasite functionless as if the papillæ and brain get fatally affected it would then be easy for the parasite to be got rid of by means of purgatives etc.

Such a parasite is named Ascaris lumbricoides in the descriptive text books of Zoology and Parasitology and is popularly known as the common ' Round Worm '.

Another parasite, belonging to the same class Nematodes, also fulfills the conditions laid down in the Mantra " चिप्रौर्षाणं ... " Atharva, Kánda V, Sukta 23, Mantra 9, discussed above in detail, with the following slight amendments in the above description :—

(1) It is अर्जुनम् because it is white.

(2) It is सारङ्ग because though usually inhabiting the small intestine, it often wanders downwards so much so that it may even wriggle out of the anus—the excretory aperture.

In all other respects as well it fulfills the conditions laid down in that Mantra but it does not confirm to the Mantra " सर्वेषां ... " Atharva, Kánda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 13, because in its case the male automatically dies after impregnating the female and passes out with the fæces.

The Mantra preceding, however, beautifully describes a specific character of this parasite. It reads :—

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"हतासो अस्य वेशसो हतासः परिवेशसः।
अथो ये क्षुल्लका इव सर्वे ते क्रिमयो हताः॥"

Atharva: Kánda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 12

and means :—

'Its inner and outer (egg) coats have been destroyed and even all the parasites who were yet in the form of embryos have been entirely annihilated.'

The real purport of this Mantra becomes manifest to us when we read in the Parasitological literature that the Nematode worm, under discussion now, does possess eggs having three coats each, of which the middle coat falls short of the two ends, through either of which the larva may hatch out. Veda requires the egg coats—the inner and the outer both, as well as the larva or embryo within, to be all entirely destroyed.

This Nematode worm possessing such eggs and all the other characteristics given in the "चिप्रीर्ष ..." Mantra is, in the Parasitological literature, named, Oxyuris Vermicularis (the 'Thread Worm', 'Pin Worm', or 'Seat Worm').

In the case of Tænias too has the Mantra "हतासो ...," just interpreted above, been formulated by the Veda in the form of Atharva Veda, Kánda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 5, where, with reference to the Tænias, it means :—

'The egg-shells and the walls of the ripe segments, containing them, have been destroyed as also all the parasites who were yet in the form of embryos.

This difference in interpretation is borne out by a reference to the context. In the case of the Chaturaksh Tænia parasites the eggs have a shell and further they leave the host while still enclosed in the segment containing them. Therefore the two coats round the embryos are the egg-shell and the segment wall, whereas in the case of the चिप्रीर्ष Oxyuris, eggs leave the host singly, i.e. unenclosed in any other organs, and thereore the only coats requiring to be destroyed are their own coats. This justifies our differently interpreting the identical Mantras occurring in the two Kándas as done above.

Atharva Veda, Kánda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 4, is identical with Mantra 11 of Súkta 23 of Kánda V of the same Veda and runs as under :—

"हतो राजा क्रिमीणामुतैषां स्थपतिर्हतः।
हतो हतमाता क्रिमिर्हत भ्राता हतस्वसा॥"

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and means :—

> 'The king of the parasites has been killed. Their minister or guardian too has been destroyed. All the parasites have been killed as also their mothers, brothers, and sisters.'

Apparently this is only a poetical way of emphasizing upon the supreme importance of killing all the young and old, thick and thin, mature and immature forms of the parasite in question.

Atharva, Kánda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 3 is identical with Mantra 10 of Súkta 23 of Kánda V of the same Veda and runs :—

"अत्रिवद् वः क्रिमयो हन्मि कण्ववज्जमदग्निवत् ।
अगस्त्यस्य ब्रह्मणा संपिनष्म्यहं क्रिमीन् ॥"

Meaning :—

> 'By means of the knowledge imparted by Agastya do I annihilate the parasites. O parasites ! I kill you, as do Attrih, Kaṇvah and Jamadagnih.'

Here it appears necessary to find out the relevant meanings of the words Agastyah, Attrih, Kaṇvah and Jamadagnih, अगस्त्यः is अगस्तेरपत्यं and, अगस्तिः is अगं अस्यति इति. Again अगं means न गच्छति इति, i.e. a fixed parasite like the Tænias and अस्यति means क्षिप्यति, उत्पाटयति or उत्पाट्य दूरीकरोति meaning disentangles and thus removes. Thus, अगस्तिः would mean a physician who can rid the patient of his old well-established parasites even. Agastyah is his son who has inherited from his father some useful formulæ for destroying parasites. Therefore do others too destroy the disease germs by applying Agastyan formulæ.

अत्रिः is one who has freed himself from all the three sorts of troubles, who as if eats into the very root cause of all troubles. Thus he can quite easily destroy the parasites too. Yáska Nirukta Naigama Kánda Adhy. 3, Khanda 17, supports the first derivation by saying : "अत्तिर्न चय इति ॥"

कण्वः is one whose fame is sung far and wide (कण शब्दार्थः and कण गतौ in Dhátupátha भ्वादिगण roots अणादयः and ज्वरादयः respectively). Naturally in connection with the Krimih Súktas it should mean one reputed for removing parasitic diseases.

जमदग्निः is one reputed for kindling the sacrificial fires correctly. Yáska Nirukta Daiv. Kánda Adhy. 1, Khanda 24, says : "जमदग्नयः ... प्रज्वलिताग्नयः ... ॥" Naturally in the Krimih Súktas fires can only mean fumigation fires meant to disinfect the lungs or other organs of a

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patient or his house and other articles. Therefore, Jamadagnih in this connection would mean the physician well versed in the destruction of parasites by fumigation and allied processes.

We have discussed these words at length but it was absolutely necessary to do so in order to remove the misunderstanding usually caused by taking them to mean the seers who preceded the formulation of the Krimih Súktas.

Having thus described the Mantras dealing with the two species of Tænia, with Ascaris and with Oxyuris, and also discussed the Mantra-Trio common to both the texts, we may now take up a Mantra and a half which according to the philological mode of thought deals with Ascaris and Oxyuris. This Mantra and a half runs as under :—

"... अलगण्डून्त्सर्वाञ् क्रुलुनान् क्रिमीन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥ २ ॥
अलगण्डून् हन्मि महता वधेन दूना अदूना अरसा अभूवन् ।
शिष्टानशिष्टान् नि तिरामि वाचा यथा क्रिमीणां नकिरुच्छिषातै ॥ ३ ॥"

Atharva Kánda II, Súkta 31, Mantras 2 and 3

and means :—

'By means of Vacha we kill all the Ascaris type parasites and the Oxyuris type ones. By means of a strong germicide I kill the Ascaris ones, making all the old and young, mature and immature ones, paralysed; the remaining evil ones do I scatter about and destroy by means of Vacha, so that none of the parasites lags behind.'

Now about the evidence in support of this rendering. Sushruta Saṃhitá mentions गण्डूपदाः amongst the parasites met with in the human fæces (Sushruta Saṃhitá, English translation by Kunjalal M.R.A.S., Vol. III, Page 339, lines 1 and 2, year 1916 Edition). In the Hindi translation by Pt. Ravi Datta this word has been translated as गिण्डोचा (2nd Edition, year 1894, page 716, line 23). In the Punjab गण्डोआ is the name of the Earth-worm which bears a superficial resemblance to Ascaris in its external shape which alone is visible to all and sundry. Thus the superficial resemblance of the words गण्डोआ, गण्डूपद and अलगण्डू is the only evidence in support of the above rendering of the word, अलगण्डू into an Ascaris. External appearance too does support this rendering.

Similarly does Charak mention श्लालूनिकाः amongst the parasites met with in the human fæces. Pt. Ravi Datta translates it into

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Hindi too as ग्रालूनिक (see Charak with Ravi Datta's Commentary, page 92, lines 10 and 24, year 1911 Edition). ग्रलुन् is the word used by the Veda. In the Punjabi language one of the fæcal parasites is termed a चलूना. Its characteristic is the itching sensation about the anus and it mostly infects children, which characteristic and the superficial resemblance of the words ग्रलुन्, ग्रालूनिक and चलूना support the rendering of these into an Oxyuris.

The strong germicide, for these parasites, termed महान वध, in the Veda would be something like Kabíla used by the native physicians of the Punjab or Santonin used by the modern scientists. It is some strong antidote for these nematode worms which kill most of them and paralyzes others. The few that are left behind are got rid off by administering Vacha which according to Kirtikar and Basu is Acorus calamus, Linn. H.F.B.I., VI, 555. Roxb. 296. They have illustrated this plant as per Plate No. 1008 and described it as fully as they could on page 1349, line 29, and onwards till the end of page 1352, of the year 1918 edition of their famous work, Indian Medicinal Plants, Vol. II. On the basis of various authorities, they describe the rhizome of this plant as insectifuge, especially for fleas on page 1350, lines 17–19, as an insecticide on page 1351, lines 21-22, and for removing fleas from water . . . and also as being given to fowls for the same purpose on page 1352, lines 12–14.

In this way Veda requires all the parasites to be got rid off entirely.

The remaining Mantras of Súkta 31 of Kánda II of the Atharva Veda may now be taken up. The 1st Mantra reads as follows :—

"इन्द्रस्य या महो दृषत् क्रिमेर्विश्वस्य तर्हणी ।
तया पिनष्मि संक्रिमीन् दृषदा खल्वाँ इव ॥ १ ॥"

and means :—

'Like grams on a grind-stone, I crush the parasites, by means of the mighty grinding wheel of Indra—the Solar Disc—the destroyer of all forms of parasites.'

The writer happened to throw some brown ants on an old dusty brown wooden packing case lying in bright sunshine on the afternoon of May 1st, 1935, say, at about 2 P.M. He was surprised to find them roasted up only in a few seconds. More or less nonplussed by this strange phenomenon he repeated same three or four times. Every time the ants were roasted up only in a few seconds. The writer at once grasped the meaning of the above Mantra. The Solar Disc is really the mighty grinding stone of Indrah, from its superficial resemblance to the stone of an Átta Chakkie. Moreover

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it crushes all forms of parasites into a fine powder sooner or later. A natural phenomenon as well supports this view. It consists of the strange reduction in the number, of mosquitoes visiting the sleeping humanity at night in their beds in the Tropics, after the mid-summer months of June and May or July ; and of the strange increase in their number after a rainfall. This is due to the strong sunshine destroying them in large numbers. Indra's mighty grinding wheel then is the Solar Disc which sheds strong sunshine all round and thereby destroys the disease germs so swiftly.

This is the natural interpretation of this Mantra. One more interpretation is possible as well. Same too is given hereunder, being very suggestive and in harmony with the Mantras that follow. This interpretation is suggested by Mantras like the following :—

(१) "कैरातिका कुमारिका सका खनति भेषजम् ।
हिरण्ययीभिरभ्रिभिर्गिरीणामुपसानुषु ॥ १४ ॥

(२) आयमगन् युवा भिषक् पृश्निह्यपराजितः ।
स वै खजस्य जम्भन उभयोर्दंष्ट्रिकस्य च ॥ १५ ॥

(३) इन्द्रो मेहिमरन्धयन्मित्रश्च वरुणश्च । वाता पर्जन्योभा ॥ १६ ॥

(४) इन्द्रो मेहिमरन्धयत् पृदाकुं च पृदाक्वम् ।
खजं तिरश्चिराजिं कसर्णीलं दशोनसिम् ॥ १७ ॥

(५) इन्द्रो जघान प्रथमं जनितारमहे तव ... ॥ १८ ॥"

Atharva Kánda X, Súkta 4, Mantras 14–18.

These Mantras apparently describe Indrah as a young physician, expert in the science of snakes and scorpions. He is referred to as approaching a hilly hunter's daughter who is digging out a medicinal herb on a mountain table-land near the foot of the mountain crest. Apparently the word Indrah here stands for a physician, as also do the words Mittrah, Varuṇah, Vátah and Parjanyah. Another instance where Agnih is described as a physician is met with in the Atharva : Kánda V, Súkta 29, Mantra 1, which reads as under :—

"पुरस्ताद् युक्तो वह जातवेदोऽग्ने विद्धि क्रियमाणं यथेदम् ।
त्वं भिषग् भेषजस्यासि कर्ता त्वया गामश्वं पुरुषं सनेम ॥"

In this Mantra Agnih is addressed as a physician who manufactures medicines and administers them to patients.

In the light of these Mantras it would be only reasonable for the Vedic student to translate the word Indrah, occurring in the Krimih Súktas, into a physician. In that case his मही दृषद् would not be

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the grinding wheel but the medicine by which he crushes the parasites into their finest particles according to the derivation, "दीर्यते यया सा दृषत्," of the word दृषद्. Now the question arises as to what is that parasiticide of the physician Indrah, which destroys all the forms of parasites. This is replied to in the next Mantra which reads :—

"दृष्टमदृष्टमतृहमथो कुरूरुमतृहम् ।
अल्गण्डून्त्सर्वाञ्छलुनान् क्रिमीन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥"

Atharva : Kánda II, Súkta 31, Mantra 2.

and means :—

'I have killed the visible and the invisible ones. I have also destroyed the Thigh-borer. By means of Vacha do we kill all the Ascaris and Oxyuris types.'

Apparently this Mantra names the strong germicide of Indrah, as Vacha, by stating that the visible, invisible, the thigh-borer, and the Ascaris and Oxyuris types can all be killed by means of this single drug. This point is also emphasized upon in the next two Mantras. One of them reads :—

"अल्गण्डून् हन्मि महता वधेन दूना अदूना अरसा अभूवन् ।
शिष्टानशिष्टान् नि तिरामि वाचा यथा क्रिमीणां न किरुच्छिषातै ॥"

Atharva : Kánda II, Súkta 31, Mantra 3.

and means :—

'I kill the Ascaris types by administering a strong germicide so that their mature and immature forms get paralyzed ; then I clear off the remaining evil ones by means of Vacha so that none of the parasites survives my treatment.'

and the other reads :—

"अन्वान्त्र्यं शीर्षण्यमथो पार्ष्टेयं क्रिमीन् ।
अवस्कवं व्यध्वरं क्रिमीन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥"

Atharva : Kánda II, Súkta 31, Mantra 4.

meaning :—

'The cholera germ (of the small intestine), the germs of the brain and nervous tissue diseases, the pneumococcii (of the sides and lungs), the tetanus bacilli (which keep fallen down and cause jumping of the whole body), the gonococcii and syphilis germs (making one prone to

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indecent actions)—(all of these) germs do we destroy by means of Vacha.'

This germ destroying action of Vacha is also mentioned in the following Mantra :—

"अस्येन्द्र कुमारस्य क्रमीन् धनपते जहि ।
हता विश्वा अरातय उग्रेण वचसा मम ॥"

Atharva : Kánda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 2.

meaning :—

'O wealthy (physician) Indra ! kindly destroy the parasites infecting this lad. All (your) enemies have been killed by my strong Vacha.'

This Mantra from the Krimih Súkta itself, conclusively proves that translating 'Indrah' into a physician who has specialized in Parasitology and his मही दृषत् into Vacha would not be out of place at all, because when, according to this Mantra, the guardians, of a lad suffering from parasites, go to the wealthy Indrah, they request him to cure their child of his Krimís and he encourages them by the words '(Dear Sirs, do you not worry any longer). (Believe) all (your) enemies—(the parasites of this lad) to have been actually killed by my strong (smelling) Vacha'. In this connection it is interesting to note that Ugragandha (strong-smelling) is one of the epithets of Vacha according to Bháva Prakásh and Indian Medicinal Plants. The former too describes it as a parasiticide as under :—

"वचोग्रगन्धा ... कफोन्मादभूतजन्त्वनिलान् हरेत् ॥"

"वच उग्रगन्धा ... यह वच के नाम हैं वच उग्रगन्धवाली ... और भूतदोष क्रमि तथा वायुनाशक होती है ॥"

Bháva Prakásh, 1st Vol., 1st Part, Page 174, Shloka 122, lines 23, 25, 27, 28, and 29 of the text with Kali Charan's Hindi Commentary of the year 1894 edition.

As regards the Indian Medicinal Plants, page 1349 of its 2nd Vol. may be referred to for the name Ugragandha amongst the names of Acorus Calamus (Vacha).

These Mantras thus leave no doubt that Indra's Mahi Drishat means (1) the Solar Disc, and (2) Vacha ; Indra himself being the sun in the former case and the parasite-specialist in the latter.

What a pity that Achárya Sáyana always translated Vacha into a Mantra (being composed of words or speech only) in his commentary on these Mantras of the Krimih Súktas. The word Kurú occurring in Mantra 2, Súkta 31, Kánda II, has been translated into

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a Thigh-borer in the preceding discussion. This requires amplification. Achárya Sáyana, in his commentary on this Mantra, first reads the word कुरूरुम् as कुरीरम् and then translates same into a जाल or more or less a network of the parasites inside the body of the patient. We, on the other hand, simply split the original word : कुरूरु into its actual parts कुर and ऊरु . In Dhátupáth of Paṇini तुदादिर्गणः roots व्रश्चादयः we read "कुर छेदने" and ऊरु occurring so often in the Vedas means 'a thigh' ; combining the two we have interpreted the word कुरूरु as the Thigh-borer. This parasite is known to the laymen in our own parts under the name 'Nárva' and its scientific name is Dranunculus medinensis (Filaria medinensis, Guinea worm, Medina worm). Its main characteristic is that ultimately it comes to lie under the skin of the patient and then bores through it on the foot or leg or near about and then may also leave the body of the host if properly handled.

Thus in the preceding pages light has been thrown on the following points :—

(1) The meanings of the words क्रमिः and क्रिमिः.
(2) The germ-destroying action of the sun.
(3) The Vedic reference to some bacterial parasites of man.
(4) The Vedic description of the two species of Tænia.
(5) Ascaris Lumbricoides, Oxyuris Vermicularis, and Dranunculus medinensis, as described in the Vedas.
(6) The methods by which all forms in all stages of Nos. 3, 4, and 5 must be got rid of.
(7) The technical meanings of the words Indrah, Drishat, Vacha, Mahán Badha, etc.
(8) The supreme importance of destroying all the types of the disease germs.

In doing so, Súktas 31 and 32 of Kánda II of the Atharva Veda have been commented upon wholly and Súkta 23 of the Vth Kánda of the same Veda only partially. Thus out of the Krimíh Súktas only Mantras 1, 4, 5, 7, and 8 of this Súkta 23 remain uncommented upon as yet. These however deal with a number of parasites mostly causing the various types of leprosy, and for the proper translation of these Mantras no clue is available except the structure of the words by which they are named or hunting out some philological resemblance if any amongst the names of the Krimís as given in the ancient Indian Medical books—Charak, Sushruta, etc. We therefore for the present keep a discussion of these parasites and these Mantras pending for some future date.

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Parasitology is dealt with in some other Súktas as well in the Vedas but as the word Krimih is not used there, we have thought it better to discuss them separately.

It is now for the readers to judge the merits of a study of the Vedás by specialists in various branches of the Modern Sciences, to illustrate which we have dealt with the subject of Parasitology in the Vedas in the foregoing pages.

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# A VANISHED SAKYAN WINDOW[1]

*By* MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

The other day I was talking with a man engaged in the work of excavating the venerable Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, once a proud and famous fane. He showed me fragments sifted from spadefuls of earth. Some were mere scraps of folded strips of lead. These, he said, had gone round the windowpanes of painted glass : an inference from the useful lowly casing to the past existence of works of beauty they had held up to view. And I saw in them a sort of parallel to the opening and concluding words in many Buddhist Suttas, for instance these : *cattāro me puggalā santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmiṃ*, with the echoing close : *ime kho cattāro . . . lokasmin ti.* ' There are, there exist in the world four men . . . ' And not four only.' We find, in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya categories, that this somewhat emphatic opening is used for three, four, five, six, seven, eight, ten men. In this peculiar window-casing, now used, now discarded for a less emphatic predication, there had once been, it seemed to me, a windowpicture now broken and lost. Will there not have been a reason why some of these many categories, ranging from ones to elevens, should have begun in this way, while the greater number did not ?

You may say : But have we not here, in every case, the actual window surviving with the one framework or the other ? Have we not, in every case, the substance of the Sutta as well as its opening and its close ?

Yes, it is true that we have a window, many windows. But we have to account for a peculiar ' framework ', differing from the majority of such. Why should a certain number of Suttas begin (and usually close) with this distinctive insistence upon actual real existence : *santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmiṃ* ? Compare this with other similar openings to categories : *ekapuggalo loke uppajjamāno uppajjati ; dve me puggalā dullabhā lokasmiṃ ; tayo ca assasadassa desessāmi tayo ca purisasadasse ; asappurisañca vo desessāmi asappurisena ca asappurisatarañca ; cattāro puggalā ; idh'ekacco puggalo . . . : pañcahi dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu bhattādako ca hoti okāsapharaṇo ca . . . ; khattiyā . . . brāhmaṇā . . . gahapatikā . . . ittīhi . . . corā . . . samaṇā . . . kiṃ adhippāyā . . .* and the rest . . . . I do not anywhere

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else find that distinctive insistence. Under the ' one ' there is insistence of a kind, but it is only on the fact of happening, whether of a *sammāsambuddho*, or of an eminently bad or good man.

Is there then anything in the content of Suttas having this peculiar opening to explain why the ' men ' in them are stated with iteration to be, to exist ? For that matter you may say that I am insisting on an emphasis where there is really none worthy of comment. Is not *santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmiṃ* only a variant in the predication that there are such men in the world ?

I venture to think the emphasis is there. Consider ! As the sceptical view about the reality of the ' man ' went on growing among Sakyans, the matter of real existence will have become of great importance, and with it the question of truth in affirmation will have been often raised. Herein the words *vijjati, saṃvijjati,* as supplementing affirmation by terms belonging to *ās* and *bhū,* play a part. If we open our Dīgha-Nikāya we come quickly on to such a combination. On p. 3 (P.T.S. ed.) we read : *Iti pi etam abhūtaṃ, iti pi etam atacchaṃ, natthi c'etam amhesu, na ca pan' etam amhesu saṃvijjatîti* : ' This is neither fact nor real ; among us it is not, among us it is non-existent '. Again, in assertions of possible happening we find *vijjati* combined with *avakāsa,* e.g. as to there being opportunity or place (*ṭhānaṃ*) for something to happen.[1] Once more, in later assertions of ultimate reals and unreals we find the verb *saṃvijjati* used (during an indefinitely long preceding interval) in a category of things under this aspect. Namely, the 8th chapter of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, on *paññatti,* takes any name to be sixfold according as it is

a naming of something existing (*saṃvijjamāna*),
a naming of something non-existing (*asaṃvijjamāna*),
a naming of something non-existent by something existent (*vijjamānena avijjamāna*),
a naming of something existent by something non-existent (*avijjamānena v.*),
a naming of something existent by something existent,
a naming of something non-existent by something non-existent.

Literally, as we know, (*saṃ-*)*vijjati* means ' is not found '. This for an age, thinking and speaking with a certain degree of scientific caution, falls short of ' does not exist '. I judge however, that the word in the foregoing instances did not so fall short, but was tantamount, at least in an unqualified context, to ' is ', ' exists '.

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[1] E.g. *A.* I, p. 26.

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Let it then be granted that there is a certain emphasis on actual existence in Suttas beginning with the phrase *santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmiṃ*. Does then the content of these Suttas justify the need of such an emphasis ?

Let us first look closer into the range and relative frequency of its occurrence. Of the Four Nikāyas I do not find it in the First or Third. I find it thrice in the Second (Majjhima, Suttas 51, 60 and 94), in the category of the man who torments himself, others, both or neither. In the Fourth I find it 57 times, as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ekanipāta .. .. | .. 0 |
| Dukanipāta .. .. | .. 0 |
| Tikanipāta .. .. | .. 13 times, |
| Catukkanipāta .. | .. 36 times, |
| Pañcakanipāta .. | .. 3 times, |
| Chakkanipāta .. | .. once, |
| Sattakanipāta .. | .. once, |
| Aṭṭhakanipāta .. | .. twice, |
| Dasakanipāta .. | .. once. |
| | 57 times. |

Thus more than half of all the occurrences are in the categories of the Fours. The occurrences in the Threes amount to more than all the rest (Fours excepted) put together ; and the Fours-occurrences are nearly 3 times as numerous as those in the Threes. Hence there may have been a strong tradition associating this opening sentence with some teaching concerning ' men ' under four heads or aspects, and a tradition, less strong associating such teaching with three heads or aspects.

In the Fifth Nikāya I have nowhere (at least as yet) found a single occurrence. In the Third Piṭaka we find the opening only where we should expect, namely, in the Puggala-paññatti, which is practically a sifting of *puggala*-statements out of the Aṅguttara. It occurs however only ten times : 9 in the Fours section and once in the Fives. It has become practically a monopoly of the Fours.

I return now to the matter of the content of Suttas with the distinctive opening. And I have to confess that they contain nothing which seems to merit such a beginning. They are like other Suttas starting with just such a *puggalā*, but without the *santo*, etc., considered with respect to this or that complex of states or ways. They are not specifically concerned with his being, on that or any other account, real. Our windows here are not showing us anything which is essentially true, essentially real about every man. They depict man as exceeding manifold. He has indeed become a peg on which to hang a bundle. The Fours-Suttas are, as we might

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expect, much occupied with giving us this manifold in terms of the four alternatives of affirmation and negation of Indian logic, early and later. Thus, ' men ' are either walking towards their own good (*attahitāya paṭipannā*), or that of the other man, or towards both or neither.[1] It is a very excellent feature, this exploring the Many in the man. But it does not seem to call, in some such exploring, not in others, for the distinctive opening which is the framework of those 57 Suttas.

But about one of these Fours-Suttas there is a notable association—an association not with the peculiar opening, yet with the meaning, the emphasis explicit in that opening. It has this opening in the Aṅguttara (Catukka-nipāta, pp. 95–99)—it is the Sutta to which I have just referred—but when we meet with the allusion to the Sutta in the Kathāvatthu (I, i) we find just the word *atthi* :— *atthi puggalo attahitāya paṭipanno*. And the reason why the Sutta is cited has nothing to do with the contents: walking towards his own good, etc. It is cited solely in connection with the first two words : the man exists.

In the First Debate of the Kathāvatthu, the earliest, the longest, the most critically momentous number in the whole work, we have, as we know, the Defender of the reality of the ' man ', as an entity not to be merged in body or mind, arguing with a member of the current majority, in the Saṅgha at Asoka's capital, Patna, who were known for a period as Analysts or Vibhajjavādins. Five times[2] does the defender call to his aid the tradition that the Bhagavan, unassailable for his truthfulness, taught in terms of the man as real. He did not teach, that the man was only ' to be got at ' (*upalabbhati*) or ultimately known as, being so many *dhammas*, physical and mental. When he said : ' There is the man who is walking towards (or practising for) his own good ', and so on, he meant just what he said.

This appeal to authority, recurring as it does, five times amid the defender's other arguments for man's essential reality, is, as stated, so different from what we might try to make him say, is, as stated, so apparently lacking in cogency, that readers' sympathies have tended to side with the orthodox attack. Is it not perhaps wiser to see that something here has been lost or has been changed ? Why does he appear as making out so meagre an argument for his side, the side which sought to uphold the great tradition of what the Founder had really said ?

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[1] I should be glad to correct here a wrong quotation of the Majjhima in our Points of Controversy (AUNG and RHYS DAVIDS), pp. 16, n. 2., 401. The Majjhima does not give the Sutta there cited. I return to it presently.

[2] §§ 74, 136, 147, 157, 236.

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We forget, if we say this, that the defender of the *puruṣa* is not here in these debates to speak for himself. His victorious opponent holds the floor, and can make the man evicted say pretty much what he chooses. This may, it is true, have been a more restrained 'chooses' when the debate was compiled. The only surviving records say, that Moggaliputtatissa, president of the Revisionist Council, 'recited the compilation' (*pakaraṇaṃ*) of the debates, for the crushing of other men's teaching in future. But it is conceivable, that this debate (with possibly the next few also) was actually held in presence of the Council and who knows how large a company beside. We have the debate only as put, after the event, into a fixed form of wording, learned and repeated orally till writing came in; carried either orally or in writing to Ceylon, a country which had no religious tradition of the '*Tat tvam asi*'. We have to see it finally as committed to writing in Ceylon, with God knows how much more editing, editing which would naturally strengthen only the special pleading of the attack. But when the oral debate came to birth, the defenders of the 'man' were still present and vocal. The voting which ousted them had not yet taken place. They were officially still undefeated. And this presence of them has survived in our text to this extent:—whenever the Bhagavan's affirming of the man is adduced, the Defender (in the Commentary: *puggalavādin*) is shown both as attacking and as having the last word. The Analyst (called in the Commentary *sakavādin*) is never shown as countering the attack till the very end of the debate. He too has to hear himself called 'refuted, yea, well refuted'. It is not till we come to the Appeals to Authority, that he counters the '*atthi puggalo*', and also the '*ekapuggalo*' (of Aṅguttara I, 22) '*uppajjamāno uppajjati*' with a few sayings asserting non-existence of the man in what sentient experience yields. The isolated recurrence to logical debate at the end, as a second Appendix, occurs, I believe, nowhere in the other debates. It amounts to an attempt to show, that the man is more than can be put into any one word.

Anyway, this last tag of debate gives the Commentator an opening for a peroration on the distinction which his day had come to draw between conventional and ultimate truth (*sammuti-paramatthasaccaṃ*). Had it emerged in the culture of Asoka's time, we can imagine how the Analyst would have trotted it out, so convenient a weapon has it since become, for both Hīnayānist and Mahāyānist. That it is not used by the Analyst is good evidence for its later emergence. We see it beginning in the Milindapañha.[1] The Commentator bases his peroration on a text from a Dīgha-

[1] Mln. 160.

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Suttanta,[1] but it is inapt to support any assertion beyond this: that names, words are in themselves no guarantee of essential truth. The reality of the 'man' has a surer foundation than the expression of it in words. It is an inexpugnable conviction, not to be upset or confirmed by appeals to verbal expression, however high the traditional authority assigned.

I come back for a moment to the words in which the defender makes his appeal. Namely, that he does not use the distinctive opening of the 'four men as being, existing in the world, who', etc.; he begins simply with *atthi puggalo*, and then for some lost reason adds, not four alternatives about *hita*, but just the one qualification: *attahitāya paṭipanno*.[2] This form, too, is maintained in the 'Appendix' of appeals to authority. This leads us to ask, whether the word *atthi* can convey any emphasis as to reality?

I am dealing with a time prior, in India, to the written book, hence an equivalent to our 'italics' is out of the question. But the voice could convey emphasis; so to some extent could the form of the sentence. Thus we have the response to such questions as 'Is there then a way?' in the surely emphasized words: *atthi maggo, atthi paṭipadā* . . .[3] The question itself may have been emphasizing fact or not fact: *atthi deva ti; natthi nibbānaṃ*[4] So here, since no confirmation of existence can be got out of the *attahitāya paṭipanno*, it is only possible to see any point in the citation, if we see some traditional stress on existence conveyed by the *atthi*. For that matter the reference may have been to an ancient Saying by the founder which had nothing to do with the alternatives on *hita* given in Dīgha and Aṅguttara.

We have now found five fragmentary features in our digging, which may tabulated as follows:

(1) a peculiar opening to certain Suttas, so worded as to stress the real existence of that about which things are predicated: *santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmiṃ*;
(2) no apparent justification, in the things predicated, for the stress;
(3) the stress does not refer to 'man', but to men, usually three or four, who are identified with specific dispositions or ways;
(4) a much stressed association asserted between one of the Suttas, having, in two books that peculiar opening, and the alleged feature in the founder's teaching, that the

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[1] D. I, 202 (Poṭṭhapāda).
[2] E.g. S. V, 7; A. i, 180, etc.
[3] M. II, 130, 212.
[4] Mln. 326.

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'man' really existed *quâ* 'man', not merely *quâ* complex;

(5) the Sutta so associated is (apparently) cited partially, not with the peculiar opening, but with just the word *atthi*, an opening in which there may, or there may not be stress on real existence.

Can we from these fragments reconstruct our 'window'?

No, we cannot, if we see our fragments as pieces of synchronous work. If we place them in historical perspective, I incline to think we can.

Firstly, as to (1) and (5): we can imagine the first Sakyans expounding their teaching about the 'man': *purisa*, *attā*, his nature, life and destiny, with an *atthi*, long before there will have been a business of drawing up numbered categories: *dve*, *tayo*, etc. At the same time the use of *atthi* will not have stressed real existence. Why should it? They had as yet no need to do so. Only a mad teacher would have queried that the man was real. (There is no ruling out the *attā* in the 'Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta'. There is only a warning not to see the 'man' in the tools.) On the contrary, they taught at a time when the reality of 'me' and of 'thee' had been immensely strengthened and deepened by an accepted cult of immanent divinity.

But be it never overlooked, that this wrong 'seeing' became before long a growing danger. The Sāṅkhya vogue of distinguishing the mindways from the very 'man', and of analyzing these was an ever-increasing prepossession. The rich variety in man's inner world was emerging: the thinking rather than the thinker. And the sovereign man himself was tending to fade out of the picture. Kauṣītaki had uttered a warning as to this.[1] It was not on the 'man', on whom the attention of later teachers was bent; it was on that plurality of his inner world which they were coming to call *dhammā*: no longer just 'things', but 'things-as-knowable', as to be experienced, Vorstellungen, Werte, worthings, values.

We may see this shifting of interest going on in the mass of the Suttas in the Aṅguttara. Attention here and there is still retained for the man, not men; for the man who is twofold, threefold, manifold. E.g. the man as trainer with four methods, the man as warrior in four ways, the man who is more worthy (*sappurisataro*) or less so, on four grounds, etc. But mainly it is less the man that we find, it is more the men: one man per attribute or disposition. It is the many as such that is preoccupying these

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[1] Kauṣ. Up. 3, 8.

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later teachers ; the many things rather than the unitary phenomenon of the nature, the growth, development, werden, *bhava* of the man.

I am not saying that the earlier teaching never had recourse to heads two, three, four . . . Did not the teaching begin with a two : *dve antā* (converted into a ' three men ' in the Aṅguttara). I say only, that the ' man ', being more impressive then than the many men, I can rather hear them teaching about him in the form we may see surviving in the early Abhidhamma Mātikās :—in the Vibhaṅga on the *khandhas*.[1] The ' man ', it is true, has here been made to give way to a resolution of him into five groups of *dhammā*. But each of these is analyzed into a unity which is *duvidhena, tividhena, catubbidhena*, etc., and beneath each of these sections we get *atthi* this, *atthi* that. I suggest that we may here have a mode of categorizing at least as old in traditional form as the arithmetical progression of the Aṅguttara lists. And it is just possible, that this form may have served for that teaching about the *purisa* or *attā*, the seeking whom was the first public injunction of the Śākyamuni. In this way : whereas the man is ever One, he may be considered *-vidhena*, under more than one aspect : *atthi kāyo, atthi cittaṃ, atthi viññāṇaṃ* : man as having body, as having mind, as surviving death. (In the Vibhaṅga *viññāṇaṃ* has become merged in *cittaṃ*, in *manas*, and so it has remained in Buddhism ever since ; but for the first Sakyans *viññāṇaṃ* meant the man as persisting beyond this life.)

Here then is at least a conceivable reason for the association of certain Suttas about the man in triplets with insistence on the reality of him, an insistence which the growing tendency to merge him in mind may have led to the buttressing of him, by conservative editors, with the words *santo saṃvijjamāno*. But whence the buttressing of a much larger number of Suttas about the man as fourfold ?

I see herein a possibility of man's relation to ' the other man ' having been included. Man was not to be rightly understood, rightly categorized out of relation to his fellowman. That this relation as an integral part of true religion was in and of the expansion made by Gotama in the brahmanical teaching of his day is for me strikingly attested by the rejoinder ascribed to him when conversing with his friend, the king of Kosala. The king, possibly also the queen, as is recorded, have been apparently listening to a chaplain's discourse from the Upaniṣadic teaching on the preciousness of the (Divine) self who is the man. Ay, is the Śākyamuni's rejoinder, but since that holds good for each man, each woman, see that

[1] P.T.S. ed., pp. 12-61, esp. p. 16.

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you hurt not the fellowman,[1] in whom also is That Most Holy Thing. So run the records in words which, in spite of the woefully deteriorated values shown in the Commentary, have retained the worth held in Gotama's day. *Atthi pare*, he is saying, and hence *atthi parahitaṃ*. Is it not perhaps significant, that the *attahitaṃ* and the *parahitaṃ* are the subject of the one Sutta selected by the Defender of the Man, in his appeal to the Founder's having taught the reality of the man? Have we not perhaps here that original *catubbidhena puriso*?

I may say here that I use *puriso*, not *puggalo* intentionally. We do not know when this oddly ugly word *pudgala*, *puggala* came to be substituted for the older *purisa* or *pulisa*, or *puruṣa*. I have not come across any inquiry into the matter. It appears in the Aṅguttara categories as mainly, but not wholly ousting *puriso*, moreover it occurs as a compound of the two: *purisapuggalo*, bridging as it were the traverse. We find this used with appreciation, e.g. Aṅg., I, 130, with depreciation, ibid. 32; Saṃy. IV, 307, 309, with both, ibid. I, 206; Aṅg. I, 173, 189; III, 349. And it is especially associated with the stock description of laity and saṅgha, with reference to the Way as fourfold. A rehabilitation of *puggala* as not just 'male' but as 'handsome male', belongs only, I believe, to mediæval Sanskrit. For the Pali Commentator the word *puggala* has a very worsened exegesis, viz. *puṁ-gala*: hell-crier or -swallower, revealing to us how set the monastic teaching became on blotting out the ancient lofty implication of Puruṣa, and on showing what a 'rotter' the man was when bereft of his divinity. Our translations lose all this change in values. 'Person', 'Mensch' are not essentially derogatory. Almost we need some such word as our slang term 'bloke'!

But no protest against the change over from *purisa* to *puggala* survives. Mainly ancient scriptures record, not the doing, but the done! In older Sayings we have the man conceived as revealing in his essential nature the promise of a Becoming of infinite worth, to be realized in the Way (*mārga*, *yāna*) of the worlds. In younger Sayings we have the man only to be conceived as a complex such as he is seen to be on earth, and the perfect Becoming of him attainable only as the waning out of that complex. In the opening words *santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmiṃ* I see an intermediate and vain attempt made to stem the shrinkage in the concept of the man, and buttress the transcendent reality of him:—an attempt made, we may imagine, because of one of two alternative conditions. Either there was a temporary renascence of the older teaching on the Man and his reality, resulting in revision of sayings (or writings) here and

[1] S. I, 175, Ud. V, 1.

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there ; or, when the Sayings came to be written (at first probably in India), the immense work was placed in different hands, under separate supervision, and a conservative believer in the man's reality may have been in charge of at least portions of the Aṅguttara, another of certain Suttas of the Majjhima.

These are unproveable suggestions, but they suggest nothing very improbable.

Such is my adumbrated reconstruction of this vanished window. In the curious, distinctive opening I see a vanished tradition of a teaching in which the ' man ' was the central theme : the man as in a long way wayfarer towards becoming that who he potentially is. The man as taught under three and under four heads, or aspects : —*vidhena*. The man in all this as the one very Real Thing that we can know. The man as fading before the growth of the many, the manifold of his inner world of *manas*, which was coming to engross Indian preoccupation. The man's reality as fading, but as re-instated by that distinctive opening. The tradition of the older teaching of the man being appealed to by the defender of it, reduced to fighting, his back to the wall, for what had been the very heart of it.

I am aware that, in view of the prevailing acceptance of the monastically edited Pāli scriptures, this attempted reconstruction stands as a very Sebastian in vulnerability. Nothing has been cited that can be called more than at best contributory evidence, but the number of such surviving scraps, and hence their cumulative worth are not, in the history of Buddhism, a negligible fact. It will only be, when we have taken fully into account the many ' left-ins ' of the Pāli scriptures, now so much overlooked by both Buddhists and writers on Buddhism, that we shall begin to build up a worthy history of a great religious movement.

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# PLOTINUS AND INDIAN THOUGHT

*By* A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

It is very natural that constant efforts should be made to establish a definite connection between Indian thought and the teachings of Plotinus. The similarities between the views of the Neo-Platonic philosopher and those current in Indian philosophy are undeniable, and there is always in the case of likenesses the temptation to assign the similarity to derivation by borrowing. It is a perfectly legitimate suggestion, but there must be set on the other side the probability that the human intellect can produce similar results in Greece and India independently. The gravamen of proof lies on those who assert derivation. The problem is not rare in the case of modern literary works where claims of plagiariem are made. Mere similarity is never regarded by English Courts as of decisive importance ; they require either proof *ab extra* of the use of the work alleged to be copied, or the existence of such detailed similarities as can be accounted for only on the theory of deliberate copying though proof of this by other evidence is not available. In the case of Plotinus we must apply analogous criteria, and the difficulty of establishing borrowing in modern times must lead us to expect that in his case evidence of a cogent character will be very hard to adduce. It is interesting therefore to deal with the new presentation of the case for Indian influence presented by Dr. Jean Przyluski in a very ingenious article on Indian Influence on Western Thought before and the during the Third Century A.D.[1]

Dr. Przyluski accepts the burden of showing how Indian philosophy could directly influence western thought at a time when ancient philosophers were incapable of understanding the Upanishads and other Indian treatises. It should be remembered, he argues, that a philosophic doctrine is not only transmitted by formal precepts ; it may also be communicated by example. Words may be completed, may even be superseded by action. The former part of this thesis is beyond dispute ; the latter is open to more serious question, and the argument requires close consideration. The Greeks, we are told, from the time of the expedition of Alexander were deeply impressed by the impassibility of Indian ascetics, and we are reminded of the gymnosophist Kalanos, who refused to accompany Alexander to Egypt, and voluntarily ascended the funeral

[1] Reprinted from the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. i, No. 1.

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pile. It is suggested [1] that Pyrrho, head of the Sceptics in the 3rd century B.C., chose as his ideal the imitation of this indifference imperturbable even in presence of death. Here, however, it is not a question of actions superseding words. What is recorded of Pyrrho is merely that, if he sought solitude and laboured to become a good man, it was because he had never forgotten the words of the Indian who reproached Anaxarchos with being incapable of teaching others to be virtuous and with frequenting too assiduously the palace of the kings. Of Pyrrho's admiration of the death of the sage we have no evidence whatever, and there is nothing in his attitude towards philosophical questions to suggest that suicide of this kind was regarded by him as logical.

The next example of suicide gives us as little help. It is that of Zarmanos—presumably a Śramaṇa—of Barygaza, who accompanied the embassy of the Indian king Pandion (or Porus) to Augustus, but after initiation at Eleusis gave himself alive to the flames. It is stated by Nocolas of Damascus, who claims to have met at the sanctuary of Daphne near Antioch on the Orontes, that he decided to end his life, fearing lest, if life were prolonged, some unforeseen disaster might befall him, whereas hitherto he had enjoyed unbroken prosperity. Dion Cassius attributes his action either to his being of the breed of the Sophists or the desire to make a display of himself before Augustus and the Athenians. The inscription on his tomb attributed the act to the national custom of the Indians. The real cause of his action must remain obscure ; it may be explained by the love of noisy publicity which he shared with the Sophists. It may again be related to the famous legend of the suicide of Croesus.[2] Or possibly it may be due to the motive of edification, to show that philosophy leads to perfect detachment. But what is clear is that this last explanation did not impress contemporary opinion as it does not appear in the Greek explanations then current. Greek literature shows that the Greek world knew vaguely of the Brahmins and Gymnosophists, but this is very far from proving any real knowledge of Indian philosophy, and still less value attaches to the admitted fact that some believed that philosophy originated among the barbarians ; there were barbarians far better known to the Greeks than the remote and fabled Indians.

These facts, therefore, leave the issue of Indian influence on Plotinus in its former position. They do nothing to strengthen the view that Plotinus drew inspiration from Indian sources, and it is therefore necessary to treat the matter strictly from the evidence

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[1] Victor Brochard, *Les sceptiques grecs*, pp. 74, 75.
[2] Picard, *R.H.R.*, 1933, mars-juin, p. 144.

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available in his specific case. It is suggested that new light can be derived from the discovery in Egypt of Manichean documents contained in papyri discovered by peasants of Medinet Madi in the Fayum, now in the possession partly of the Berlin Museum, partly of Mr. Chester Beatty. The most important point revealed in the treatises discovered, two of which are by Mani himself, is that he definitely asserts that even in his adolescence he received his divine mission from the living Paraclete who descended on him and spoke to him, enabling him to understand the mysteries of the strife between light and darkness, of the creation, and of the destiny of man. In the last year of Ardashir I, the first Sassanid king (221–41 A.D.) Mani asserts that he crossed over in a ship to the country of the Indians, and preached to them the hope of life. As soon as Ardashir, who seems to have suspected his teaching, died and Sapor succeeded, Mani returned by sea from India to Persia, whence he went to Babylonia, and eventually was received with favour by the new king. It follows from these facts with certainty that Mani, the founder of a strictly ascetic cult, had a direct knowledge of the Hindu doctrine of renunciation. But we can hardly speak with M. Fr. Cumont [1] of Mani's connection with 'Buddhist India'. At the date in question to speak of India as Buddhist is clearly an assumption of very doubtful character. What is much more important is that Dr. Przyluski seems to misinterpret the evidence as to the effect of Indian on Mani, when he writes, 'In 241, after a voyage to India, the Iranian apostle assumes the role of official reformer and begins his propaganda'. What we know, as recorded by Dr. Przyluski himself, is quite different from this. Mani tells us that the divine mission was given to him in adolescence, and we cannot suppose that he waited until his visit to India to receive the impulse to preach. Dr. Przyluski himself tells us that 'the zeal of the innovator seems to have disturbed the monarch. Mani deemed it prudent to leave.' Moreover, Mani himself says that he preached to the Indians the hope of life. That means that he went to India as a reformer, not that after a voyage to India he assumed the rôle of official reformer and began his propaganda. All that we can say is that after his return from India the new monarch was more favourable than the old, but how far Mani's doctrines were influenced by his stay in India is a matter demanding detailed investigation and proof which is as yet lacking. The most definite suggestion seems to be that of M. Cumont,[2] who points out that the 'Manichean doctrine steeped in Hindu asceticism was propagated in the Thebaid exactly at the time of the birth there of Christian monasticism.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189, n. 1.

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The idea is irresistible that its exaltation of renunciation acted in some way on the development of this spiritual movement, which drew so many anchorites into the solitary places of that country'. But the proof remains to be made that Manichean doctrine was steeped in Hindu asceticism.

Of Plotinus we know that from the age of 28 he was a pupil at Alexandria of the Platonist Ammonius, and that, eager to gain a direct knowledge of the philosophy practised among the Persians and held in honour among the Indians, he attached himself at the age of 39 to the army of Emperor Gordian, then about to attack the Persians. It is suggested that it was the fame of the reformer Mani that drew Plotinus to Persia. But the suggestion is implausible, for it encounters serious chronological difficulties. In 241 Mani left Persia for India, where he preached; we cannot suppose that his stay was very brief if we assert that Indian thought exercised a deep influence on him; he returned to Persia only after he heard of Ardashir's death, and we do not know how long it took for him to secure the ear of Sapor. Some time also must be allowed for his fame to penetrate to Egypt, and we may very seriously doubt if Plotinus's motive for contemplating a journey to Persia with the Emperor's army in 242 can possibly have been to meet Mani. If this had been the case, we should probably have been told so directly instead of having a vague reference to the philosophy practised in Persia and held in honour among the Indians. Moreover, if he had really been animated by this desire, why do we hear no more of his project of studying Persian philosophy at first hand, and why did he in 243 establish himself at Rome instead of remaining in the east in order to be in touch with the new religion of which he is supposed to have learned while in Egypt? There is no very obvious explanation of these facts other than that his eastern venture had brought him little that was satisfactory, just as the campaign itself of his Emperor proved a failure.

This negative result is important, because it leaves us, as before the new discoveries as to Mani, with the mere fact that Plotinus at one time was interested in studying Persian philosophy. That he derived anything from that source remains wholly unattested by external evidence, and the internal evidence[1] remains wholly inadequate to establish the thesis proposed. We are reminded that the philosopher later in life dreamed of founding in Campania a city of sages where he might retire with his disciples; 'the Platonic city has become a convent; it is probably the best and the most

[1] Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 415–39, already indicates the chief points on which reliance can be placed to establish the possibility of borrowing.

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diverting illustration of the difference between Platonism and Neo-Platonism'. This new idea,[1] it is suggested, is made clear if a Buddhist factor is introduced into the development of the Platonic doctrine. But no such hypothesis is necessary or probable. The divergence between Plato and Plotinus in their ideals is amply accounted for by the history of Greece and of Greek thought in its extension to the east after the date of Plato.

What then, we are left to ask, is the essential feature of the views of Plotinus which compels us to look to India to find an explanation for its presence in his philosophy? The mysticism of Plotinus, we are assured,[2] had a character of its own which distinguishes it radically from that of all the Oriental religions which were in vogue at that time. It is distinguished from all other philosophic systems and from all the religions of its age by the almost complete absence of the idea of a mediator or of a saviour destined to bring man into relationship with God. It is the soul herself that in her progress becomes the intelligence, and having reached the end of her journey is no longer separated from the one. So we find at the very centre of the thought of Plotinus an alien element which defies classification. The theory of the intelligence as a universal being resembles neither Greek rationalism nor the popular piety of contemporary religious circles. It is, therefore, necessary to look to the religious speculations of the Indians which at the epoch of Plotinus were established and had been for centuries in the Upanishads and had retained all their vitality.

Ingenious as this is, Dr. Przyluski adds to it the further suggestion that Plotinus attained knowledge of this Indian speculation from Manicheanism, whence his luminous spirit was able to separate, in order to reject them, the dualistic tenets and to retain only the mysticism, peculiarly Indian. He learned thus the Indian ascetics' ideal of renunciation of the world and of complete indifference: man is an autonomous power capable of self-deliverance by raising himself to the divine plane without the aid of the gods or a mediator. Certainly, if one contemplates the confused mass of Manichean tenets, it would indeed demand a luminous spirit to separate out this doctrine from the chaos; indeed the task would be impossible, unless Plotinus is assumed to have attempted it on the basis of a similar philosophy, but we cannot seriously believe that the eager spirit of Plotinus could be illuminated by the Indian doctrines which are asserted to be included in the confused medley of doctrines of Mani.

[1] Emile Bréhier, translation of the *Enneades*, i, p. xi.
[2] Bréhier, *La Philosophie de Plotin* (1928), pp. 113ff.

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On the other hand, we have the indubitable fact that successive generations of students of philosophy, both those who are indifferent to and those familiar with the great achievements of Indian thought, have found it perfectly easy, despite the loss of records, to explain the genesis of the thought of Plotinus from that of Plato and of Aristotle. The weight and value of his philosophy in their view rest on the fact that he is the genuine continuer of the Platonic tradition, and they reject the view that he represents an alien influence on Greek thought. There is nothing, they hold, that is not a legitimate development of that thought, and that cannot be accounted for without reference to external sources of inspiration. On the whole this view seems incapable of refutation. Parallelism between Plotinus and Indian thought we may readily recognize, for thought is one and greatness is denied neither to Greece nor India, but of real borrowing there is no sign of proof.

The absence of any idea of a mediator or a saviour from the Philosophy of Plotinus is far from supporting derivation from India, for it is attached directly to the Platonic tradition, and it strongly suggests that Plotinus borrowed nothing from Manicheism or from Persian philosophy in general. The idea of the autonomy of the soul, and its final union with the one after its wanderings, is essentially Platonic. In the items suggested as extraneous there is in fact the essence of Platonism, and we may be sure that it was not necessary for Plotinus to seek in Persia a liberating power to make him the creator of a new philosophy. Indeed his system hardly merits the epithet ' new ' ; rather is it a brilliant reworking of traditional material into a whole acceptable to the acute minds of his day, and meeting with their philosophical demands. Plotinus, of course, may have learned vaguely in Egypt of Indian thought, though all proof is lacking, but from it he would gain only confirmation of his established faith which is rooted in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.

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# MISCELLANEA

## ŚRĪ-PṚTHIVĪ-VALLABHA

In the Omgodu (No. 2) of the Pallava King Siṃhavarman (Ep. Ind., XV, 246), the Pallavas have been referred to as *Vallabha* which is the same as *śri-vallabha* of Siṃhavarman's Mangalur grant (Ind. Ant., V, 154). It is interesting to note that titles like *śrī-vallabha, pṛthivī-vallabha*, etc., were adopted by individual Cālukya kings of Badami, who were sometimes referred to as *vallabha-rāja*. The Cālukya antagonist of Pallava Narasīṃhavarman has been called *vallabha-rāja* in the Udayendiram (No. 2) grant (*Ibid.*, VIII, 273; cf. *jetā bahuśo vallabha-rājasya*, etc.). In the Samangadh inscription (*Ibid.*, XI, 111), the Cālukya contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga II has been called *Vallabha*. In the Yevur and Miraj grants (*Ibid.*, VIII, 12–14), the Cālukyas themselves refer to the greatness of their family as *Vallabharāja-lakṣmī*. These are only a few of the examples.

We do not definitely know whether the Cālukyas appropriated the title of the Pallavas. It is however certain that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who succeeded the Cālukyas in the sovereignty of the Deccan appropriated the title and were known as *Vallabharājas*. Arabic travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. mention a powerful dynasty of the Balharās who ruled at Mānkīr. According to R. G. Bhandarkar (Bom. Gaz., I, ii, 209), *Balharā* is an Arabic corruption of *Vallabharāja* and the Balharās of Mānkīr are no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa. 'Vallabharāja should, by the rules of Prakrit or Vernacular pronunciation, become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaha-rāy, or Balha-rāy. The last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabic' (*loc. cit.*, also pp. 387ff.).

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University has pointed out to me that the full form of the title *Vallabha* is *śrī-pṛthivī-vallabha*, 'lord of *śrī* (wealth) and *pṛthivī* (earth)'. Now, Śrī and Pṛthivī are the well-known consorts of Lord Viṣṇu whose *dhyāna* is as follows:

Udyat-koṭi-divākarābham = anisaṃ
Śaṅkhaṃ gadāṃ paṅkajam |
Cakraṃ vibhratam = indirā-vasumatī-
Saṃśobhi-pārśvadvayam ||

Indirā (= Śrī) and Vasumatī (= Pṛthivī) are to be conceived as always adorning the sides of Viṣṇu who is their husband (Ind. Cult., I, 439).

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It is interesting in this connection to note the fact that the Pallava kings who issued the Sanskrit charters were all Vaiṣṇavas in faith. They refer to themselves as *parama-bhāgavata, bhagavat-pād-ānudhyāta* or *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-saṃbhāvita-sarva-kalyāṇa* and their inscriptions begin with the adoration *jitaṃ bhagavatā*. The dedication of 200 *nivartanas* of land (595 acres according to Kauṭilya, but 148·6 acres according to a commentator) by the Pallava crown-prince Viṣṇugopa to the god Viṣṇuhāra, as mentioned in the Uruvupalli grant, also supports this view. The title Vallabha (or Śrī-vallabha) which is the same as *Śrī-pṛthivī-vallabha*, a title of Viṣṇu, seems to show that these Pallava kings who were Vaiṣṇavas in faith thought themselves to have been incarnations of lord Viṣṇu.

The Early Pallavas were political successors of the Ikṣvāku dynasty the later members of which line were staunch Buddhists. It is therefore interesting to note that the Pallava kings of the Sanskrit charters boast of having been *Kaliyugadoṣ-āvasanna-dharm-oddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha* which seems to refer to the fact that they were determined to purify their Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism. We, however, cannot fail to notice in this boast the claim for being compared with Viṣṇu. There seems to be an analogy between these kings' upholding Dharma from the *Kaliyuga-doṣa* and Viṣṇu's upholding Pṛthivī from the *Pralaya* during his Varāha incarnation.

In this connection I should like to refer also to the description of two inscriptions at p. 94 of the Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1922-23 : ' No. 661 of 1922 is engraved on the portal of the north niche in the Varāha cave, and consists of the name Śrī-Simmaviṇṇa-Pottrāthirāja in the Pallava-Grantha characters. The niche below this inscription contains the seated figure of a king with a high crown (*kīriṭa*), and chest and ear ornaments, flanked on either side by a standing female figure representing by their crown his queens . . . . No. 662 of 1922 cut on the top of the corresponding niche on the south side of the main cave, and opposite to the image of Siṃhaviṣṇu referred to above, consists only of the name Śrī-Mahendra-Pottrā-thirāja. The niche contains the standing image of a king distinguished by his crown and ornaments. His half raised hand points towards the shrine of the god evidently—whither he appears to be leading the nearer queen by her right hand. The above two inscriptions serve as labels to show whom the images represent . . . ' H. Krishna Śastri identifies (A.S.I. Mem., No. 26, p. 4) this Siṃhaviṣṇu with Narasiṃhavarman-Siṃhaviṣṇu I and Mahendra with his father Mahendravarman I.

Both these kings have two queens each. This equality in the number of queens of both the father and the son is doubtful. It is

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also doubtful that these mighty kings remained satisfied only with two wives in India where a large number of queens is a speciality to royal harems in all ages. The presence of two queens with the king in the above case seems therefore conventional. Do the two queens symbolically represent Śrī and Pṛthivī attending the king who was a successor of the Śrī-pṛthivī-vallabhas ?

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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## LAKSHMAṆASENA

The present discussion is based on the copperplate grant from Sundarban, which is dated in the Śaka year 1118–1196 A.D.[1] The inscription, in question, records the grant of a village in Pūrva-Khāṭikā[2] by a 'sāmantarāja' named Maḍommaṇapāla, who was hostile to the suzerain ruler, no doubt a Sena King.

The question is: whether it was Lakshmaṇasena or one of his sons, who was seated on the throne of Gauḍa in 1196 A.D. In either case he must be identified with Minhāj's Rāe Lakhmanīah.

Maḍommaṇapāla could not be a 'vipakshasāmanta' till the 14th year of Viśvarūpasena's reign, for the Bay of Bengal formed the eastern limit of the kingdom of the Sena King.[3] Besides, as compared with the inscriptions of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena the present inscription shows a more developed stage of the alphabet.

We know from the inscriptions of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena that the two reigns covered at least 15 years. Consequently Lakshmaṇasena's reign came to an end in the earlier part of the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

The date of the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár, as has been pointed out by Dr. Blochmann,[4] cannot be taken as earlier than A.D. 1198-99, by which time Lakshmaṇasena, son of Vallālasena, was dead. Evidently, Rāe Lakhmanīah cannot be identified with him.

In other words, we are inclined to believe that Lakshmaṇasena was dead long before the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal, and that A.D. 1119 is the approximate date of the death of Vallālasena and the accession of Lakshmaṇasena.

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[1] I.H.Q., Vol. X, pp. 321ff.

[2] Cf. Khāḍī is mentioned as a bhakti in the Barrackpur Grant of Vijayasena and as a Vishaya in the Sundarban copperplate of Lakshmaṇasena.

[3] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 142.

[4] J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIV, Part I, pp. 275ff.

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But the Sena power had been weakened in the time of Lakshmaṇasena, as is shown below.

In the Mādhāinagar Grant we find a description of his conquests :

(1) He, when a Kumāra, conquered the Gauḍa King, possibly one of the last of the Pālas who for sometime after the extinction of their Imperial power retained possession of a portion of Bengal.

(2) He, when a Kumāra, conquered Kaliṅga.

(3) He defeated the king of Kāśi in battle, possibly after his accession to the throne.

(4) He subdued Kāmrūpa, possibly after his accession to the throne. Again, in the inscriptions of his sons we are told that he erected pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad and on the shores of the southern ocean.

The Despara inscription contains the information that Vijayasena ' quickly made the king of Gauḍa to flee, drove away the king of Kāmrūpa and defeated the king of Kaliṅga '. But it seems that he was not able to retain his conquests for long. Because his grandson Lakshmaṇasena had to reconquer them.

The question that we have to consider here is : how far Lakshmaṇasena was able to consolidate the victory attained.

We have a number of inscriptions of Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga,[1] the powerful Eastern Gaṅga King whose empire extended from the mouth of the Ganges in the north to the mouth of the Godāvarī in the south. Three of them are worth mentioning here. The earliest of them, which is issued from Kaliṅganagara and dated Śaka 1003=A.D. 1081, gives the information that the king used the title of Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati. The second grant, which is issued from Sindurapora and dated in the Śaka year 1040=A.D. 1118, records the migration of Kāmārṇava I, grandfather of Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga, from Gaṅgāvāḍi (Mysore) to Kaliṅga, his worship of the God Gokarṇeśvara on Mahendragiri and the defeat of king named Bālāditya, which resulted in the conquest of the Kaliṅga country. As regards Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga, it states that he ' first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the Eastern region and then the waning lord of Veṅgī in the Western region and propped up their failing fortunes '. The last line of the inscription gives the information that the King Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga considered himself to be ' decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala '. The third grant, which

[1] History of Orissa (R. D. Banerji), Vol. I, pp. 248–54.

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does not give any information of historical interest, is issued from Kaliṅganagara and dated in the Śaka year 1057=1135 A.D. Again, according to a votive record from Mukhaliṅgam Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga was alive and ruling in the Śaka year 1069=1148 A.D.

These facts point to the conclusion that Lakshmaṇasena must have invaded Kaliṅga before 1118 A.D. But his power did not last long there, as in evident from the grant of Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga issued in that year.

The expedition to Kāmrūpa was no doubt unsuccessful, otherwise the event would surely have been mentioned in the inscriptions of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena.

The king of Kāśi defeated by Lakshmaṇasena must have been a member of the Gāhaḍavāla family, and possibly Vijayachandra, son of Govindachandra. The Gāhaḍavāla King Govindachandra seems to have conquered the whole of Magadha. In A.D. 1126 (V.S. 1183) he was in a position to grant a village in the district of Patna to a Brāhmaṇa.[1] Again, in A.D. 1145 (V.S. 1202) he advanced as far as Monghyr.[2]

Lakshmaṇasena could not also retain his power in Magadha. Western Magadha seems to have passed, as in evident from the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription of the Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavala of Jāpila, which is dated V.S. 1225=A.D. 1168, into the hands of a Gāhaḍavāla King,[3] and possibly Jayachandra, who was reputed by the Muhammadan writers to be the greatest king in India and was known to them as king of Benares. Govindapāladeva of Magadha,[4] who, perhaps taking advantage of the struggle between the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas, became an independent king in A.D. 1161 but lost within a few years of his reign a part of his territory, continued to rule at some other place, and very likely at Nālandā, till he was conquered by Muhammad Bakhtyár in 1199 A.D. Aśokacalla of Bodh-Gayā became an independent king in 1170 A.D.

Lakshmaṇasena died about A.D. 1170, by which time the Sena power had become confined to Bengal. In the hands of his weaker successors it apparently lost further ground. Provincial Governors began to break away. Maḍommaṇapāla, Governor of Pūrva-Khāṭikā, declared his independence in 1196 A.D. And thereafter the Muhammadans conquered Western and Northern Bengal. The Sena dynasty came to an end with the occupation of Lakhanawaṭī by Muhammad Bakhtyár in 1200 A.D. Scions of the family,

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[1] J.A.S.B., Vol. XXVII, p. 243.
[2] Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 98.
[3] Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, pp. 107-8.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 108–12.

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however, continued to rule as local chiefs at Vikrampur[1] and at Bodh-Gayā.[2]

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.

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## PALI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀLUKYA (SŌLANKĪ) KUMĀRAPĀLA, DATED V.S. 1209

This inscription has been inscribed on a pillar, in the 'Sabhāmaṇḍapa' of the temple of Sōmnāth at Pali, a town, situated 20 miles south-east of Jodhpur. It was first noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society, Wc., 1907-08, p. 45. It is dated the 4th day of the dark half of second Jyēshṭha, V.S. 1209. The year being a Shravaṇādi it corresponds to 13th May, 1153 A.D. It consists of twenty lines and covers a space of 1′7″×1′6″. The characters belong to the northern type of alphabets, and as regards orthography it is needless to write anything as its middle part from lines fifth to twentieth has peeled off. Though this state of the inscription has deprived people of the knowledge about the object of the inscription, yet the matter which has escaped the hands of time has preserved very valuable information for the history of the Rāṭhōr rulers of Marwar.

The first seven lines of the inscription state that in Vikram Samvat 1209 (1153 A.D.) the town of Pali was under the kingdom of (Sōlankī-Chālukya) Kumārapāla[3] of Aṇahillapāṭan (Gujrat), who subdued the king of Shākambhāri (Sambhar), and his feudatory Bāhaḍadēva was in charge of the place (Pali). Most probably he might have been a Chauhān Rajput related to Chauhān Ālhaṇadēva

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[1] '. . . Sunārgāṇu, near Bikrampur, continued to be a place of refuge for those who were discontented at Gauṛ, and was not finally reduced for a long time after the overthrow of Rāe Lakhmanīah, who had a son, Madhob Sen, who had a son, Sū Sen, who by Hindus is considered the last ruler.' Raverty, Vol. II, p. 558 and note 1.

[2] The Jāniligha inscription of L.S. 83=A.D. 1202 proves that Gayā continued to be in the possession of a scion of the Sena family, Jayasena, who was the son of Buddhasena. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, p. 266.

Again, Madhusena of the Bauddha Pañcharakshā, who has been taken by some to be the last Sena king reigning at Vikrampur, has now been connected with the Buddhist kings of Bodh-Gayā, Buddhasena and Jayasena. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIX, 1933, No. 1, pp. 23ff.

[3] He ruled from V.S. 1199 to 1230 (1142 to 1173 A.D.).

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of Kiradu as an inscription[1] of the same year (V.S. 1209=1152 A.D.) found at Kiradu states that Chauhān Ālhaṇadēva was a favourite of Kumārapāla and had acquired the possessions of Kiradu, Raḍadhara, and Shiva due to his favour. From the death of king Kumārapāla, about V.S. 1230 (1173 A.D.), the power of the Chālukyas began to decline. The inscription[2] dated V.S. 1319 (1262 A.D.) of Chauhān Chāchigdēva states that his (Chāchigadēva's) father Udayasimha, who was a great-grandson of the aforesaid Ālhaṇadēva, held an independent sway over Nadol Jalor, Mandor, Bahadmer, Ratnapur, Sanchor, Surachand, Raḍadhara, Kher, Ramsin, and Bhinmal. We have got four inscriptions of this Udayasimha ranging from V.S. 1262 to V.S. 1306.

All this prove that in the beginning of the thirteenth century of Vikrama era, Pali was under the rule of the Chālukyas and then it passed away to the Chauhāns as is evident from the situation of the towns mentioned in the Sundha inscription of V.S. 1319. It never remained under Pallīwāl Brāhmans and therefore Rāo Sīhā, the founder of the Rāṭhōr dynasties of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kishangarh, Idar, Ratlam, Sitamau, Sailana, Jahabua, etc. had no occasion to murder the Brāhmans of Pali treacherously to usurp the town, as is stated by Lt.-Col. Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān (Vol. II, pp. 942-943). There he has written :—

'At this period a community of Brāhmans held the city and extensive lands about Pali, from which they were termed Paliwal; and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mers and Minas, they called in the aid of Siahaji's band, which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brāhmans from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Siahaji lands to settle amongst them, which were readily accepted; and here he had a son by the Solankani, to whom he gave the name of Asvatthama. With her, it is recorded, the suggestion originated to make himself lord of Pali; and it affords another example of the disregard of the early Rajputs for the sacred order, that on the Holi, or Saturnalia, he found an opportunity to "obtain land", putting to death the heads of this community, and adding the district to his conquests. Sihaji outlived his treachery only twelve months, leaving his acquisitions as a nucleus for further additions to his children.'

But his unauthentic statement cannot stand before the Pali inscription reproduced below :—

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[1] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, p. 45.
[2] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 78.

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TRANSLATION

१—ऊं सं. १२०९ द्वि. ज्येष्ठ वदि ४ अद्येह पल्लिकायां श्रीमदगाहिल-
२—पाटकाधिष्ठित समस्त राजावली विराजित परमभट्टारक महारा-
३—जाधिराज परमेश्वर उमापतिवरलब्धप्रौढप्रतापनिजभुजविक्रमरणांग-
४—णविनिर्जितगूाकंभरीभूपालश्रीमत्कमारपालदेवकल्याणविजयरा-
५—ज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि — — — — — श्रीकरणादौ सम-
६—स्त पोरारपारपथ अद्येह श्रीमत्पल्लिकाधि-
७—ष्ठित समस्तश्री विराजमानश्रीवाहडदेव प्रति-
८—पत्तौ नेत्र प्राला
९—नीजा समत्तं जावेरत्त
१०—धर्म्म तस्य का
११— विंग्र
१२— नकरणी-
१३— हराजेक
१४— करापितो
१५— श्रीनदूल
१६— भावि
१७— यत् नाति तन्व
१८—ते दत्तहर
१९—यितः रक ।
२०—से सूत्र० केल्हणेन

BISHESHWARNATH REU.

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## THE SUNDARBAN PLATE OF DOMMAṆAPĀLA

We have read with interest the above note by Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar in Vol. I, pp. 679–682 of this *Journal*. Dommanapāla's family is said to have come from Ayodhyā. Mr. Sircar says that this 'Ayodhyā should be sought for in the Deccan'. But why go to a distant and imaginary Ayodhyā? Was there no Ayodhyā in the neighbourhood of Sundarban? The principal settlement of the Dākṣiṇātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇs of Bengal is in the Diamond Harbour Sub-division of the Twenty-four-Parganas, where the plate has

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been found. Their tradition is that they came from Utkala, i.e. Orissa. In fact Halāyudha, the *Dharmādhikāra* of King Lakṣmaṇasena, in his *Brāhmaṇa-Sarvasva*, says that the Utkala and the Pāścātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇs read Vedas, but do not know their meaning. Here Utkala, no doubt, refers to these Dākṣiṇātya Vaidikas, who alone of the Bengal Brāhmaṇs are said to have come from Utkala. We think that like these Brāhmaṇs of the locality, Dommaṇapāla's family might have come from Utkala. In fact there is a very ancient village named Ayodhyā, some six miles from the capital of the Nilgiri State, on the border of Mayurabhañja, in Orissa. Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Arch. Sur. of Mayurabhañja*, Vol. I, pp. 87–91, says that it contains ruins of a fort, and of about 100 temples. According to the old Pāṇḍās of the place, no place in the whole of Orissa is so rich in ancient monuments, temples, and images, except Bhubaneśvara.

Further Mr. Sircar thinks that the word *muktibhūmi* means 'death-bed'. We, however, think that it means the place where Dommaṇapāla was *mukta* (delivered of) *garbha* (mother's womb), i.e. his birth place. The word *svīya* which is prefixed to *muktibhūmau* clearly indicates it.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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## KAUŚIKĀ OR KAUŚIKI

In my article 'Kauśikā and Kusiara' published in the *Indian Culture* of January 1935, I stated that the river 'Kauśikā' mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarupa, must be the river Kosi in the Purnea district of Bihar although the correct Sanskrit name of the river may be 'Kauśiki' and not 'Kauśikā'. I also supposed that either the person who engraved the inscription, in the early part of the seventh century, wrongly spelt 'Kauśiki' as 'Kauśikā' or Pandit Vidyāvinod who discovered the copperplates and deciphered the inscription misread 'Kauśiki' as 'Kauśikā'. Judging from the fact that the Greek writers of the Mourya period named this river 'Cosoagus' and even Rennell in 1783 named it 'Cosah' in his map of Bengal and Bihar, I came to the conclusion that probably this river was popularly known as 'Kauśikā'. It now appears that my conclusion was correct.

Mr. Harihara V. Trivedi in his article 'Studies in Ancient Geography' published in the latest issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (December, 1934) gives the names of rivers, mountains,

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cities, etc. as found in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa. According to him, 'Kauśikā' is mentioned in Chapters LVII and LVIII of this Purāṇa as a river rising from the Himavat mountain. There is no doubt that the reference is to the present Kosi river. Now Mr. Trivedi has used Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji's edition of the Purāṇa published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1862. In the Bangabāsi Press edition of this Purāṇa however the reading is 'Kauśiki'. I have not yet been able to find out what the name is in other editions but I take it that Dr. Banerji's edition is an authoritative one. Thus we find that the Sanskrit name of the river Kosi had at least two variants viz. 'Kauśikā' and 'Kauśiki' and that therefore neither the engraver of the inscription can be accused of wrong spelling nor Pandit Vidyāvinod's reading can be regarded as incorrect.

The result is that the river 'Kauśikā' mentioned in the inscription cannot but be the modern Kosi and that the 'Śuśka Kauśikā' which was on the boundary of the lands donated by Bhāskaravarman must have been the *Burhi* or *Mara* Kosi shown in Buchanan's map prepared in 1809. The donated lands were therefore within the modern district of Purnea or in Morung to the north of this district. The location of the donated lands within the district of Sylhet is absolutely impossible. The controversy on this point should now be considered as ended.

K. L. BARUA.

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## AŚVAMEDHA BY THE FEUDATORIES

A controversy is going on, in the pages of this *Journal* (Vol. I, pp. 115 and 311), over the question whether a feudatory prince could or could not perform a Horse-sacrifice. In this connection we are giving a bit of information, which we have just lighted upon.

The *Harivaṁśa* says that Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa, was born as an *aṁśa* or part of the great sage Kaśyapa. He lived on this earth *goṣu* 'among the kine' or in Gokula on Mount Govardhana, not far from Mathurā. There he was engaged in cattle-rearing (*goṣv-ābhirataḥ*) and was a *karadāyakaḥ* 'tax-payer or tributary' to Kaṁsa.[1]

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[1] तदस्य कश्यपस्यांशस्तेजसा कश्यपोपमः।
वसुदेव इतिख्यातो गोषु तिष्ठति भूतले ॥ ६१६२
गिरिगोवर्धनो नाम मथुरायास्त्वदूरतः।
तत्रासौ गोष्वभिरतः कंसस्य करदायकः ॥ ६१६३

(हरिवंश, ५६ अध्याय।)

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On the death of Kaṁsa, his father Ugrasena was installed on the throne of Mathurā. This, of course, did not make any change in the position of Vasudeva. His son Kṛṣṇa, although a divine person, a great politician and possessor of great wealth, having relationship with many royal families, was never a real king. He was nominally initiated as a king by brothers Kratha and Kaiśika in the city of Vidarbha, just to enable him to sit among the kings assembled at the *Svayaṁvara* (choice of husband) ceremony of Rukmiṇī, the daughter of King Bhīṣmaka of Kuṇḍina.[1]

The family then removed to Dvārakā, for fear of Kālayavana. While there, Indra one day came to Kṛṣṇa to confer on the destruction of *asura* Vajranābha of Vajrapura, who wanted to make war with Indra. Kṛṣṇa replied that his father Vasudeva had just then been engaged in the great sacrifice of *Aśvamedha* but he assured Indra that the demon will be killed as soon as the sacrifice is completed.[2]

It will be seen that Kṛṣṇa was never a great king or emperor and that his father was not even an independent ruler. At best he was a tributary. And if this Vasudeva could perform an *Aśvamedha*, we do not quite understand why a feudatory prince could not do it.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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## ARJUNA MIŚRA

Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh in his learned note on Arjuna Miśra, the celebrated commentator of the great Epic, Mahābhārata, in the April issue of the *Indian Culture*, tries to fix the date of this commentator on the strength of the genealogy of Arjuna Miśra in the Vārendra *Kulajīs* in which Arjuna Miśra stands as the 25th

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According to the *Ghaṭa-jātaka*, Kaṁsa made a gift of the village of Govardhamāna for the maintenance of his sister and her husband.

1 *Ibid.*, Ch. 108.

2 गौरेरुपस्थितो देव वाजिमेधो मद्दाक्रतुः ।
तस्मिन् दृत्ते वज्रनाभं पातयिष्यामि वासव ॥ ८५७१
× × × ×
वाजिमेधे च संप्राप्ते वसुदेवस्य भारत ।
तस्मिन् यज्ञे वर्त्तमाने प्रवेशार्थं सुरोत्तमौ ॥ ८५७४
(हरिवंश, १५० अध्यायः ।)

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descendant. He refers to the Manhali charter of king Madanapāla, son of Rāmapāla-deva to a Campāhiṭṭiya Brāhmaṇ named Vaṭeśvarasvāmi-Śarman. Some land was granted according to this charter for reciting the Mahābhārata to Queen Chitramatikā-devī of king Madanapāla (c. 1140–1161 A.D.) in the eighth year of his reign. Mr. Ghosh observes : ' It will be seen from the genealogy given above that the donee Vaṭeśvara was the grandson of Vatsa Campati's son Paja or Prajāpati, while Arjuna Miśra was ninth in descent from him. So the latter was six generations later than the former. At the rate of 25 years per generation Arjuna Miśra must have lived in about (1147+150=) 1297 A.D. Arjuna Miśra mentions Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of the *Manusaṁhitā* and the Mahābhārata. So the latter cannot be later than the 13th century.'

Though family genealogies serve as landmarks in the reconstruction of the darker side of Indian History, their value for exact chronology, unless corroborated by other independent evidence, is problematical. They may, however, well serve as useful starting points for putting forward different hypotheses. Mr. Ghosh himself states in his foot-note on p. 707 that ' there is something wrong in the genealogy of these first Kulins '. In the next foot-note he remarks : ' For some reason or other Śaunaka's name has been left out, possibly because his line became extinct. But his name and that of his son, as known from a copper-plate grant, have been added hereto and therefore printed in italics.'

These remarks of Mr. Ghosh about a genealogy on the strength of which he tries to arrive at the date of Arjuna Miśra make us more suspicious about its value for purpose of chronology. At best it may serve as a rough guide in this dry desert of chronology. Then again the computation of generations at the rate of 25 years per generation resorted to by Mr. Ghosh, supposing that some names have been omitted in the genealogy, makes confusion worse confounded. The date of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of Manusaṁhitā and the Mahābhārata mentioned by Arjuna Miśra may be more useful to us if his date could be accurately determined. Mr. Kane[1] makes the following remarks about the date of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa : ' The commentator Nārāyaṇa is certainly earlier than 1600 A.D. as his commentary is cited by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturviṁśatimata (*vide*, p. 61 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1907). A MS. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary was written in 1497 A.D. and he appears to have been quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in 1431 A.D. (Jolly in R. und S., p. 31). He is later

[1] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 157.

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than Govindrāja and flourished between 1100 and 1300 A.D. Raghvānanda mentions by name Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa and Kullūka and so is later than about 1400 A.D.' In the list of authors on Dharmaśāstra Prof. Kane remarks :—

'नारायणसर्वज्ञ a. of मन्वर्थविवृत्ति Com. on मनुस्मृति of कामधेनुदीपिका, of शुद्धिदीपिका. As रायमुकुट (1431 A.D.) mentions him he is earlier than 1400 A.D. (*vide* Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84, p. 62).'

It will thus be seen that the limits 1100 and 1300 for Sarvajñanārāyaṇa's date are too wide to be relied upon in arriving at Arjuna Miśra's date.

Mr. Ghosh observes further about the patron of Arjuna Miśra :—

'Satyakhāna was the patron of Arjuna Miśra. We have not been able to trace who he was. But the first part of his name "Satya" indicates that he was a Hindu grandee under the Pathan Sultans of Bengal. These kings used to grant the title of Khan to the Hindus as well as Muhammedans, while the Mughals reserved it for the latter only. He was probably a Varendra Brahman, high official or Zamindar, under the Sultan Nasiruddin Bughra Khan (1283–91 A.D.) son of Ghiasuddin Bulhan and father of Muizzuddin Kaikubad, emperors of Delhi.'

I agree in general with Mr. Ghosh in his statement that the first part of the name *Satya Khan* indicates that he was a Hindu grandee and that the second part is a title bestowed upon him by some Muhammadan ruler of Bengal. As regards the identification of this Satya Khan I venture to put forth the following hypothesis tentatively :—

It is extremely probable that श्रीसत्यखान the patron of the पाठक अर्जुनमिश्र is identical with another श्रीसत्यखान the patron of गोवर्द्धन पाठक, the author of पुंराणसर्वस्व a MS. of which has been fully described by Rajendralal Mitra.[1] This MS. (No. 2068) is on palm leaves in Bengali characters and consists of 325 folios. It is dated Śaka 1677 (A.D. 1755). Its place of deposit was Viśe (post Dengapada) in Rajashahi Zila as stated by Rajendralal Mitra. Its appearance was very old and it was a fairly correct MS. It belonged to one Babu Lakshmikanta Ray. Mitra remarks about this MS. that it is 'A miscellany made up of extracts from the purāṇas with comments thereon, on history, geography, civil polity, various forms of worship, etc. by गोवर्द्धन पाठक. It was compiled under the auspices of a Bengali Zamindar of the name "श्रीसत्य" who had the title of खान, in the year 1396 Śaka.'

[1] *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI, 1882, Calcutta, pp. 132-33.

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The MS. has the following colophon :—

"एतत्पुस्तं समाप्तं जनपदविदितं कारितं सत्यखानै-
दानै मानै विधानैरनुदिनमधिकं पण्डितान् पूजयित्वा
सर्वस्वान्तं पुराणं परमशुभकरं भूषणं भूतलेऽस्मिन्
आचंद्रार्कञ्चकास्ताद्रसनवऋतभुक्चंद्रसंख्या शकाब्दे
श्रीमद्गौडमहीमहीपतिपतिप्राप्तप्रसादोदयः
पुण्यः प्राक्तनकर्मणोऽतिपद + + + श्री खानाङ्कितो।
पश्चात् श्रीशुभराजखान पदवी लब्धाधरामण्डले
जीयान्धर्मधुरन्धरः कुलधरो धीरो गभीरो गुणैः॥
पुराणसर्वस्वमिदं प्रयत्नादकारि गोवर्द्धन पाठकेन
मनोरमं पुण्यवतं जनानां श्रीसत्यखानस्य यशः प्रधानं॥

इति पुराणसर्वस्वं समाप्तं शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १६७७"

The above extract furnishes us with the following particulars :—

(1) As stated in the first verse of the colophon, the work *Purāṇasarvasva* was composed in Śaka 1396 (=A.D. 1474).

(2) The work was composed under the orders of "सत्यखान" (कारितं सत्यखानैः—where the plural is used as a mark of respect like आचार्यैः). Satya Khan adored many pandits by giving them presents (दानैः) and bestowing other honours (मानैः) on them, coupled with the performance of religious rites (विधानैः). It is possible that these pandits were employed to help गोवर्द्धन पाठक to compile this compendium of Purāṇas and that they were publicly honoured (जनपदविदितं) on the completion of the work.

(3) The 2nd verse of the colophon gives us particulars about the patron Satya Khan. He is called धर्मधुरन्धर and कुलधर, 'protagonist of religion and family'. He obtained the favour (प्राप्तप्रसादोदयः) of the Lord of the king of Bengal (गौडमही-महीपति-पति). The expression गौडमहीमहीपति पति may be interpreted in two ways. If the compound is dissolved as "गौडमहीमहीपतिः एव पतिः" it will mean only the king of Bengal. If it is dissolved as गौडमहीमहीपतेः पतिः it will mean 'the Lord of the king of Bengal' and in that case we shall have to suppose that the expression has a reference to the sovereign ruler to whom the king of Bengal owed allegiance.

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The last two lines of the 2nd verse of the colophon state that Govardhana's patron got the title खान from one 'श्रीशुभराजखान' (पश्चात् श्रीखानाङ्किता श्रीशुभराजखानपदवी लब्धा).

The expression "श्रीशुभराजखान" has possibly a reference to a Muhammedan king of Bengal belonging to the House of Raja Kans[1] that came into power in A.D. 1409, in which year Raja Khan, Zamindar of Bhaturiah dethroned and killed Shamsu-d-Din Ilyas Shah and placed his own son (?) *Shiabu-d-Din* on the throne of Bengal. I wonder if the expression "शुभराजखान" contains any reference to '*Shiabu Rajakāns*' (शुभ) being a sanskritized form for *Shiabu*. But this is only a conjecture for the present.

The following points stand out prominently from what has been said above re. the MS. of *Purāṇa Sarvasva* of Govardhana Pathak :—

(1) His patron was a Hindu landlord by name सत्य or श्रीसत्य.

(2) That this सत्य (or श्रीसत्य) was the patron of other pandits besides गोवर्द्धन पाठक and that he was very much interested in the purāṇas.

(3) That this patron सत्य (or श्रीसत्य) obtained the title through some Muhammedan king of Bengal, most probably belonging to the house of Raja Kāns ruling at the time, i.e. in the latter half of the 16th century (before A.D. 1474).

I am inclined to identify the two सत्यखानs, one the patron of Arjuna Miśra and the other the patron of Govardhana Pāthaka on the following grounds :—

(1) Both these writers refer to their patrons in an identical manner. Arjuna Miśra uses the expression "श्रीमतः सत्यखानस्य" while Govardhana uses the expressions "सत्यखानैः" and श्रीसत्यखानस्य".

(2) Both these writers are पाठकs. Arjuna Miśra's father is called "भारताचार्य पाठकराज" while Arjuna Miśra is called भारताचार्य in the colophons of the MSS. of his Mahābhārata commentary. Govardhana also uses the expression "गोवर्द्धन पाठकेन" with regard to himself.

(3) Then again both these writers belonged to the same province, viz. Bengal. Arjuna Miśra gives the name of his village in the words "वारेन्द्र-चम्पाहेट्टीय" while Govardhana refers to "गौडमही" in his work as pointed out above. The only MS. of *Purāṇa Sarvasva* comes from Raja Shahi, a district of Bengal.

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[1] Duff; *Indian Chronology*, pp. 314, 241.

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(4) Both these writers appear to have prospered in the latter half of the 15th century, i.e. between 1450 and 1500 A.D. While a MS. of Arjuna Miśra's commentary on the Mahābhārata is dated A.D. 1534,[1] Govardhana gives the date of his work Purāṇa Sarvasva as A.D. 1474. It is possible that both these writers were contemporaries.

(5) The title खान indicates Muhammedan influence and we know as a matter of fact that Bengal was under the rule of Muhammedan kings of the house of Raja Kāns which came into power in A.D. 1409.

We accept Mr. Ghosh's statement that the Muhammedan kings of Bengal used to grant the title of खान to the Hindus as well as Muhammedans while the Moguls reserved it for the latter only. Our only difference is that while Mr. Ghosh considers सत्यखान to have lived under Sultan Nassiruddin Bughra (1283–91), I am inclined to believe that he lived under the house of Raja Khan that came into power in A.D. 1409.

In the present note I have tried to supplement to a certain extent the information about Arjuna Miśra and his genealogy given by Mr. Ghosh. If my hypotheses about the identity of Arjuna Miśra's patron Satya Khan enables Mr. Ghosh to reinterpret his genealogical data in a new way the problem of Arjuna Miśra's date may be brought nearer its solution.

P. K. GODE.

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## AN OLD SITE IN BENARES

In the southern part of the city of Benáres, just beside the Unfiltered Waterworks, in one of the lanes leading from the main road to the Ganges, is a well, known as the Lolārka-kuṇḍa, popularly called the Lalārak-kuṇḍ. On the sixth day of the bright Bhādra, which is sacred to the Sun,[2] Hindu women visit the place by thousands and offer worship here. A special feature of the well is that its water can be approached by flights of steps going down to the bottom on three sides. As the well is situated within a hundred yards of the Ganges, it may be suspected that it was once connected with the river. Some of the stone-walls of the staircases are

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[1] *Mahābhārata* (Virāṭaparvan) edited by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1915. See Introduction, p. 6, foot-note.

[2] Kielhorn, *Festal Days of the Hindu Lunar Calendar, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVI, p. 182.

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decorated with images of gods, all however utterly defaced. The temple of Tulasīdāsa, the great poet, stands at a slight distance, and the confluence of the Asī and the Ganges is visible from the spot.

Some interest attaches to the black-stone inscription fixed on the wall near the well. The inscription is written both in the Devanāgarī and Bengali scripts and runs as follows :—

गुप्तं लोलार्ककुण्डं प्रकटितमकरोद्भग्नसोपानवृन्दै-

र्ल्लक्ष्मीनारायणो राट् शिवसुतसुतजः प्रस्तरैश्चेष्टकाद्यैः (?)।

तद्दायादो हरेन्द्रात्मज इह सुमतिर्भूपतिः सन् विहारे

तद्ध(द्ध)र्त्तुं चारु चक्रे पितुरभिलसितेः सिद्धये श्रीशिवेन्द्रः॥

सम्वत् १९०० भद्रि ता० २५।

'King Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, the great-grandson of Śiva (or the grandson of Śivasuta), repaired with stone and bricks the Lolārka-kuṇḍa, which was lying covered, with beautiful flights of steps. His inheritor, the illustrious Śivendra, who was the son of Harendra, being landlord in Bihar, constructed the beautiful well (again), after it has fallen into ruins, to fulfil the desire of his father. (Vikrama) year 1900, Bhādra 25 (August, 1843).'

The Bengali version of the inscription contains the additional date, রাজসকা ৩৩৪, সন্ ১২৫০ সাল, meaning 'royal year 334, Bengali year 1250'.

Another inscription of the same individual is found on a resting verandah in the north-eastern corner of the well.

These facts, however, do not establish the antiquity of the site, had we not had an accidental reference to a Lolārka temple at Benares on the bank of the Ganges in the Bangawan copperplate inscription of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, dated 1208 (A.D. 1151).[1] The inscription says that the Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī Gosaladevī, the queen of Govindacandra, bathed in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī near the temple of the god Lolārka and granted a village to a Brāhmaṇa coming from Pāṭaliputra. The relevant portion of the inscription may be reproduced here :—

... समस्तराजप्रक्रियोपेत-सर्व्वालंकारविभूषित-व(प)[ट्ट]महादेवी-महाराज्ञी-श्रीगोसल-

देवीभिः श्रीमद्वाराणस्यां कार्त्तिकीपर्व्वणि देव-श्रीलोलार्कसन्निधौ( धौ ) गङ्गायां स्नात्वा ...

We need not doubt that the temple of the god referred to here must have stood very near the well now known as Lolārka-kuṇḍa.

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[1] Bhandarkar, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 281.

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This identification allows us to have some idea about the area of the old Benares. From some of the Gāhaḍavāla records, e.g. the Rawian grant,[1] we find that the Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭa, near the confluence of the Varuṇā and the Ganges to the north of Benares (still bearing the same name), was then regarded as a part of Benares. And the foregoing lines show that the southern boundary of the city extended at least up to the confluence of the Asī and the Ganges. So that the traditional derivation of the word Vārāṇasī from the river-names Varuṇā and Asī[2] though perhaps fanciful, was not far from the truth.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

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## SOME MISTAKES IN MR. K. P. JAYASWAL'S 'IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA'

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has rendered good service to the cause of Indian History by publishing his learned English commentary on the historical section of the *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa*. The work has been, on the whole, carefully and brilliantly done. But a few mistakes have inadvertently crept in. Of these some are as follows :—

1. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that Vāravatī was washed away towards the end of the seventh century. He bases his opinion on the following account in the MMK : 'Having occupied Valabhī, there will be the first king and his numerous successors with the names Prabha and Viṣṇu : the numerous kings will be Yādavas (606–8). The last (T.) amongst them will have the name Viṣṇu whose "capital with its citizens, and the king himself were washed away by the sea owing to the curse of the Ṛṣi. The Vāravatyas (T.; S. Dvāravatyas) then disappeared and sunk in the sea"'[3] (609). Here Mr. Jayaswal appears to have regarded Viṣṇu as a local Yādava chieftain of the seventh century. But actually he is none other than the great Yādava hero Kṛṣṇa, in whose time the Yādavas were, according to both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, destroyed by the curse of *Ṛṣis*, and the city of Dvāravatī was engulfed soon after by the sea. It may also be remarked that in this case the MMK uses not its usual future but the past tense, suggesting thereby that it referred not to a recent but to a very

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[1] *Ibid.*, No. 222.
[2] E.g. *Agni Purāṇa*, ed. Ānandāśrama, cxii, 6.
[3] An Imperial History of India, p. 25.

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old event. This conclusion is made certain by the following verse in the section on ancient kings :

यातवा वारवत्याश्च रिषिणापास्तमित्रा तदा ।

कार्तिकः कार्तवीर्योऽसौ दशरथदाशरथी पुरा ॥[1]

Here the first line mentions the same event as that described in the extract from the MMK given above. We might therefore conclude that Vāravatī, which is obviously identical with Dvāravatī, was washed away not in the seventh century, but many centuries before Christ, in the time of Viṣṇu or Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

2. Finding one Viṣṇu mentioned as the ancestor of Harṣa, Mr. Jayaswal takes for granted that he was identical with the Emperor Yaśovarman-Viṣṇuvardhana. His opinion may, however, be questioned on the following grounds :—

(*a*) The reading विष्णुप्रभवौ is doubtful, Ven. Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana gives ब्राह्मणप्रभवौ as the right reading.[2]

(*b*) Bāṇa describes the ancestry of Harṣa. Had the Emperor Viṣṇuvardhana been connected even remotely with his patron, the poet would have surely mentioned his name, and perhaps added to our knowledge by giving some details about his life. Viṣṇuvardhana flourished only about fifty years before Harṣa, and could not have been a forgotten figure by Bāṇa's times. The silence of this loquacious poet, therefore, goes strongly against the identification proposed and accepted as valid by Mr. Jayaswal.

(*c*) Harṣa's inscriptions too do not refer to Viṣṇuvardhana. Had Harṣa been his descendant, he would have proudly begun his inscriptions with his name, and not with that of Naravardhana who is described as a mere Mahārāja.

(*d*) Mere identity of names is no sure ground for the identity of two persons.

3. Mr. Jayaswal makes some novel statements regarding Yaśodharman. He states, for instance, that this emperor bowed his head only to *Sthâṇu*, the presiding deity of Thāneśvara. That Yaśodharman was a devotee of Śiva is well-known. But the statement in the Mandasor inscription that 'he bowed his head only to Sthānu' has reference to his enemy Mihirakula, and not to

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[1] *Ibid.*, Sanskrit Text, p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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Yaśodharman. As little justified is the assertion that the forefathers of the governor Dharmadoṣa, the brother of the author of the dated Mandasor inscription 'must have served under the Guptas, for the present master Viṣṇuvardhana was *atmavaṃśa*, his own lineage, the very first ruler in his family'. Here Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of the word आत्मवंश is surely novel. That the word means merely 'his family', and that Viṣṇuvardhana was descended from a family of rulers will be clear, if we read the following verses of the inscription :—

1. आजौ जितौ विजयते जगति पुनश्च श्रीविष्णुवर्धननराधिपतिः स एव ।
प्रख्यात औलिकरलांछन आत्मवंशो येनोदितोदितपदं गमितं गरीयः ॥ ९ ॥
2. तस्य प्रभोर्वंशकृतां नृपाणां पादाश्रयाद्विश्रुतपुण्यकीर्तिः ।
भृत्यः स्वनैभृत्यजितारिषट्क आसीद् वसीयान् किल षष्ठिदत्तः ॥ १० ॥

In the second of these verses, we find it clearly stated that षष्ठिदत्त, the founder of the Naigama family was a servant of the kings, the founders of the line of 'that lord', that is, Yaśodharman. In the first verse this line is said to be famous, *aulikara* was its emblem.

Some other mistakes too can be pointed out. But we end this short note by noting a discrepancy in Mr. Jayaswal's reckoning. He puts Râjyavardhana I of Thāneśvara in c. 530 A.D.[1] According to the Bānskherā copperplate of Harṣa, he was the son of Naravardhana, who must have reigned about 10 years earlier, that is, in c. 520. Now, how is this date to be reconciled with that of Yaśodharman (c. 532 A.D.) who is believed to have been the progenitor of the Vardhana line. Should we put the descendant first and the progenitor next? Let Mr. Jayaswal himself suggest a way out of this difficulty.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

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## CANDRADVÎPA

In reviewing the 'Kaulajñâna-Nirṇaya and some minor texts of the School of Matsyendranâtha' by Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has very briefly but conclusively pointed out that Candradvîpa is different from Sundwip (I.C., I, p. 724). Professor Bhandarkar observes, '..... the kingdom of the Chandra family was Chandradvîpa with its capital at Vikramapura. This

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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also may afford some clue to the identification of Chandradvîpa where Matsyendra flourished.'

If it is not meant hereby that the tract around Vikramapura might also be known as Candradvîpa at the time of the Candras (which most probably is not meant), the allusion is certainly to Bâklâ-Candradvîpa, 'which included the whole of the modern zil'ah of Bâqirganj with the exception of Mahalla Salimâbâd' (J.A.S.B., 1874, p. 206).

I proposed sometime ago the 'Bhâratavarṣa' (1340 B.S., Kârtika, p. 739) that the name of this Chandradvîpa was not derived from the Candra family. The traditional founder of this place, which was originally an island (dvîpa), is Candragômin of Varêndra (c.f. Indian Logic, Mediæval School, by S. C. Vidyâbhûṣaṇa, Cal., 1909, pp. 121-22), a disciple, rather than a rival, of Candrakîrti, the author of the Madhyamaka-vṛtti (Catalogue Du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale, par P. Cordier, Troisième Partie, pp. 343 and 428). The Tangyur contains the translation of a work of Candragômin himself, entitled 'Śântihôma' (*Ibid.*, II, p. 362), in which he is explicitly called 'Dvaipa' or 'belonging to a dvîpa'. This would have been altogether impossible had the personal history of one of North Bengal not been, somehow or other, connected with an island, and this renders it likely that the background of the tradition has had a historical basis. As such, the name of Candradvîpa would appear to be as old as about the middle of the seventh century A.D., and since the conjecture of another place with the same name in about the same region would but be an absurdity, this Candradvîpa (the ancient name of modern Bâkharganj) is likely the place where the celebrated Matsyêndra flourished, if he flourished in a Candradvîpa of Bengal.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

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## ḌÔMMAṆAPÂLA AND DHARMAPÂLA : ALLEGED SOUTHERN ORIGIN

Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar inclines to think (Ind. Cult., I, 679–82) that the family to which Ḍômmaṇapâla, as he reads the name of the donor of the recently published Sundarban copperplate inscription, belonged, was of South Indian origin, on the grounds of (1) the nature of the name of the donor, (2) the use of the Śaka era in the inscription, and (3) the representation of the Nṛsiṁha-*mûrti* on the plate. But :—

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(1) apart from the fact that we have names like Mammaṭa, Hammîra, etc. in the history of North India, the name-ending ' Pâla ' is not a common feature in South India ;

(2) the Śaka era came to be used in Bengal about the date of the inscription, as is clearly evinced by the Dânasâgara and Adbhuta-Sâgara of Vallâlasêna, although his ancestral home was in Karṇâṭa, and more particularly by the Saduktikarṇâmṛta, of Śrîdharadâsa, which was finished only nine years after the inscription was incised ; and

(3) if even the 24 variant forms of Viṣṇu, to which the Nṛsiṁha-*mûrti* belongs, had really their origin in the Jaina convention of the 24 Tîrthaṁkaras, and the Kanarese country were the *only* region in India principally influenced, through all ages, by Jainism. Would it be correct to premise, on this ground, any connection of the donor of the Sundarban Plate with the Kanarese country ? Would it not, in that case be rather too risky to assign the origin of all, who ever pay any homage to any image of the 24 variant forms of Viṣṇu, to that country !

Labouring under the same idea, Mr. Sircar raises the question—' Did the line of Dharmapâla come from the South ? ' ' The southern Sûrya-vaṁśa (*dakṣinadṛśo vaṃśe mihirasya*) ' he has it, ' may refer to the dynasty . . . . . ' etc. But the term ' *dakṣiṇa* ' as in the above Sanskrit text from the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadêva, does not necessarily mean ' south ' but rather ' right ', and there is no play upon the word. If Mr. Sircar takes the trouble of going through the Mahâbhârata and the Purâṇas, he will find them abounding in expressions that the Sun is the right, and the Moon is the left eye of Hari (or sometimes of Mahâdêva), and that is the context to which reference has been made in the above passage. In indicating that the Pâlas of Bengal belonged to the Sûrya-*vaṁśa*, the court-poet of Vaidya-dêva evidently desired to indicate their Kṣatriya-hood, and not that they hailed from Ayôdhyâ, or from the Madras Presidency. Similarly, Soḍḍhala, in his Campu-kâvya, only wanted to imply that the Uttarâpathasvâmî Dharmapâla, was a Kṣatriya, and nothing more, when he set down that he belonged to the Mândhâtṛvaṁśa.

There is yet another point, no less amusing, which Mr. Sircar has suggested. The very name Ḍômana of a Vaidya possibly suggests, as he wants us to believe, that a section of the Bengal Vaidyas originally came from Southern India !! I knew of a person,

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named Dômana Prasâda, belonging to the Suvarṇa-Baṇika caste. Would it justify Mr. Sircar in holding that a section of the Suvarṇa-Baṇikas of Bengal, must have also originally come from the Deccan ! A class-fellow of mine bore the name of Dômana Candra Ghose. Does his name prove anything beyond it ? Are the pages of the *Indian Culture* the place for indulging in such a linguistic quibble ?[1]

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

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## DONATED LAND OF THE NIDHANPUR CHARTER OF BHĀSKARAVARMAN OF KĀMARŪPA

Three plates of the above grant were published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 65–79. The learned editor therein concluded that the donated land lay somewhere in North Bengal, not far from Karṇa-suvarṇa, from where the charter was issued. Disagreeing with him, we have pointed out that it cannot be anywhere than in Pañcakhaṇḍa in Sylhet, where the plates were discovered (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 60–71). This view of ours has since been accepted by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 44 and *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 137). Dr. K. M. Gupta, Professor of History, Sylhet College, gave some additional evidence and came to the same conclusion as ours (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 743–46). We had no knowledge, till we visited Sylhet and Silchar, some 2 years ago, that we had been anticipated by a gentleman of the locality. He is Mr. Ram Tarak Bhattacaryya, a practizing Muktear at Silchar. He was kind enough to present us with a pamphlet on the subject, which he published so far back as 1919 A.D. We shall in this paper try to give some additional evidence in support of our view.

### 1. BHĀSKARAṬEṄGARÎ

The above word occurs twice in the Bhāṭerā copperplate Inscription of Govinda-Keśavadeva (*c.* 1049 A.D.), edited by Prof.

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[1] The Board of Editors felt justified in publishing Mr. Sircar's note, as it went, in their opinion, to suggest and establish the correct name of the donor of the grant Dômmanapâla. The name read as Śrī-Maḍommanapâla by the two learned editors of the Sundarban Plate was absolutely misleading. The determination of the correct spelling of the name alone, apart from other considerations, is a notable point of advance which is in no way less important than the first correct reading of the name of king Khâravela by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji in the Hâthigumphâ Inscription.—B. M. B.

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K. M. Gupta, Sylhet, Assam (*E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 277–286). It is stated in line 31 that some land was granted in this place. Again, line 37 records the grant of some land in the west of this place, with the river Kāliyānī in the north. In identifying the place, Prof. Gupta says that it 'is evidently a village in Ṭeṅgrā mouja.' The Professor does not particularize any village. His reason for this identification, it seems, is the similarity in sound of Ṭeṅgari and Ṭeṅgrā. Ṭeṅgrā is the name of a species of fish, after which many villages are found to be named in Bengal, such as Ṭeṅgrākhālî, etc. We shall presently see that it has nothing to do with Ṭeṅgarī, which has got quite a different meaning.

The name Pañcakhaṇḍa, where the plates have been found, is not as old as the plates. It is rather a modern name. Mr. Upendra Chandra Guha, who has written a history of Cachar, says that it is a name given to a group of five *parganas* in the early Moghul period (*Dacca Review*, June 1913). Mr. Achyutacharan Chaudhuri, the historian of Sylhet, says that before the coming of the Brāhmaṇs in Pañcakhaṇḍa, it was known as Ṭeṅgair, because a tribe of *Kukis* named Ṭengarī lived there. This old name is not lost to tradition. Pañcakhaṇḍa grows very good pineapples. It was known as 'Ṭeṅgarī ananas', but nowadays it has come to be known as 'Jaldub ananas', according to the name of the *thana* in which Pañcakhaṇḍa is situated (*Śrîhaṭṭer Itivṛtta*, Vol. II, Pt. III, *Khaṇḍa* I, p. 131).

Mr. Chaudhuri has apparently taken the word Ṭeṅgari to be a *Kuki* word, but, in fact, it is not so. It is a *deśī* word meaning *sthala*, as '*ṭekkaraṁ ca thale* ‖ 3 ‖ *ṭekkaraṁ sthalam* (Hemachandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*, Pischel and Büller). It has got variant readings—*ṭeṁkkaraṁ, ṭikkaraṁ. Ṭeka, ṭikkara, ṭikari, ṭikara, ṭeṅgara, ṭeṅgarī*, all seem to be the variations of one and the same word. In Bengal *Teṅgara* and in Mahārāṣṭra, *Teṅkara*, mean a hilly country. The Bhowāl *paragana* in the Dacca district, which is hilly, is even now called *Teṅgara*. It is no wonder, therefore, that Pañcakhaṇḍa, which is hilly in nature, should go by the name of Ṭeṅgarī or Ṭeṅgara.

We find that the old name of Pañcakhaṇḍa was Ṭeṅgarī. The copperplates granted by Bhāskaravarman were unearthed here in Ṭeṅgarī. We hope, we shall not be wrong, if we presume that this Ṭeṅgarī or Pañcakhaṇḍa was known as Bhāskaraṭeṅgarī, in memory of its renewer Bhāskaravarman. If there is any force in our argument, we may with confidence say that the donated land was nowhere else than in Pañcakhaṇḍa, the find spot of the plates.

We have seen above that the land granted in the west of Bhāskaraṭeṅgarī had, as its northern boundary, the river Kāliyānī. But at present we find in its place the river Kuśiyārā. So it would

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not be wrong, if our identification is correct, to presume that the river Kuśiyārā changed its old channel in the east of Pañcakhaṇḍa and this was actually the case. We shall see presently that it passed through the channel of the ancient Kāliyānī, retaining its name Kuśiyārā for a considerable distance, and then assumed the name of Bibiyānā, which is, no doubt, a name of the Muhammadan period. The poor Kāliyānī (modern Kālni) has been allowed to retain its name only for a comparatively shorter distance, before it lost itself into the Bherāmonā or Dhaleśvarī. We shall also see that the river Barāk met with the same fate, in the hands of the formidable Kuśīyārā.

## 2. Origin of the name of Kuśiyārā [1]

In the Nidhanpur inscription, the eastern boundary-river is called Kauśikā, but in the locality we find the river Kuśiyārā. How to account for this change in the name? Professor Gupta has made a very intelligent suggestion about the origin of the latter name. He says—'The name Kuśīyārā may have resulted from a combination of the names Kośikā[2] and Barāk, names of the same river at two different places (Kośī + Barā = Kuśīyārā).' (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 743 *n*). The probability of this suggestion will at once be apparent, if one looks at the course of the river Barāk. Rising from a hill in Manipur, it passes through Manipur and the Cachar district and enters the Sylhet district near Badarpur. After a run of about 7 miles from here, it bifurcates into two branches. The northern branch is called 'Surmā' and the southern branch, 'Kuśīyārā' or Barāk. This latter branch again bifurcates into two, near Bāhādurpur. The northern course is called Bibiyānā and the southern course re-assumes its original name of Barāk and falls into the Dhaleśvarī (*Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Ch. II, p. 11). Kuśī is the shortened form of Kauśīkā and Barā, of Barāk. This Kuśī and Barā have given the present name of Kuśīyārā. The cause of this compound name seems to be that the main course of the Barāk passed through the channel of the Kauśikā.

## 3. Old course of Kauśikā

In the inscription again, we find that the Kauśikā formed the eastern boundary, but at present we find the river Kuśiyārā flowing

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[1] In our previous paper on this subject, we spelt the name as Kuśiārā, following the ordinary phonetic system of spelling of Indian names by European officers. The correct spelling is surely what has been given now. We find that this spelling has been adopted in the survey of India office map No. 83 $\frac{D}{1}$, and also by professor Gupta. It is written in Bengali as কুশিয়ারা

[2] Professor Gupta reads the name of the river as 'Kośikā' and not as 'Kauśikā'.

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north and west of Pañcakhaṇḍa. It was not always so. Mr. Guha says: 'The area under present Panchakhanda was only a few centuries ago on the right bank of the Kusiara as indicated by the Revenue Survey Map. The river used to flow into the Hakaluki Haor in those days.' (*Dacca Review*, June, 1913.) What we have said here, and what we have remarked about the preceding topic, will leave no doubt that Kuśīyārā is the ancient Kauśikā, mentioned in the inscription.

This is supported by H. Reynolds, who says that 'the Kusiara, on leaving the Surmah, flows for 12 miles in a westerly direction to Karimgunge, where the Natia Khal, formed by the junction of the Purān Kusiara, and Laṅgai meets it'. (*Principal heads of the History and statistics of the Dacca Division*, 1868 A.D.) A comma has been put after 'Purān', which is apparently a printing mistake, for the maps show that the Naṭiā Khāl near Karimgunge is formed by two and not three channels.[1]

Mr. Ram Tarak Bhattacharya, of whom we have spoken above, writes:—'There still exist two dried up rivers, viz. North-Gāṅgni in the north, and West-Gāṅgnī in the west of the high land of Pañcakhaṇḍa. These names are also seen in the government papers. There is also the dried up Kuisārā (local pronunciation of the Kuśīyārā). Āṅgārjure (Kumār ṭilā, i.e. potters' hillock) bears evidence of the ancient potters' settlement. Garden of Jārul (Skt. Jāṭalī) trees is also seen in that direction. Khāsāmaujā and Kha'sdīghi (tank) still exist in the north-west corner in a filled up state, which is probably Vyāvahāri Khasoka's tank.' (*Pañcakhaṇḍa O Tāmraśāsana*, read before the sixteenth annual sitting of the Śrīhaṭṭa-Vaidika-Samiti on 28-12-1919 A.D.)

What do all these facts go to disclose? They disclose—

(*a*) The present Pañcakhaṇḍa was the dǒnated land.

(*b*) Pañcakhaṇḍa is a comparatively modern name given to a group of five *parganas* in the Moghul period.

(*c*) Its ancient name, even before the coming of the Brāhmaṇs, was Ṭeṅgarī, meaning hilly country. It consists of several *ṭilās* or hillocks. *Kumbhakāra-gartta* (potter's quarry) given as the north-west boundary of the donated land also testifies to the existence of these hillocks. Reynolds says—'Potter's clay, of fair quality, is found near the sandy "tilas" (hillocks) north of the station and in other parts.' (*Hist. and Stats. of Dacca Dn.*, p. 285.)

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[1] This Purāṇ Kuśiyārā is in the east of Pañcakhaṇḍa, and thus tallies with the inscription.

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(*d*) After the renewal of the Charter by Bhāskaravarman, it came to be known as Bhāskarateṅgarī, in his memory.

(*e*) The name of Mayūraśâlmali, given in the Charter, remained confined to that document, and in course of time, was forgotten.

(*f*) In about the eleventh century, a river named Kāliyānī passed by the north of Bhāskarateṅgarī, flowing east to west.

(*g*) Ancient Kauśikā (not Kauśikī or Kosi in the Purnea district) flowed by the east of Ṭeṅgarī.

(*h*) The river Barāk, sometimes afterwards, flowed through the channel of the Kauśikā, and assumed the combined name of (Kuśī+Barā) Kuśiyārā.

(*i*) Some time after the eleventh century, the Kuśiyārā changed its course and flowed through the channel of the Kāliyānī. Its old course came to be known as the Purāṇ Kuśiyārā, shown in the Revenue map. It must have changed its course even before, as the *Śuṣka* (dried up) Kauśikā, mentioned in the Charter, indicates.

We hope, we have been able to satisfactorily prove our point. Some points, against our identification, have already been met by others and ourselves, and need not be re-capitulated here.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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## THE OLD-JAVANESE LEXICON

Dr. Van der Tuuk published his monumental *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsche Woordenboek* in four volumes during 1897–1912. These were followed, eleven years later, by Dr. Juynboll's dictionary, entitled *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst*. While the publication of these lexicons has greatly facilitated the study of Old-Javanese language and literature, recent researches of Dutch and Indonesian scholars have also made them inadequate in many respects. Some rare words not found in their dictionaries have come to light through the publications of recent years and a detailed comparison of them or their roots with those of other dialects in South-east Asia has enabled us to understand their proper significance. For the compilation of a comprehensive Old-Javanese dictionary which is yet a *desideratum* it is necessary to prepare lists

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now and then to supplement the lexicons of Dr. Van der Tuuk and Dr. Juynboll, particularly the lexicon of Dr. Juynboll which is more suitable for all practical purposes. After duly acknowledging my indebtedness to Dutch scholars, I furnish below a list of some rare Old-Javanese words which I have come across in different Old-Javanese documents. In the arrangement of words below I have taken into consideration the initial letter of the root and opposite these words I have referred to the places where these words are found.

A

*Mangapus :* $\sqrt{Apus}$.
Spinning (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

*Mangarah :* $\sqrt{arah}$.
What is packed up (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

B

*Mabasana :* $\sqrt{basan}$.
The sale of clothes for the lower part of the body (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

*Bĕbĕnĕran :* $\sqrt{bĕnĕr}$.
Maintain order (*KO*, IV, 2 *b*, 5 ; *Pararaton*, p. 109).

*Brat :*
Weight (*TBG*, 65, p. 228, f.n. 31).

C

*Celeng :*
Boar (*OJO*, p. 203, inscr. LXXXIII).

D

*Durgga :*
Strong (*TBG*, 58, p. 338).

E

*Ewĕh :*
Hindrances (*KO*, VII, 6 *b*, 5 ; Kern, *V.G.*, VI, p. 209).

G

*Gawai :*
Ground-measurement (*TBG*, 65, p. 231 ; *OJO*, XII, 3).

*Gulungan :* $\sqrt{gulung}$.
For transport (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

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H

*Sakahawat :* √*hawat.*
Region (*TBG*, 58, p. 338).

K

*Kapas :*
Raw cotton (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

L

*Lirih :*
A kind of measurement (*KO*, V, 6 *b*, 1).
*Lwih :*
More (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).
*Lwihakĕn :* √*lwih.*
Exceed, go outside (*TBG*, 65, p. 238).

M

*Moghakĕn :* √*mogha.*
To be bewildered (*KO*, VII, 6 *b*, 4 ; Kern, *V.G.*, VI, p. 309).

P

*Pakṣa :*
Fortnight (*KO*, XIX, 1 *b*, 3).
*Payu :*
Discharging organ (*KO*, II, 9 *b*, 1 ; Kern, *V.G.*, VI, p. 296).
*Paḍat, °ḍĕt :*
Dry fish (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).
*Maparimwangi :*
Furnished with unguents and perfumes (*TBG*, 74, p. 286).
*Mapariwāra :*
Under the protection of. From Skt. *parivāra* (*TBG*, 58, p.338).

R

*Rakaki:*
The Hon. elder (*TBG*, 58, p. 338).
*Parāna :* √*rāna?*
Manorial rights (*TBG*, 74, p. 286).

S

*Sangka :*
The remaining, residue (*TBG*, 65, p. 233).

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*Masayang* : $\sqrt{sayang}$ :
The sale of copper-works (*TBG*), 74, p. 228).
*Soni* : $\sqrt{sa+uni}$ ?
Contents (*TBG*, 74, p. 228).
*Sosorohan* : $\sqrt{sorah}$ ?
To make (*KO*, IV, 2 *a*, 5 ; *Pararaton*, p. 109).

W

*Kamalir* : $\sqrt{walir}$ ?
Jetty-sheds (*TBG*, 74, p. 285).
*Watĕs* :
Boundary (Kern, *V.G.*, VII, p. 35, pl. IV, *b*).
*Wehĕn* :
To be immersed (*KO*, VII, 6 *b*, 2 ; Kern, *V.G.*, VI p. 309).
*Wlah* :
Bamboo (*KO*, II, 10 *b*, 4 ; Kern, *V.G.*, VI, p. 297).

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.

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## SYMBOLOGY OF THE AŚŌKA PILLAR CAPITAL, SĀRNĀTH

The capital, the best specimen of the Mauryan art, which originally crowned the Aśōka Pillar, stands at the centre of Room No. 1, Sārnāth Museum. It measures 7 feet high, is of ' bell-shaped ' type, reeded perpendicularly, with a circular abacus supporting four lions set back to back with a crowning wheel which originally adorned the whole design symbolizing *dharmachakrapravartana* ' the turning of the Wheel of the Law '. The four addorsed lions have their mouths open and their tongues slightly protruded. The hair of the manes, the muscles and thews are boldly and cleverly treated and the general appearance of the capital is singularly striking. On the abacus are carved four animals in high relief, viz., an elephant, a bull, a galloping horse and a lion between four *chakras* (wheels). Speaking of the technique of the composition Sir John Marshall remarks : ' The four crowning lions and the reliefs are wonderfully vigorous and true to nature and treated with that simplicity and reserve which is the key-note of all great masterpieces of plastic art. India certainly has produced no other sculptures equal to them.'

The proper significance of the Sārnāth capital is still a subject of controversy. Mr. Bell observes that these four symbolical

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animals carved on some moonstones in Ceylon are those connected with the Anotatta Lake.[1] The same animals are also found on certain pillars at Anurādhāpura[2] and we find the Sārnāth capital also bears the very four figures.

According to Dr. Bloch these four figures symbolize the gods Indra, Śiva, Sūrya, and goddess Durgā, whose *vāhanas* (vehicles) these animals are, indicating their subordination to the Buddha and his Law.[3] Dr. Vogel, however, remarks that these animals—the four noble beasts (*mahājānéya*) of the Buddhists are merely decorative.[4] Mons. Jean Przyluski in his article *Le Symbolisme du Pulier de Sarnath*[5] compares the symbolism of the Sārnāth pillar with the great cosmic pillar, of which this is a reproduction of a reduced scale. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni also identifies the tetrad of Sārnāth as a representation of the Anotatta Lake of the Buddhist texts, 'in which the Buddha used to bathe. It was also with the water of this lake that his mother, *Mahāmāyā*, was bathed before her conception. The lake had four mouths guarded by these very four animals.'[6] But to me it appears that the symbology on the capital conveys a different meaning altogether and I venture to interpret the symbols as follows :—

The so-called 'Bell' is not really a bell but an inverted lotus with sixteen petals. The lotus flower has been used as a religious symbol among the Hindus from the very ancient times. Its probable origin might have been in the octagonal diagrams used for meditational purposes as a form of the heart, *hritpuṇḍarika*, in which the Supreme Being was to be meditated upon ; it is also asserted in some of the Upanishads that the heart is of the form of a lotus and in it resides the soul. Next, we find that the word *padma* or lotus is associated with a particular kind of yogic posture of sitting known as *padmāsana*, which literally means 'the lotus-seat'. Buddha during the time of his meditation was believed to be in that particular posture, and Buddha's seat has all along been symbolized as an open lotus. Moreover, the lotus as a religious symbol has been used

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[1] *Archl. Survey, Ceylon*, 1896, p. 16.
[2] *Ceylon Journ. of Science*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 13.
[3] *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. LXII, 1909, pp. 653f.
[4] *Cat. of the Museum of Archy. at Sarnath*, 1914, p. 29, f.n.
[5] *Etudes d'Orientalisme* published by Le Musée Guimet, Tome II, 1932, pp. 481f.
[6] *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 5th Edition, 1933, p. 40.
Were these not four animal-faced gargoyles ? Vincent A. Smith in his History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, has taken the four animal figures to represent four quarters or directions ; while Barua (Gaya and Buddhagaya, Vol. II) takes them each to symbolize the Buddha himself.—B. C. L.

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as the origin or conception of Buddha in the form of his mother, Māyādevī. Subsequently, in later days, Buddhists invariably used the lotus as the seat of all gods and goddesses.

Hence the base of the capital being in the form of a lotus is very significant, as the capital is really the symbolic presentation of the great religious event of Buddha's appearance and the promulgation of his wonderful *dharma* which was first preached at Sārnāth. Upon the 'bell-shaped' lotus there is an abacus having four figures, namely, an elephant, a bull, a galloping horse and a lion, each separated from the other by a disc or wheel (*chakra*) with 24 spokes. These four symbolical animals probably represent the four principal events of Buddha's life. The elephant stands for the conception of the Great One, as in a dream, just before her conception, his mother, Māyādevī, saw a white elephant entering her womb. The next symbol is the bull, which represents the Zodiac sign Taurus, and which was on the cusp of the Ascendant when the nativity of Buddha occurred. The third symbol of a galloping horse depicts Buddha's Great Renunciation. It was on the renowned horse, Kaṇṭaka, that he left the imperial city at the dead of night and went far away in search of truth; and lastly the fourth symbol, the lion, represents probably the Great Master himself, Lion of the Śākya race, Śākya-siṁha. The four wheels with 24 spokes represent the *dharmachakras*, the Wheel of the Law, that Buddha set rolling to the four quarters of the globe. The 24 spokes that sustain the wheel stand for the 24 modes of the principal causal relations[1] treated of in Buddhist Philosophy.

Next, the top of the capital. It is surmounted by lions set back to back with gaping mouth as if in the very act of roaring. The composition beautifully represents the roaring lion of the Śākya race, as according to the *Chūla Sīhanāda Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya* he addressed the monks as follows :—'*Idheva Bhikkhave samano, idha dutiyo, idha tatiyo samano, idha chatuttho samano, suñña parappavāda samanehi annati. Evameva bhikkhave samma sīhanāda nadatha*', which means, 'We have in our midst a recluse, yes and a second, third and fourth recluse who are empty and heretical—no true recluses!—in these words let your indictment ring out like a

[1] These are :—(1) *Hetupachchayo*, (2) *Ārammaṇapachchayo*, (3) *Adhipati-pachchayo*, (4) *Anantarapachchayo*, (5) *Samanantapachchayo*, (6) *Sahajatapachchayo*, (7) *Aññamaññapachchayo*, (8) *Nissayapachchayo*, (9) *Upanissayapachchayo*, (10) *Purejātapachchayo*, (11) *Pachchhājātapachchayo*, (12) *Āsevanāpachchayo*, (13) *Kamma-pachchayo*, (14) *Vipākapachchayo*, (15) *Āhārapachchayo*, (16) *Indriyapachchayo*, (17) *Jhānapachchayo*, (18) *Maggapachchayo*, (19) *Sampayuttapachchayo*, (20) *Vippa-yuttapachchayo*, (21) *Atthipachchayo*, (22) *Natthipachchayo*, (23) *Vigatapachchayo*, and (24) *Avigatapachchayo*.

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lion's roar.[1] The four lions may therefore be taken as representing monks proclaiming the glories of the Buddha and his teachings to the four cardinal points.[2]

The wheel which originally adorned the capital as a crowning feature consisted of 32 spokes. It represents symbolically the Great Master himself, the very embodiment of his own *dharma*, having 32 signs of a Great Superman (*Mahapurusha lakshaṇa*). These are given in the Lakkhaṇa Sutta of Dīghanikāya.[3]

BHAVATOSH MAJUMDAR.

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## A NOTE ON THE KINGS AND EMPERORS OF DELHI

During my tour in Rajputana in search of Jain MSS. I came across in Bikaner, a MS. consisting of few leaves in possession of a Jain priest, describing briefly the rulers who ruled at Delhi. I got it copied and the copy is in my collection. The original MS. was written during the reign of Emperor Akbar as noted at the end. Beginning with the tradition of the origin of the name Delhi it enumerates the names of kings and emperors up to Akbar. Its chronologies do not tally with the current history but its special feature lies in the fact that the MS. enumerates not only the years, months and days but even hours (Gharhis[4]) of the reign of every sovereign. They are put in several tabulated forms. The text is in Rajasthani Hindi and follows the Jain Script. There is no mention of any author or scribe, but it must obviously have been a work of some Jain monk. We often find that the Jain priests especially the Swetambar monks used to collect and keep record of important historical facts and this is one of such instances.

I shall now present the reader with a summary of the text and the chronological tables. These tables contain many inaccuracies

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[1] *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 42.
Such was indeed the conventional representation of *sīhanāda* in Buddhist art-symbolism. Cf. Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XLVII, 7, and Barua's description of the relief in Barhut, Bk. VI—Jātaka scenes, p. 122.—B. C. L.

[2] There may be no other meaning than that of a skilful device to support the wheel.—B. C. L.

[3] *The Sacred Books of the Buddhist*, Vol. III, pp. 14f.

[4] One *Gharhi* is equivalent to 24 minutes, 60 gharhis=one day.

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but the same are likely to be found interesting to the students of history.

## Summary

In the golden age Śaṅkarpati, i.e. Lord Mahādeva ruled Bhāratkhaṇḍa in the Jambudwīpa surrounded by salt sea. In the kali age, the capital became Delhi and the attribute of God head was attached to the kings ruling there. The Pāṇḍavas ruled there for three thousand years. Then came Saṅkhyodhwaja belonging to the race of Ram Chandra and defeated king Jadho and ascended the throne. The battle was a fierce one where many soldiers on foot and on horseback, camels, elephants, and chiefs were killed. He became emperor and ruled for 44 years but afterwards was killed in a battle with Vikramāditya. He captured the throne and the capital was transferred from Delhi to Ujjain. Vikramāditya's dynasty lasted for 792 years and Delhi was a desolate city during this long period.

At this time Bilan Deva, belonging to Tunwar clan was king of Dhar. His priest's son learnt *Jyotiṣa Śāstra* in Benares and got the title of *Jag Jyotiṣi*, i.e. astrologer of the world. On returning home he sought for an auspicious moment which came after 12 years. He communicated the result to Bilan Deva and told him that he would make him Emperor of Delhi. He advised him to prepare a gold pole 21 fingers in length weighing 7 tolas and in that moment the pole was to be fixed underneath the throne stone. The pole would reach the head of Vasukī and Delhi would never be lost to his family. The king discharged him with valuable rewards. He accordingly struck the golden pole on the 13th day of the new moon in the month of Vaiśākha 792 V.S. during the ascendency of the Star Abhici which reached the head of Vasukī in the 7th nether world. His courtiers told him that there was no truth in such exaggeration of the astrologer. To satisfy himself the king took out the pole and was surprised to find it besmeared with blood. He at once sent for the priest and told him the whole story. The astrologer much regretted the foolishness of the king and again asked him to fix the pole at once. He did so but found it little slack, i.e. 'Dhile' and thence the capital was named 'Dhilli' or 'Dilli'. The priest then told the king that he could foresee the future. His generation would rule only for some time and Chohans would next succeed. Here follows table No. I with names of 19 kings occupying 385 years 2 months. The last king Palirāj was invaded by Bishaldeva Chohan with a large army and was killed in the battle. Bishaldeva became victorious and ascended the throne of Delhi in V.S. 1117 on the 2nd day of the full moon of the month of Chaitra.

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His dynasty ruled for seven generations extending over a period of more than 161 years. This is shown in table No. II. The last king Prithwirāj married Sanjogitā by force which much enraged Śaṅkar Set. The latter invited the ruler of Ghazni for retaliation. At last Shah Ghori, king of Ghazni, after fighting for 4 years defeated Prithwirāj and took out his eyes. He ascended the throne in 1277 V.S. and his dynasty ruled for 13 generations extending over a period of 180 years. Last but one was Alauddin, the great emperor, who was succeeded by his son Sultanuddin who reigned only for 6 years 6 months 9 days 8 gharhis and died without any issue. These 13 emperors are shown in table No. III. The next emperor Kutubuddin ascended the throne in 1397 V.S. on the 7th day of the full moon of Āṣār. His dynasty ruled for 10 generations as shown in table No. IV. Then came the Lodhis and ruled for 4 generations as shown in table No. V, when Timur invaded. Afterwards Babar and Humayuna ruled for 15 years. Then came Akbar who was still reigning.

TABLE NO. I

*Hindu Kings*

| Name | Year | Month | Day | Gharhi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Raja Anangpala .. | 19 | 5 | 3 | 9 |
| 2. ,, Gangeya .. | 21 | 3 | 3 | 9 |
| 3. ,, Prithaka . .. | 19 | 6 | 19 | 11 |
| 4. ,, Sahadeva .. | 20 | 7 | 20 | 15 |
| 5. ,, Rudradatta .. | 15 | 3 | 9 | 3 |
| 6. ,, Indradatta .. | 14 | 4 | 9 | 9 |
| 7. ,, Narapala .. | 26 | 7 | 11 | 9 |
| 8. ,, Bachharaja .. | 21 | 2 | 13 | 11 |
| 9. ,, Birapala .. | 21 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| 10. ,, Gopala .. .. | 20 | 4 | 4 | 9 |
| 11. ,, Tolande .. | 19 | 3 | 15 | 9 |
| 12. ,, Goprend .. | 25 | 10 | 10 | 16 |
| 13. ,, Richhapala .. | 16 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| 14. ,, Kunwarapala .. | 28 | 3 | 11 | 9 |
| 15. ,, Anangapala .. | 19 | 6 | 19 | 10 |
| 16. ,, Tejapala .. | 24 | 1 | 6 | 11 |
| 17. ,, Mahupala .. | 15 | 3 | 17 | 11 |
| 18. ,, Mukdanta .. | 12 | 9 | 16 | 0 |
| 19. ,, Paliraja .. | 22 | 3 | 6 | 17 |

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TABLE NO. II

*Hindu Kings*

| | Name | Year | Month | Day | Gharhi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Raja Bilandeva .. | 18 | 1 | 4 | 9 |
| 2. | ,, Gangeya .. | 25 | 2 | 3 | 11 |
| 3. | ,, Paharhi.. .. | 19 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 4. | ,, Jasmu .. .. | 17 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| 5. | ,, Biharhde .. | 14 | 4 | 8 | 0 |
| 6. | ,, Jagadeva .. | 13 | 1 | 5 | 1 |

TABLE NO. III

*Patshahs*

| | Name | Year | Month | Day | Gharhi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kutubdin .. .. | 4 | 2 | 10 | 11 |
| 2. | Asirdin .. .. | 4 | 4 | 11 | 19 |
| 3. | Mahamad Hadi .. | 27 | 3 | 15 | 7 |
| 4. | Tungal Shah .. .. | 0 | 5 | 3 | 7 |
| 5. | Khabak Shah.. .. | 0 | 8 | 15 | 15 |
| 6. | Doulat Khan .. .. | 7 | 7 | 18 | 1 |
| 7. | Khidar Khan.. .. | 8 | 8 | 1 | 0 |
| 8. | Gamar Khan .. .. | 11 | 10 | 19 | 10 |
| 9. | Mahamad Shah .. | 12 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| 10. | Alahvirad .. .. | 0 | 3 | 1 | 9 |

TABLE NO. IV

*Pathan Kings*

| | Name | Year | Month | Day | Gharhi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Shah Gazni Gori .. | 14 | 5 | 17 | 13 |
| 2. | ,, Samsadin .. | 2 | 3 | 13 | 15 |
| 3. | ,, Kutabadin .. | 20 | 3 | 7 | 27 |
| 4. | ,, Peero .. .. | 31 | 3 | 11 | 17 |
| 5. | ,, Ahmad .. .. | 3 | 2 | 11 | 17 |
| 6. | ,, Alauddin .. | 31 | 9 | 1 | 27 |
| 7. | ,, Mishradin .. | 21 | 0 | 5 | 27 |
| 8. | ,, Ashridin .. | 21 | 6 | 1 | 27 |
| 9. | Samsadin Khurad .. | 1 | 6 | 15 | 12 |
| 10. | Jalaldin .. .. | 6 | 6 | 6 | 10 |
| 11. | Rukdin .. .. | 0 | 6 | 3 | 6 |
| 12. | Alaudin .. .. | 19 | 3 | 15 | 11 |
| 13. | Sultandin .. .. | 6 | 6 | 9 | 8 |

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TABLE NO. V

*Lodi Kings*

| Name | Year | Month | Day | Gharhi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ajin Alaudin .. .. | 7 | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| 2. Vayah Khan .. .. | 3 | 2 | 9 | 5 |
| 3. Shah Sikandar .. | 18 | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| 4. Hirkhan Lodi .. | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

PURANCHAND NAHAR.

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## "KAUŚIKĪ AND KUŚIĀRĀ"

### (Critical Remarks)

Rai Bahadur Sreejut Kanaklāl Baruā in his article with the above heading, published in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3, has made some statements which require critical examination. I should state at the outset that the Rai Bahadur deserves our thanks for the earnest zeal with which he has devoted himself to the subject of ancient history of Assam at an advanced stage in life when ordinary people would yearn for ease and rest; he is moreover saddled with an onerous and responsible duty which can afford him but scanty leisure for literary pursuit. His contributions, therefore, are not free from pitfalls that could only be avoided by a wider range of study and a more careful scrutiny of matters dealt with.

I agree with the Rai Bahadur that 'Śuskka Kausikā,' in the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskara-Varman, could not be the Kuśiārā of Sylhet: the latter is a river that has currents even now, whereas the Kauśikā earned the adjective 'Śushka' about 1300 years ago; and there is moreover no dried forsaken bed of the Kuśiārā to justify the identity. But I am unable to accept his theory, that some dried bed of the Kośī in Behar was the Śushka Kauśikā, as correct. The Kauśikī (and even the modern name Kośī) ends in 'long ī' and never in 'long ā', and that is a decisive proof against the identity of (Śuska) Kauśikā with Kauśikī. I said so already in my review of the Rai Bahadur's '*Early History of Kāmarūpa*'.[1]

[1] *Vide*, p. 593, Vol. X, No. 3, *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

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In the article under criticism, the Rai Bahadur states that the writer of the Nidhanpur Grant Inscription perhaps wrongly spelt 'Kauśikī' as 'Kauśikā'[1]. Nay, he goes so far as to premise that the decipherer of the plates (i.e. my humble self) may have misread 'Kauśikī' as 'Kauśikā' 'by overlooking the upper portion of the ी which may have been very nearly obliterated in an inscription, 1300 years old'.[2] He also says that the original plates 'have not yet been read by any other scholar.'[3] In fact the plates concerned were read simultaneously by Dr. Rādhāgovinda Basāk who published his reading in the *Dacca Review*—in June 1913[4] whereas my first reading was published in the *Bijayā* in Āshāḍha, 1320 B.S.

The word 'Kauśikā' occurs thrice in the boundary-record—as will be seen from the Rai Bahadur's quotation[5]—so neither the writer (or the inciser) of the inscription, nor the decipherer thereof, could make a mistake three times: moreover the word occurs once again in the inscription (just two lines above the boundary-record) in 'कौशिकोपचितक क्षेत्रं'[6] which, if the word was कौशिकी, would have been 'कौशिक्यपचितक क्षेत्रं'

But the Rai Bahadur seems to be so sure of the mistake, that the Government of Assam—apparently at his motion—'have taken steps to obtain possession of the plates and to get the same correctly read by the Government Epigraphist'.[7] Here the Rai Bahadur has overlooked—or probably has no knowledge of—the fact that my readings of all the available plates of Bhāskara Varman's Nidhanpur grant—had been carefully gone through by Dr. Sten Konow and Dr. Hirānanda Śāstri (the Government Epigraphists in charge of *Epigraphia Indica*) before they were published in that journal and that the original plates (except the 3rd one—which was unavailable, but a photograph whereof was sent) were forwarded to the learned Editors who got the facsimiles prepared thereof, and published them along with my readings (as scrutinized by them).[8]

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[1] P. 424, Vol. I, No. 3, *Indian Culture*.

[2] Footnote 1, p. 424, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3. [It is very amusing to find the Rai Bahadur's taking for granted that 'ा' and 'ी' were of the same forms about 1300 years ago as at present!]

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

[4] A reference to this article will be found in Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd edition.

[5] P. 422, *Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

[6] *Vide Kāmarupa Sāsanāvalī*, p. 25, l. 18.

[7] P. 425 (footnote 1), *Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

[8] Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, No. 13 (Edited by Dr. Sten Konow); and Vol. XIX, Nos. 19 and 40 (Edited by Dr. Hirānanda Śāstrī).

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And this assumption of my mistaken reading of the Nidhanpur grant is due to my error in reading 'क्रोसञ्ज' for 'क्रोड़ाञ्ज' in an inscription dated about five centuries after Bhāṣkarvarman's time. As regards this error Rai Bahadur writes: 'Mr. K. N. Dikshit who subsequently obtained possession of the original plates detected this misreading (J.R.A.S., Vol. II, No. 1, p. 26).'[1] But Mr. Dikshit had got the plates by him more than a year *previously* and then kindly lent them to me for about a week only, within which time I had to decipher and also to translate their contents.[2] In p. 26, J.A.R.S., Vol. II, No. 1, the Rai Bahadur wrote as follows:—'Pandit Vidyabinod (i.e. myself) has now informed me that the correct reading according to Mr. K. N. Dikshit is Kroḍanja'. So that, as soon as I could know the mistake, I wrote to the Rai Bahadur congratulating him on his rightly conjecturing my reading of the name as incorrect and identifying the same with Koranja. Soon after I wrote an article headed 'Śrāvastī in Kāmarūpa', wherein I showed the effect of the correction which, along with the recent discovery of 'Bai' in Bogra, led me to change my opinion about the location of Śrāvasti in Kāmarūpa—and I appended a chart to my article showing the correct situation of Karanja, Baigram, and others that were in Srāvasti which, therefore, belonged to Paunḍra Vardhana (Gauḍa) and not to Kāmarūpa.[3]

The error occurred in the reading of Dharmapāla's grant No. I, which had never been read before by any other person: Dharmapāla's grant No. II and Indrapāla's 2nd grant had been published by me only in a vernacular journal. These three grants ought to have been published with English translations in *Epigraphia Indica*—and the Rai Bahadur should have legitimately moved in the matter.[4] These three grants are with Mr. K. N. Dikshit and I do not know if he has as yet published any of them.

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[1] Footnote 1, pp. 424–425, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3. [J.R.A.S. is the Journal of the Assam Research Society, Edited by the Rai Bahadur himself].

[2] The word wrongly read was a meaningless proper name which it is very difficult to read correctly, especially when the work is done single handed and in a hurry.

[3] The article was published in J.A.R.S. (Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 82–84)—The name of the writer and the chart were unfortunately omitted. The chart however has been utilized with necessary modification by the Rai Bahadur and appended to his article under criticism. [The chart will be found facing page 132, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3.]

[4] To the credit of the Rai Bahadur I must state here that he has appended English translation of both the grants of Dharmapāla to his *Early History of Kāmarūpa*: and if he has omitted Indrapāla's 2nd grant, it is probably because the important i.e. (genealogical) portion of it is exactly the same as in Indrapāla's first grant which had been published by Dr. Hœrnle in J.A.S.B.—Part I, 1897.

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Now to return to Kauśikā : the Rai Bahadur has quoted Dr. Buchanan's report on the course of the Kosi ; in it the said gentleman states that the Pandits of the locality ' allege that in times of remote antiquity the Kosi passed south-east by where Tajpur is now situated, and from thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communication with the Ganges '. and the Doctor certifies that ' the opinion seems highly probable '.[1] Did the Rai Bahadur consider the probability of such a course—notwithstanding Dr. Buchanan's certificate ? Between the Kośī and the Brahmaputra, there is not only Mahānandā (as mentioned by Dr. Buchanan) but also the Karatoyā : and how could the Kośī preserve its integrity and escape being merged into these intervening rivers ? I have no objection however to the Kauśiki's penetrating somehow into the precints of Kāmarūpa and getting here a slightly changed named as Kauśikā, if it were a possibility ; in that case the land granted would have lain *within* Kāmarūpa though bounded on the east by Kausikā and not necessarily within Mithilā, as stated by the Rai Bahadur.

In explaining the boundary of the Nidhanpur grant by a diagram, the Rai Bahadur says, ' Probably during the Mahābhūta Varman's reign ***** the Ganginik was the running river ' Kauśikā '.[2] I am again in disagreement with the Rai Bahadur whose statement has not been supported by any argument. On the other hand, in his diagram the Śushka Kausikā and the Ganginikā are shown as parallel arcs. If the running Kausikā on the west when divested by its currents could be styled Ganginikā—a common name for currentless and dried beds of rivers—why should not the Śushka Kauśikā have got the same title ? The mention of the Ganginikā in the east, as well as in the west, would have never been objectionable : nay, it would have shown clearly that both the currentless dried beds belonged to the same whilom river.[3]

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA, VIDYABINOD.

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[1] P. 422, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3.

[2] P. 423, *Indian Culture*—Vol. I, No. 3.

[3] The diagram, I should say by the way, is not free from inaccuracy : the Ganginikā and the Śushka Kauśikā were not parallel : The upper part of the Ganginikā was प्राग्भुज्यमाना (bending towards the *east*)—whereas in the diagram it has been shown as if bent *westward*. The Kumbhakāra Gartha (the potter's pit) is mentioned in the north-west boundary, *before* Ganginikā, but the diagram does not show that. In fact Ganginikā that became western boundary of the grant, took a sudden turn towards east and thus was located to the east of the potter's pit at the north-east of the plot of land granted.

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## KAUŚIKI AND KUSIĀRĀ

### (A Rejoinder)

Pandit Vidyavinod supports my view that the river ' Kauśikā ', mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription, cannot be the Kusiārā river in Sylhet but he disputes the identity of Kauśikā with Kauśiki (Kosi). In the last issue of the J.A.R.S. (Vol. III, No. 1), I have pointed out that the Sanskrit name of the Kosi, as given in certain editions of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa and the Ādi Purāṇa is Kauśikā and not Kauśiki. Hence I conclude that the Sanskrit name of the Kosi had two variants, viz. Kauśikā and Kauśiki. The reading ' Kauśikā ' in the Nidhanpur inscription can therefore be taken as correct and I have already apologised to the learned Pandit for my doubting the correctness of his reading. The Pandit has evidently been offended because I suggested that his reading may be incorrect and he has therefore devoted the greater part of his contribution to prove that his reading is correct. I am sincerely sorry that I gave him offence.

If the learned Pandit will refer to Dr. Buchanan's map of Puraniya he will find that the dead channels of the Kosi called Burhi Kosi and Mara Kosi are to the east of the present Kosi but within the modern district of Purnea. The '*Śuska Kauśikā*' mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription was, therefore, in all probability, between the Mahananda and the modern Kosi. Buchanan mentions that, according to some local Pandits of his time, the Kosi, in the remote past, fell into the Brahmaputra. We need not however go into such a dim past. It is sufficient for our purpose that the Kosi had some dried up beds, till the time of Dr. Buchanan, to the east of the present river and that one of them was probably the *Śuska Kauśikā* mentioned in the inscription.

The diagram in my article was meant to show that both the *Śuska Kauśikā* and the *Ganginikā* were running from north to south with a bend towards the east. None of them could, therefore, possibly be identified with the Kusiārā which is a river running practically from east to west.

K. L. Barua.

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## INDRAMITRA AND BRAHMAMITRA

### (A Rejoinder)

This Journal Vol. I, pp. 696-97, contains a paper by Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee which is a reply to mine called ' Indramitra and

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Brahmamitra' and published above on pp. 506-7. As a reply it is a deplorably weak defence of Dr. Raychaudhuri. I, therefore, did not deem it fit to give it a rejoinder. But a young friend of mine, who, I think, still continues to be a member of the Archæological Department, saw me some time ago and provoked me to a reply.

Mr. Banerjee says: 'In the Bibliographical Index to Dr. Raychaudhuri's book (3rd Ed., p. 442) we are referred to Sir John Marshall for pp. 271 f. of the text in which the statement in question is made'. Now, if any scholar turns to p. 270 of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book, he no doubt finds the statement that 'names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh Gayā....,' but there is absolutely no reference given in support of this asseveration. Sir John Marshall is no doubt mentioned, but at the end of that page, and, in connexion with Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra of the celebrated Garuḍa Pillar Inscription at Besnagar, and here we are referred only to his *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 11/n. On page 271 there is no mention of Brahmamitra and Indramitra by Dr. Raychaudhuri. And yet Mr. Banerjee most sonorously says that Dr. Raychaudhuri has made his statement on the authority of Sir John Marshall as noted in the Bibliographical Index. In fact, the only authority that he has adduced is Sir John Marshall's note in the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1907-8, p. 40. But if any scholar opens this book at p. 40, he will find that Sir John Marshall bases his statement upon the authority of Bloch. Bloch, however, does not speak of Indramitra but of Indrāgnimitra. Evidently therefore Sir John's *Indramitra* is a misprint for *Indrāgnimitra*. If Dr. Raychaudhuri had taken trouble to consult this Archæological Volume, he would have found it out himself.

Mr. Banerjee refers me to *Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India*, p. 40, for Indramitra. But have I said anywhere that the name Indramitra cannot be found on coins? Surely irrelevancy cannot go further. Again, Mr. Banerjee says that 'Bloch's reading of the name on the pillar as Indrāgnimitra (A.S.I., A.R., 1908-9, p. 147) is at least doubtful'. What does, however, Bloch say on that page? He says: 'From the two almost identical inscriptions (Cunningham, l.c. plate X, Nos. 9 and 10) we learn that this noble lady Kuraṁgī was a wife of Indrāgnimitra, whose name is met with again in another mutilated inscription on one of the railing pillars where he appears to have had the title 'king' (Rāño: Gen. sg.) added before his name'. Does not this sentence clearly show that according to Bloch the name of 'Indrāgnimitra' appears in *three* inscriptions and that though it is mutilated in one, *it is not so* at all *in the other two*. Again in Para. 5 of his reply Mr. Banerjee says that whereas one of the editors of *Indian Culture* is well-informed in regard to Brahmamitra,

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one of the other two editors does not show very intimate knowledge of the contents of the *Archæological Survey Reports.* I do not quite understand the propriety of this statement. Is it not enough, if one editor points out where the name Brahmamitra occurs ? Why are the other editors necessarily bound to show off their knowledge ?

It will thus be seen that Mr. Banerjee's reply to my criticism of Dr. Raychaudhuri's statement is anything but relevant and convincing. It is insincere, because he says, e.g. that Dr. Raychaudhuri at p. 270 of his book cites authority for the occurrence of the name of Indramitra on Bodh Gayā rail pillars, although he knows that Dr. Raychaudhuri does not. It is in bad taste, because he tries to sling mud on one of the Editors of this Journal. Let me, however, assure Mr. Banerjee that scholars of a much higher calibre than Dr. Raychaudhuri have fallen into blunders. Some years ago I distinctly remember the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee of international fame being criticized in the 'Calcutta Review' for having in one of his reports spoken of Taj Mahal as being situated at Delhi. Dr. Raychaudhuri also speaks of the 'Patna Statues' being exhibited in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum (loc. cit., 3rd. Ed., p. 145) in the year 1932 when the 3rd edition of his book was out. Will the Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, tell us where they are at present and whether they were so in the Bhārhut Gallery in 1932 or even in 1930-1931 ?

JYOTISH CHANDRA GHATAK.

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# REVIEWS

**SUCCESSORS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS IN THE EASTERN DECCAN,** by Dines Chandra Sirkar, M.A., $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$; 1+1, ii, 127 pp. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI. Calcutta University Press, 1935.

In this very interesting monograph Mr. Sirkar gives us a connected account of the rulers who succeeded the Śātavāhanas in eastern Deccan. After asserting that the Āndhras were a people who were subordinate to Aśoka Maurya, the author relates how the Śātavāhanas occupied the Āndhra-deśa in the second century A.D., how they were ousted by the Ikṣvākus before A.D. 250, and how the latter were followed by the Bṛihatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. The power of the Pallavas—whose rise is placed in the fourth century A.D. (pp. 6, 13)—was broken by the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Ānandas of Kandarapura. The collapse of the Śālaṅkāyanas is attributed to the Viṣṇukundins who were the predecessors of the Cālukyas (pp. 101, 103). The delineation of the complicated events that followed the break-down of the Śātavahanas till the conquest of Veṅgi by the Cālukyas, so ably done by Mr. Sirkar, may be said to be a distinct contribution to the early history of eastern Deccan. In presenting to us the importance of the Ikṣvāku period, especially from the point of view of Buddhism (pp. 29-30), the genealogy of the Ananda kings, the Śalankayanas, and the Viṣṇukundins, and the full tenor of the phrase *hiraṇya-garbha*, Mr. Sirkar has further claims to our sincerest thanks. It must be said that in many places he has considerably improved upon the conclusions arrived at by previous writers on the subject.

This admirable monograph has, however, some statements on which there may still be division of opinion. For instance, the assertions relating to the rise and religion of the Pallavas (p. 13), the later date which is given to Mayūraśarma of the Kādaṁbas (Preface, and p. 19), the attempt made to disprove the theory hitherto held concerning the occupation of Veṅgi by the Cālukyas in the middle of the seventh century A.D. (pp. 99–101, and 101, n. 1), and the averment that Candra Gupta I 'began to rule in 320 A.D.' (p. 75)—all these may not evoke universal assent. The identification of Trikūṭa with Triparvata (p. 114) where we are told the Kādaṁbas ruled, and the conjectural derivation of the word Mahārāṣṭra from Mahā-raṭhikas (p. 79—to which, by the bye, scholars in Mahārāṣṭra still cling tenaciously)—are inadmissible. It is unfortunate that the learned author has dismissed the Pallavas in a few words (p. 7). This explains why one does not find any thing concerning some of the early Pallavas whose names are associated with Amarāvatī.

Nevertheless it is with pleasure that we acknowledge the arduous nature of Mr. Sirkar's work, and that we heartily congratulate him on the admirable manner in which he has outlined the history of the successors of the Śātavāhanas in eastern Deccan. Mr. Sirkar's work is indispensable to students of early Indian history.

B. A. SALETORE.

## CULTURAL FELLOWSHIP IN INDIA

ما قصهٔ سکنـــدر و دارا نخوانده ایم  از ما بجز حکایت مهر و وفا مپرس

'I have not read the story of Alexander and Darius,
Ask me not of tales except of Fidelity and Love.'

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In these memorable words the great Persian poet, Hafiz, sums up his attitude towards formal history. According to him history chronicles and emphasizes the stories of wars and sieges, intrigues and plots, hatred and fanaticism, rapacity and bloodshed. But human activities have not been confined to these things alone. Where is the chronicler who will write of the less glamorous but more enduring glories of peace, the march of civilization, or the episodes of trust and confidence, friendship and love. These things are either ignored or thrown into the background giving the totally wrong impression that mankind has never been able to shake off its animality. The Future naturally takes on the colour of despair. The history of India has suffered the most by such injudicious treatment. Too often has emphasis been laid on its apparent diversity of blood, colour, language, dress and manners and oftener still the underlying unity of thought, outlook and feeling have been lost sight of. It is high time that facts should be studied in their true perspective. Mr. Atulananda Chakrabarti's treatise on Cultural Fellowship in India is, therefore, a welcome contribution to the subject. He has demonstrated how beneath the endless diversities the Indian peoples possess a fundamental unity that transcends them all. Points of contact are many and they have been made plainly visible. Mr. Chakrabarti has done a real service to the country by compiling this book whose one aim is to promote better understanding between community and community.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

## KANNAḌA WORKS

1. Kaṇmareyāda Kannaḍa athavā Kannaḍara Mūla sthāna. By Śankar Bālakriṣna Jōshi. Manōhara Grantha Prakāśa Samiti, No. 1. 7″ 4½″; iv+110+vi, with a bibliography and a map. Dharwar, 1933. Price, 12 As. Paper cover.

2. Mahārāṣṭrada Mūla. By the same author. The same series, No. 2. The same size. ii+54, with a map and a bibliography. Dharwar, 1934. Price, 9 As. Paper Cover.

The above are two very interesting monographs which suggest a new line of enquiry in the history of Western India. In the first entitled 'Forgotten Kannaḍa or the Origin of the Kannaḍigas', Mr. Joshi has attempted to prove that Kannaḍa —which he derives from *kaṇ-nuḍi* (p. 6)—embraced a wider area and included more races than the territory and people who are now associated with the name Karṇāṭaka. According to the author, such people like the Kurubars,—whom he distinguishes from the Kurumbars,—the Maleyars, the Gollars, the Holeyas, the Haḷabas, the Billavars, the Kuṇbis, and the Tumbuligas (pp. 33–46) were of Kannaḍa consanguinity. Although the writer has made short work with the origin of some of the above races, yet it must be admitted that the main part of his contention, *viz.* that a great part of the land to the north of the Godāvarī was purely Kannaḍa in origin and culture (pp. 12–32, 60 seq.), seems to be in more sense than one quite accurate.

One idea from the above monograph (p. 51), he takes up for a detailed treatment in his next work called 'The Origin of Mahārāṣṭra'. The central theme in this brochure is that Varhāḍ was the cradle of Mahārāṣṭra, the word Mahārāṣṭra itself being nothing but a translation of the word Varhāḍ, and Marhāṭa or Marahaṭṭa being only variants of one and the same form (p. 47). Here is a bold bid for originality which scholars would do well to ponder over. A short history of the word Mahārāṣṭra from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* down to the sixteenth century A.D. given at the end of the book adds to its value.

We heartily welcome these little works written in chaste and convincing Kannaḍa; and we trust that this very able writer will give us in future a more

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detailed treatment of some of the interesting suggestions he has thrown in his works. We wish him every success in his future undertakings.

B. A. SALETORE.

**THE SONG OF THE LORD**, by Dr. Edward J. Thomas, D.Litt., M.A., the Wisdom of the East Series.

This is a prose translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* by Dr. E. J. Thomas. The work is included in the Wisdom of the East Series. The editors of this welcome series are Messrs. L. Cranmer Byng and S. A. Kapadia, They have planned this series with the noble object of bringing together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill and understanding.

The *Bhagavad Gītā*, i.e. the secret and cherished doctrine preached by the Lord, is one of the greatest books of the world. A devout study of it, even in a translation, will be profitable to everybody. *Bhagavân* is the Divine and *Arjuna* the human spirit. Their conversation is eternal :—

जीवात्म-परमात्मानौ नरनारायणावुभौ ।
नारायणो वासुदेवो नरश्चैवार्जुनाह्वयः ॥

(*Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa*, 30, 22.)

The introduction gives the beginner all the information that is necessary for his equipment. The translation is literal, and as often happens in the case of literal translation, it is not always easy to understand. Some of Dr. Thomas's renderings are better than the usually accepted ones, e.g. लोकसंग्रह (III, 20, 25). सङ्ग्रह is opposed to निग्रह and is rightly translated 'doing good'. This interpretation is not opposed to the explanation given by *Śaṅkara* and other commentators, for उपकार (संग्रह) of the people is best secured by keeping them in the path of righteousness (धर्म्म). I note here another interesting interpretation of Thomas, ततम्= created (II, 17), which cannot be lightly set aside, though XVIII, 46, would seem to support the ordinary interpretation better.

There are numerous passages where Talang's translation (Sacred Books of the East) appears to be better. And this is probably due to the fact that he did not neglect *Śaṅkara, Madhusūdana, Śrīdhara* and *Nīlakaṇṭha*. I am quite prepared to accept the hypothesis, so ably expounded by Telang (and also by Thomas) that the author of the *Gītā* probably had no definite system, and that to interpret him according to the strict monism of *Śaṅkara* which might not have existed at the time, when the *Gītā* was written is unscientific. Still I am definitely of opinion that if the editors of the Wisdom of the East Series would have printed Telang's translation with occasional improvements, they would have done the right thing.

I note a few points that are capable of improvement :

P. 23 : 'Drupada, *brother* of *Draupadī*' ; 'brother' is a slip for 'father'.

'Kṛpa, king of the Panchālas.' Kṛpa was the brother-in-law of Droṇa. He was brother of Kṛpī, the mother of *Aśvatthāman*.

P. 25 : धर्म्मक्षेत्र='field of right' is quite good, but 'field of righteousness', 'holy ground' or 'holy field' (Telang) would have given a clearer and less ambiguous idea to the beginner.

तत्रभिषेण धीमता=by the *wise* disciple. Telang's 'talented pupil' is better.

I. 7. संज्ञार्थं='for the sake of naming them' does not yield any sense ; 'that you may know them well' (Telang) is slightly better.

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I. 8. Saumadatti=son of *Somadatta*, named *Bhūriśravas* (Svāmī). Telang and Thomas read 'तथैव च' for 'जयद्रथः,'; the ordinary reading of the Indian editions. तथैव च, however, is noticed as a variant by *Madhusūdana*.

I. 36. पापम्=evil. Telang's 'sin' is better.

II. 5. अर्थकामान् might be taken either as an adjective to गुरून् or as a noun in apposition with भोगान् not as 'who desire my good'.

II. 11. शुच् has been translated by 'sorrow' and 'grieve' in the same sentence; it would be better to use 'grieve' in all the three places. पण्डित in this śloka is not 'sage' but rather 'learned man' (Telang). पण्डिताः=विवेकिनः (*Svāmī*); पण्डिताः=आत्मज्ञाः (*Śaṅkara*, on the strength of Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up. III, 5, 1).

II. 13, 15. धीर=धीमान्, equal according to *Śaṅkara* and *Svāmī* and they are right. 'Steadfast man' looks more literal.

II. 14. मात्रास्पर्शाः—According to some modern interpreters, मात्रा=matter, very much as Thomas understands it. *Śaṅkara* and *Svāmī* understand by मात्रा, 'sense-organs'.

II. 18. This is a difficult verse and neither Telang's, nor Thomas's rendering seems to convey the intended arguments:—

अन्तवन्त इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्ताः शरीरिणः।

अनाशिनोऽप्रमेयस्य तस्माद् युध्यस्व भारत॥

'These perishable bodies are said to belong to the eternal indestructible and undefinable self which is in the bodies, therefore fight.' The argument seems to be this: because the self is indestructible, therefore you need not be afraid of killing or of being killed. That all bodies are अन्तवन्तः (perishable) is known to all; it is not विधेय, as is suggested by the form of the Sanskrit verse; but it is उद्देश्य. The real विधेय is the eternity of the self. The intended conclusion is 'युध्यस्व'. The premise may be the eternity of self or the perishableness of body or perhaps both. In the above translation I have adopted the first alternative, but the following verse of *Śāntiparva*, 224, 6—

अन्तवन्त इमे देहा भूतानाञ्च सुराधिप।

तेन शक्र न शोचामि नापराधादिदं मम॥

would support the second alternative. See Madhusūdana's Commentary.

III. 35A. श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात्। This is a well-known and oft-quoted line. It is unfortunate that many people, including Dr. Thomas, misunderstand it. गुण=अप्रधान् or अङ्ग; therefore *Svāmī* explains 'विगुणः' by 'किञ्चिदङ्गहीनोऽपि' and 'स्वनुष्ठितात्' by 'सकलाङ्गसम्पूर्त्या ज्ञातात्'. This verse occurs also in *Gītā* XVIII, 47A. Compare Manu X, 97.

वरं स्वधर्मो विगुणो न पारक्यः स्वनुष्ठितः।

Where Bühler's translation, as usual, is correct. That *Svâmî* and Bühler are right will be evident when it is remembered that विगुण is contrasted with स्वनुष्ठित and must therefore mean दूरनुष्ठित, i.e. किञ्चिदङ्गहान्यापि ज्ञातः. Now the question arises may not अङ्गहानि produce religious demerit? To this it is replied स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन् नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् (XVIII, 47B).

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There is another different but allied dogma taught in the *Gītā*—

सहजं कर्म्म कौन्तेय स दोषमपि न त्यजेत् (XVIII, 48).

Certain works seem lower (i.e. involving some lowering on even sin) than others. If every body should forsake his *apparently* lower work and run after what is *socially regarded* as higher work, certain necessary social services would suffer; therefore the *Gītâ* teaches the dignity of all work. Do the duty of your station or status with your whole heart: that is the way to your self-realization. This is the teaching of the general body of Hindu *Śāstras*. Co-ordinate with this is the dogma—

रङ्गावतरणञ्चैव तथा रूपोपजीवनम् ।

मद्यमांसोपजीव्यञ्च विक्रयं लोहचर्म्मणोः ।

अपूर्व्विणा न कर्त्तव्यं कर्म्म लोके विगर्हितम् ।

क्षतपूर्व्वं तु त्यजतो महान् धर्म्म इति श्रुतिः ॥ (*Santiparva*, 294, 5-6.)

Arjuna was a *Kṣatriya*, his duty was to fight the unrighteous enemies. But killing (fighting) is a sin (स दोषः)? Yes, it is a sin ordinarily, but not always and for every body. For a man in *Arjuna's* position it is a duty to kill. It is unfortunate that so many should have thought the substance of this dogma (XVIII, 48) is what is taught in III, 35A and XVIII, 47.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA.

**PARSI LAW**, by Framjee A. Rana, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Kathiawar.

The author of this compact little volume on the personal law of the Parsis, is a legal practitioner in a district in Western India where cases under Parsi Law are matters of daily and common occurrence. The Statutory Law of Marriage and Divorce and of Intestate Succession is all that constitutes the personal law of the Parsis of India, and the author has dealt with this in a satisfactory and up-to-date manner. The author's elaborate notes on the definition of the term 'Parsi' and as to what constitutes a 'Parsi' according to the two most important decisions on the subject in Sir Dinshaw Petit *v.* Sir Jamsetjee Jeejibhoy, 33 Bom. 509; 11 Bom. L.R. 85, 538, 539, and in the Privy Council Case Saklat *v.* Bella, 28 Bom. L.R. 161 are so concise and complete.

The author has well explained the concept that a 'Parsi is born; he is not made'. You cannot conceive of a Parsi who is not a Zoroastrian, nor of a Zoroastrian who is not a Parsi, and this subject is elaborately dealt with on the subject of 'Juddin Conversion' or Conversion from other religions into Zoroastrianism. The very idea of conversion into Zoroastrianism from other religions is repugnant to Parsi Law and to Parsi Religion, and a person converted into Zoroastrianism is not entitled to have access into the sacred precincts of the Fire Temple nor can he claim a right that his body shall be consigned to the Tower of Silence. Such a person cannot also claim to be entitled to any benefit from the Religious and Charity Trusts of the Parsi Community. Another interesting feature is a nice and exhaustive index.

The Book has an interesting Foreword by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia, of the Bombay High Court.

MANACKJEE C. H. RUSTOMJEE.

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**AN EARLY HISTORY OF KAUŚĀMBĪ,** by N. N. Ghosh, M.A., with an introduction by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, published under the auspices of the Allahabad Archæological Society, 1935. Pp. i–xxxv + 1–120. 10 Plates and 2 Maps. Price Rs. 4.

In this monograph the author has treated of the following topics relating to Kauśāmbī :—

(1) Antiquity and Importance of Kauśāmbī.
(2) Kauśāmbī in the time of the Buddha.
(3) Udayana's conversion to Buddhism and the date of his reign.
(4) History of Kauśāmbī from Udayana's death to the 3rd century B.C.
(5) Kauśāmbī in the second century B.C. and in the first century B.C.
(6) Kauśāmbī during the Kuṣāna rule.
(7) Kauśāmbī in the 4th, 5th and 7th centuries A.D.
(8) Kauśāmbī from the death of Harṣavardhana to the 11th century A.D.
and (9) Identification and Archæological importance of Kauśāmbī.

The author has done well by supplying a map at the end together with some interesting illustrations concerning Kauśāmbī. An Index has been given for the convenience of the readers. Mr. Ghosh has tried his best to collect as many references as possible but I find that he ought to have utilized the following materials in his chapter on Kauśāmbī in the time of the Buddha. Buddha's activities in the city of Kauśāmbī are noteworthy. The Buddha while dwelling at Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī entered the city for alms. Then he left Pārileyyaka forest (Saṁyutta Nikāya, III, pp. 94-95). Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja said to the Buddha while he was dwelling at Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī that he had obtained Arhatship. Some Bhikkhus approached the Buddha and asked him the reason of his attaining Arhatship. The Buddha replied that he did obtain Arhatship by meditating on three senses, viz. Satindriya, Samādhindriya, and Paññindriya (S.N., V, 224). Again we read that the Buddha delivered a sermon on sekha (learner) and asekha (non-learner) while dwelling at Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī (S.N., V, 229-230).

The teachings of the Buddha and his disciples had a remarkable influence on the minds of the Kosambī people. Some of the Kosambians entertained a great respect for the Buddha and the Buddhist faith and were converted to Buddhism ; while others went so far as to enter his Order and attain Arhatship. Take the case of Gavaccha the Less who was born as a Brahmin at Kosambī and hearing the Exalted One preach, entered the Order. At this time the Kosambian bhikkhus had become quarrelsome. Gavaccha did not take part in the discussion on either side. He praised the Buddha, developed insight and attained Arhatship (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 16).

From the Mahāvaṁsa we learn that the venerable Yasa is said to have fled from Vaiśālī to Kosambī just before the assembly of the Second Buddhist Council (Mahāvaṁsa, Tourner, p. 16). Yasa, son of Kākandaka, came to Kosambī and there he convened a meeting of the Bhikkhus and delivered a discourse on Dhamma, Vinaya, etc. (Vinaya Texts, III, 394).

From the Jātaka we learn that Kosambī in the kingdom of Vatsa was ruled over by a king named Kosambika. Once a robber committed robbery and being chased, left the bundle near the door of an ascetic named Maṇḍavya and escaped. When the owner of the property came there he took the ascetic to be the robber and brought him before the king. The king without enquiry said ' Off with him, impail him upon a stake '. The stake of Acacia wood did not pierce the ascetic's body, so a new stake was brought but this too did not pierce him. When the king found him innocent he ordered the stake to be drawn out but despite all efforts the

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stake did not come out. Then at Maṇḍavya's suggestion the stake was cut off with the skin. Thenceforward he was called Maṇḍavya with the peg. The king saluted the ascetic and asked his pardon and settled him in his park. The above account illustrates the use of stakes for the punishment of criminals. Capital punishment not by hanging but by putting a criminal on a stake was inflicted by the king on a culprit for a light offence (Jāt. IV, Cowell, pp. 17–19). Two Paribbājakas, Maṇḍissa and Jāliya went to the Buddha while he was at Ghositārāma at Kosambī and asked him whether the soul and the body were the same or different. The Buddha replied ' They are neither the same nor different '. He then delivered to them a sermon contained in the Sāmaññaphala sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. Buddha while at Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī (Kosambī) delivered a discourse on Dhamma, Vinaya, etc. while speaking about the offences committed by the bhikkhus. The Master laid it down as a precept that the drinking of intoxicants was an offence requiring confession and absolution (Jātaka, I, pp. 206-207) after discoursing with the brethren at Kosambī (Kauśāmbī).

Ānanda's activities at Kosambī should be noticed. He delivered several sermons on twelve nidānas, nirvāṇa, etc. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, II, 115 foll.). He had a talk with a householder named Ghosita on the difference of dhātu (*Ibid.*, IV, 113-114). Sāriputta and Upavāṇa also lived at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. They had a discussion on the subject of the realization of seven bojjhaṅgas (supreme knowledge) leading a person to happy living in the present existence (Saṁyutta Nikāya, V, 76-77). Paribbājaka Saṇḍaka with his 500 followers was living at the cave of Pilakkha. Ānanda met him and gave him instruction on the folly of agnosticism (M.N.I., 513).

Besides these references there are many noticed in my work ' Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I ' (pp. 115 foll.) published in 1924.

May I enquire whether there is any famous country by the name of *Kururathā* mentioned by the author in p. 17 and p. 118 (Index) of his book? I like to draw the author's attention to the Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III (Māgandiyavatthu), p. 193, where the word ' Kururaṭṭhe ' occurs, which means ' in the kingdom of the Kurus ' and not *Kururathā* as mentioned by the author who seems to have misunderstood it. The reference given by the author on p. 38 as footnote no. 6 (D.N., II, p. 167) is wrong. There is nothing in that page of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya to substantiate the statement made by the author that the Bhaggas were a republican people. The book has been very carelessly written as it is full of mistakes and misprints, e.g., Charpenthier (p. 29 f.n.), Āsvaghoṣa (p. 62, Index also), Pāli Piṭakās (p. 5, Index also), Nagābhaṭa (Index), etc.

The inscriptional data bearing upon the part played by the citizens of Kosambī, both monks and householders, in the erection of Buddhist monasteries, have not been unfortunately dealt with *properly*.

It should be noted that the author himself credits his friend Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Sankrityāyana for the identification of the Bhagga country with the Mirzapur district and Suṁsumāra Hill with Chunar Hill—which, however, cannot be accepted as finally established.

The book under review seems to be uninteresting and it needs a thorough change of the manner of treatment in order to make it readable and useful to scholars.

B. C. Law.

**KĀMARŪPAŚASANĀVALĪ** by Padmanath Bhattacharya, published by the Rangpur Sāhitya Parishad, B.S. 1338 ; pp. VIII, 1–45 and 1–214, and 13 plates. Price Rs. 6.

Mr. Padmanath Bhattacharya, who is one of pioneers of historical researches in Assam, has edited in this volume in Bengali, 10 copper-plates and a rock

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inscription, all of ancient Kāmarūpa and belonging to the period 7th to 12th centuries A.D. The records are as follows :

(1) Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarmman ; (2) Haiyungthal copper-plate of Harjjaravarmman ; (3) Tezpur copper-plates of Vanamālavarmman ; (4) Nowgong copper-plates of Balavarmman ; (5) Bargaon copper-plates of Ratnapālavarmman ; (6) Soalkuchi copper-plates of Ratnapālavarmman ; (7) Gauhati copper-plates of Indrapālavarmman ; (8) Guakuchi copper-plates of Indrapālavarmman ; (9) Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka copper-plates of Dharmmapālavarmman ; (10) Pushpabhadrā copper-plates of Dharmmapālavarmman ; and (11) Tezpur Rock inscription of Harjjaravarmman, dated in the Gupta year 510 i.e. 829 A.D.

Most of these records are important landmarks in the early history of Assam and have been edited already in various journals. Mr. Bhattacharya has done well in bringing them together in the form of a *corpus*, which will prove indispensable to all serious students of Archæology of the easternmost province of India. The author has given an account of the kings of Kāmarūpa who issued the documents, in the introduction to the book, which is full of information. The texts are in Nāgarī characters and the notes and translations are in Bengali. The notes, we must say, are worthy of an erudite Sanskritist like Mr. Bhattacharya. The book has also an excellent index.

The Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṁśa and the Vishnupurāṇa mention the city of Prāgjyotisha but not Kāmarūpa, although in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa both the names are mentioned side by side. The name Kāmarūpa also occurs in the list of frontier kingdoms in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. According to the Pauranic chronicles the first king of this kingdom of Prāgjyotisha was Naraka whose son Bhagadatta ruled after him, and Bhagadatta's son and successor was Vajradatta. The kings of Assam whose copper-plates have been published in this volume all trace their descent from this line. The limits of their kingdom are still somewhat obscure and its first capital Prāgjyotisha has not yet been located, but there is no doubt that the river Karatoyā formed the western boundary ; so that Kāmarūpa must have included the District of Rangpur which is now in Bengal.

The Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarmman, who was a contemporary of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang (643 A.D.) and is mentioned in the latter's account, gives the genealogy of his dynasty. This genealogy on the whole agrees with that recorded on a broken seal of Bhāskaravarmman found at Nālandā and noticed in 1920. Mr. Bhattacharya duly notes this fact, and the reviewer would add that similar seals, some of them in a better state of preservation, have since been discovered at the same site. Besides the account of the Chinese traveller, Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* refers to Bhāskaravarmman. He appears to have made peace with King Harshavarddhana, and against their common enemy Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, their joint forces were directed. It seems that Bhāskaravarmman was able to drive away Śaśāṅka from Gauḍa at least for some time. The Nidhanpur copper-plate, which was issued from Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal, is itself an indication of this fact. Mr. Bhattacharya points out that although found at Nidhanpur in the District of Sylhet, the document had presumably no connection originally with that region. The grant of land recorded in it was made in Chandrapurī-vishaya which the author points out was situated to the west of the Tistā river in the Rangpur District.

After Bhāskaravarmman the kingdom seems to have been seized by a person named Śālastambha. Harjjaravarmman and his son Vanamālavarmman of this line may be placed in the 9th century A.D., and Balavarmman, a grandson of Vanamāla, probably ruled in the 10th century. Their capital was Hārūppeśvara on the Brahmaputra, which the author locates at or near Tezpur. It was by the

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side of Kāmakūṭagiri which probably represents the low hill outside the town of Tezpur. Harshavarmman of the copper-plate of Vanamāla, a descendant of Sālastambha, is placed in the 8th century A.D. and identified by the author with Harshadeva whose daughter was married to a prince of Nepal, as stated in a Paśupatināṭha temple inscription of 759 A.D.

The last king of the family of Sālastambha was Tyāgasiṁha after whom the kingdom of Kāmarūpa passed into the hands of a new dynasty founded by Brahmapāla. Altogether the names of seven kings of this dynasty have been recovered from the copper-plates published in this volume. Their names ended in 'Pāla' and they ruled from the latter part of the tenth to the end of the 12th century A.D., when the neighbouring province of Bengal was held in possession by a dynasty which also styled itself as 'Pāla'. Whether the Pālas of Kāmarūpa represented a collateral branch of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal requires investigation. The capital of the Pāla kings of Kāmarūpa was not Hārūppeśvara, but Durjjayā, as mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla, and it appears to have been also somewhere in the Brahmaputra valley. In the time of Dharmmapāla, the capital was shifted to 'Kāmarūpanagara'. There is considerable uncertainty about the location of this city. But the author is of opinion that it was not situated in the Brahmaputra valley, since there is no mention of the river Lauhitya (i.e. Brahmaputra) in connection with this city in Dharmmapāla's copper-plates, while the older capitals, viz. Hārūppeśvara and Durjjayā, are described in the earlier records to have been on the bank of that river. The author is of opinion that this Kāmarūpanagara should be identified with the remains of Kāmtā near Cooch Behar.

One of the kings of Kāmarūpa whose name does not occur in these copper-plates is Jayapāla, mentioned in the Silimpur inscription. This record is referred to by Dr. R. G. Basak to the 11th century A.D., on palæographical grounds. According to the present author, however, Jayapāla must have flourished considerably later, sometime in the 12th century, and was either the son or the grandson of Dharmmapāla. Towards the end of the 11th and in the 12th century, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa was overrun by the later Pālas of Bengal and the Sena Kings, Vijayasena and his grandson Lakshmaṇasena, and finally Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar entered Kāmarūpa in 1206 A.D. with a large army which met with complete disaster. There is an inscription on a rock near Gauhati (at Kānāvaḍśī) which records that the Turushkas (i.e. the Muhammadans) came to Kāmarūpa in the Śaka year 1127 (1206 A.D.) and were destroyed. An earlier allusion to the Muhammadans is probably contained in the term *Tāyika* of the Bargaon plate of Ratnapāla. The Tājikas mentioned in some of the contemporary copper-plates of Northern India must have been identical with the Tāyikas.

As its contents show, the book throws interesting light on a little-known period of the history of Assam and will serve as an important book of reference. Although we cannot agree with the author in all his theories and interpretations, there is no doubt he has made a most useful contribution. It may be hoped that the publication of this book will prove as an incentive to the younger generation of Assamese scholars. But it should be remembered that the reconstruction of the history of Assam cannot be made only with the help of a few copper-plates. The Brahmaputra valley should be thoroughly explored, the capitals of its ancient kings definitely located and also, what is of far greater importance, the culture remains of the ancient peoples of Assam adequately brought to light by scientific excavations.

N. G. M.

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# IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April,* 1935.

1. Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra by E. Obermiller.

   The author records certain corrections and additions to the printed text of his translation of Bu-ston's history and replaces the hypothetically reconstructed names by the actual forms according to the original sanskrit text of the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra edited by MM. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī.

2. The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus civilization by C. L. Fábri.

   In this interesting article Dr. Fábri draws attention afresh to the early coinage of India as a survival of prehistoric Indian civilization and opines that the punch-marked coins preserve a number of pictograms and symbols of the prehistoric seals of the Indus Valley.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society, March,* 1935.

A Story of Vikrama's Birth and Accession by M. B. Emeneau.

After giving a short preliminary account of the various sanskrit versions and plan of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati the author classifies all the interpolations made therein and indicates the rationale of their insertion. The commentary on a few passages and critical notes have been appended to this paper.

*Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIII, Pt. 3, December,* 1934.

1. Date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman by D. C. Sircar.

   The author has tried to prove that the rule of Pallava Śivaskandavarman began in about A.D. 300, and that Vijayaskandavarman of the British Museum plates, who is generally identified with Śivaskandavarman, ruled possibly a little later than Śivaskanda.

2. The Nāgarāja of the Bhāvaśataka by Dasharatha Sharma.

   The author doubts the identification of the Nāgarāja of the Bhāvaśataka with Gaṇapati Nāga, the ruler of Padmāvatī, as made by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his History of India, A.D. 150 to A.D. 350.

3. A Note on a Pāla Image of Gaṇapati at Kumbhakonam by S. K. Govindaswami.
4. The Danes in India by V. Srinivasan.
5. Bengal under Jehangir Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan by Sri Ram Sharma.

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6. The Downfall of Mir Qasim by Nandalal Chatterji.
7. The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by Sitaram Kohli.

*The New Review, Vol. I, No. 3, March,* 1935.

An Introduction to Sāṁkhya by Michael Ledrus.

*The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 1, March,* 1935.

1. The Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara and the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti by Andrew Vostrikov.
2. The Eastern Cālukyas by D. C. Ganguly.
3. A Sanskrit Version of Kem-nā Mazdā by Pinakin Trivedi.
4. Ādisūra by Pramode Lal Paul.
5. A Study of Smṛti Passages in the Mahābhāṣya by Amalananda Ghosh.
6. The Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas by R. C. Hazra.
7. The Conception of Soul in Jainism by Jagdish Chand Jain.

*The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XX, September and December,* 1934.

1. Prōlavaram Grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka (with plates) by M. Somasekhara Sarma.

   This new set of copper-plates is a record of Kāpaya Nāyaka who flourished in Andhradeśa in the middle of the 14th century.

2. Early Signed Coins of India by K. P. Jayaswal.

   In this critical study of later Maurya coins and Śuṅga coins Mr. Jayaswal has assigned dates to the kings of the Maurya, the Śuṅga and the Kāṇvāyana dynasties.

3. An Old Rājasthānī Manuscript by P. C. Chaudhuri.
4. Sanskrit Restoration of Yuan Chwang's Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi-Śāstra by Tripiṭakācārya Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana.
5. A Dialect of Bhojapuri by Udai Narain Tiwari.

*The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. IX, Part I, January–March,* 1935.

1. Antiquity and Evolution of Art in India by C. Sivaramamurti.
2. The Chronology of the Eastern Cāḷukyas—by M. Somasekhara Sarma.
3. Some Rare Metres in Sanskrit—by A. Venkatasubbiah.
4. The Nāmpali Grant of Yuvarāja Rājendra Varma, Gaṅga Year 314—by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri.

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5. A Note on the Harahā Inscription and Kālidasa—by Dasharatha Sharma.

In this article Mr. Sharma has shown by putting side by side the parallel passages from the works of Kālidāsa and the Harahā Inscription of 555 A.D. that the poet had become fairly famous by that date, and that his works were intensively studied and copied by people aspiring to poetic fame in the middle of the sixth century.

*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. IX, Part I, July,* 1934.

1. Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas—by Govind Pai.
2. Two New Copper-plate Inscriptions of Vijayāditya VII of the Eastern Chālukyan Dynasty—by R. Subbarao.

*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. I,* 1935, *No.* 1.

Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule, as evidenced by inscriptions by B. Ch. Chhabra.

*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Vol. I, Part I, New Series, May–July,* 1935.

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3. Gaṇapati—by Haridas Mitra.

*The Young East, Vol.* 5, *No.* 1, *Spring,* 1935.

1. Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Layman by Beatrice Lane Suzuki.
2. Ti-Sarana or the Three Refuges by Dr. Cassius A. Pereira.

*The Calcutta Review, Vol.* 55, *No.* 2, *May,* 1935.

1. Early Indo-Persian Literature and Amīr Khusrav by Anil Chandra Banerjee.
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*The Hindustan Review, Vol. LXVI, No.* 363, *May,* 1935.

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*Man in India, Vol. XV, No.* 1, *January–March,* 1935.

1. Some Reflections on Indian Castes by Nagendra Nath Ghose.
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# NOTES ON THE SAKAS

*By* STEN KONOW

In *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 275 ff., Professor Bhandarkar has discussed the dvandva compound *śakayavanam* 'Śakas and Yavanas' at the hand of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini II, iv, 10 *śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām* '(a dvandva compound) of (words denoting) Śūdras that are not *niravasita* (is singular)'. Patañjali takes *niravasita* to mean 'excluded', and raises the question what this means. It cannot, he says, mean 'from Āryāvarta', because we say, e.g. *śakayavanam* (though Śakas and Yavanas live outside of Āryāvarta). Nor can we supply 'from *āryanivāsa*', i.e. according to Bhandarkar 'the Aryan settlements', because we cannot say *caṇḍālamṛtapam* (though Caṇḍālas and Mṛtapas are not excluded from such settlements). If we think of 'excluded from sacrifices', there is the same difficulty, because we say, e.g. *takṣāyaskāram* 'carpenters and blacksmiths' (though these castes are excluded from sacrifice). The only satisfactory explanation is, according to Patañjali 'debarred from the dish', i.e. such compounds must denote Śūdras that are not considered so unclean that they would make dishes permanently unfit for use by the Aryans, if they were to eat from them.

From this passage Bhandarkar draws the following conclusions about the position of the Śakas in Patañjali's time: (1) they were considered to be Śūdras, and thus not only Aryanized, but also Brahmanized; (2) they were not living in Āryāvarta, but; (3) in Aryan settlements, 'not only in the Aryan towns, but also in the Aryan villages and hamlets'. They must therefore have come into social contact with the Aryans, and their standing was so high 'that they (4) were entitled to the performance of a sacrifice', and (5) 'could interdine with the twice-born castes' 'without permanently defiling their utensils'. 'They were like the Yavanas living together with the Aryans in the various Aryan settlements. In other words, we may take it, (6) that they like the Bactrian Greeks had carved a tiny kingdom for themselves. This is a point of great importance, because here the evidence is clear that in the time of Patañjali, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C., the Śakas like the Yavanas had established their power, if not in Āryāvarta proper, certainly in the north-west portion of India'. 'They must have migrated into the north-west of India not as late as 75 B.C. as has hereupto been assumed, but as early as 175 B.C., as is clear from the passage from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.'

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These conclusions go against everything which we thought were established. But as they are due to a scholar of very high standing, many people will accept them as necessary. I am not, however, quite convinced that the argument is conclusive.

It is not necessary to consider whether Patañjali has grasped the real meaning of Pāṇini's *aniravasita*. We are only concerned with Patañjali's interpretation. And it may be questioned whether we can draw other inferences from his words than that the Śakas were, in his days, looked upon as Śūdras, and that they were not settled in Āryāvarta. The dvandva *śakayavanam* has been mentioned in order to show that *aniravasita* cannot mean 'not established outside of Āryāvarta', and it is not, in my opinion, necessary to apply the remaining tests to it.

This point need not, however, trouble us in the present connexion. We may, for the sake of argument, accept Bhandarkar's implication.

As to the first point, that the Śakas must have been not only Aryanized but also Brahmanized, because they are called Śūdras, it is perhaps possible to entertain some doubt. The Yavanas, who are mentioned together with them, were also 'Śūdras' and must have been considered as such even in earlier times, simply because they were not Aryans. Still we read in Aśoka's 13th rock edict that Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were not found among them, and we have not, so far as I know, the slightest indication to the effect that these Yavanas, and still less the Śakas, had become Brahmanized in the meantime.

The second point, that the Śakas were not living within Āryāvarta, is not subject to doubt. But it is perhaps less certain that Bhandarkar is right regarding the third one, when he says that they were living together with the Aryans in the various Aryan settlements and must therefore have come into social contact with them. Patañjali tells us what is to be understood under the term *āryanivāsa*, viz. villages, hamlets, towns and *saṃvāhas*. It is therefore quite justifiable to assume that *āryanivāsa* means 'such dwelling-places as the Aryans use', and it is not necessary to draw the inference that the Śakas were living together with the Aryans in the Aryan towns, etc., the less so, because Patañjali expressly tells us that this test has nothing to do with Pāṇini's rule.

The fourth point is of still less importance, because we learn that singular dvandvas can also be formed of names of Śūdras who were not entitled to sacrificial performances.

It can also be doubted whether Bhandarkar is right with regard to the fifth statement, that the Śakas could interdine with the Aryans without permanently defiling their utensils. If they were living so

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far away that they had practically no social contact with the Aryans, the question would not arise at all. A foreigner might very well be looked upon as a Śūdra, i.e. a non-Aryan, without being considered as untouchable.

That the Śakas had, in Patañjali's time, 'a tiny kingdom', or even several such, is hardly to be doubted. But, so far as I can see, there is no evidence of the existence of any such kingdom in north-western India in those days. The fact that Patañjali uses the form *Śaka* instead of the indigenous *Saka* rather points to the conclusion that they were settled at some distance.

I cannot therefore accept Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mahābhāṣya passage. We have no information of Sakas in India before the conquest led by the chiefs of which Moga seems to have been the principal one, and I agree with Rapson and Bhandarkar that these Sakas came to India, *via* the Bolan Pass, in the first century B.C., i.e. after Patañjali's time.

At the time when the Mahābhāṣya was written the Sakas were, in my opinion, only known as a foreign tribe, in some way connected with the Yavanas, and it is *a priori* likely that these Yavanas were the Greek chiefs of Bactria. Everything which we know about the history of the Sakas seems to point in that direction.

In the present connexion I need not consider the question whether Saka tribes had been settled in Sakastana at a much earlier date, as maintained by Thomas[1] and others. It will be sufficient to recall what we know about the development which led to the establishment of Saka kingdoms in Bactria and to the south of Bactria, and I shall limit myself to those Chinese accounts which have indications of the date when the events occurred.

We read in the Ts'ien Han-shu, which covers the period 206 B.C. to A.D. 24, that the Yüe-chï, after having been defeated by the Hiung-nu ca. 174 B.C., attacked the Saiwang, i.e. the Saka king, in the west, whereafter the Sai-wang went south and went far, while the Yüe-chï stayed in their country, i.e. according to Sinologists south-east of Issyk Kul.

The Yüe-chï were subsequently driven out of the old Saka country by the Wu-sun ruler K'un-mo, in the year when the Hiung-nu king Kiyuk died, i.e. 160 B.C. They then went west and became rulers of the Ta-hia, and the Sai-wang went south and became masters of Ki-pin. 'The Sai tribes were scattered and constituted several kingdoms in various directions. From Shu-le (Kāshgar) to the north-west, all those who belong to the Hiu-sün

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[1] J.R.A.S., 1906, pp. 181 ff.

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and Yüan-tu were old Sai tribes.' According to Karlgren[1] that probably implies that the Yüe-chï replaced the Sakas as rulers of the Ta-hia country, and that various Saka tribes were then in existence over a wide territory west of Kāshgar.

When Chang-k'ien visited the Yüe-chï in 126 B.C., he found them to the north of the Oxus, while the Ta-hia capital was to the south of the river, and it was only subsequently that they crossed the Oxus and effectively replaced the Sakas in the Ta-hia country.

The Saka conquest of the Ta-hia country was thus subsequent to their first defeat by the Yüe-chï, and it was then that they began to exercise pressure on the Greek rulers in Bactria, with whom they had formerly had no contact. This coincides with Patañjali's date, and it seems to me that his mentioning the compound *śakayavanam* finds its natural explanation in the reports which must have reached India in his days about the struggle between Sakas and Yavanas in Bactria.

The Saka conquest of Ki-pin, on the other hand, can certainly not be dated before 160 B.C., and must probably be subsequent to 126 B.C. Bhandarkar's theory that there was a Saka principality in the north-west at a considerably earlier date thus militates against what we have every reason for considering as established facts.

In Ki-pin the Sakas came into contact with at least one other Iranian tribe, viz. the Kāmbojas.[2]

B. C. Law has maintained that the Kāmbojas in Vedic times formed an important section of the Vedic Indian people and were not Iranians, because a Kāmboja Aupamanyava is mentioned as one of the Sāmaveda teachers in the Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa. But this inference is not unobjectionable. We do not know how old the Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa is. The remark in the thirteenth rock edict of Aśoka that 'there is no country, except among the Yonas, where these classes, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas do not exist', no doubt shows that there were Brāhmaṇas in the Kāmboja country at an early date. But nevertheless Yāska, Nirukta II, 2, definitely distinguishes the Kāmbojas from the Aryans, and this statement is repeated in the Mahābhāṣya I, 9. When Yāska and Patañjali find a connexion between the Kāmboja verb *śavati* 'he goes' and *śava* 'corpse', we must remember that they do not seem to have known much about Iranian languages. To us it cannot underlie any doubt that the base *śu* 'to go' is the Iranian root which we find in Sogdian *šw*, Saka *tsu*, Persian *šudan*, etc., and which is remotely connected

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[1] Cf. my remarks in the Journal of Indian History, XII, pp. 9 ff.

[2] Cf. the excellent summary of what we know about this tribe in Bimala Charan Law's Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 235 ff.

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with Skr. *cyu*. Since the Kāmbojas used this verb, we must, in my opinion, draw the conclusion that they were Iranians.

That the Sakas were once settled near the country where we have every reason for locating the Kāmbojas can, I think, be safely inferred from the tradition preserved by Hemacandra about *muruṇḍas*, i.e. Sakas, in Laghman.[1] And that the two tribes became somewhat intimately connected is *a priori* likely, and it would become certain if the *Kamuiyas*, who are associated with the family of the Saka Mahākṣatrapa Rajula of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription, are in fact Kāmbojas, *kamuiya-* being just the form we would expect in the dialect for an old *Kāmbojika*.

It is therefore perhaps more than a mere guess that the Saka hordes who, in the first century B.C., conquered a large territory in Western and North-Western India were also recruited from the Kābul country. But the Saka settlements in those parts must be subsequent to Patañjali's time.

That the Sakas were Iranians is apparently not doubted by anybody, and that they were considered to be rather closely connected with the Kāmbojas may be inferred from the fact that the two tribes are so frequently mentioned together. In his masterly study in the Berlin Sitzungsberichte, 1913, pp. 406 ff., Lüders has further shown that certain names and orthographic peculiarities prove that the Indian Śakas spoke practically the same language as the Iranian rulers of the Khotan realm.

Lüders was of opinion that the Iranians of Khotan had, for a considerable period, been settled on Indian soil, and if such were the case, Bhandarkar's theory might find a certain support.

The language spoken by these Iranians is now fairly well known, through a series of Buddhist texts and several secular documents. But much still remains to be done. Dr. H. W. Bailey has recently found a Saka itinerary, ending in Kashmir. Mention is there made of three saṅghārāmas bearing the name *abiṃmanyagaupti*. The document must accordingly be later than Abhimanyugupta (A.D. 958–972), so that the language was still spoken about A.D. 1000. The Buddhist texts show a considerably older form, but we are still unable to state with any degree of confidence how far back they can be dated.

Various names have been suggested for this form of speech: North Aryan, East Iranian, Khotanī, and Saka. None of them is quite satisfactory. 'North Iranian' is based on the mistaken assumption that we have to do with a separate branch of Aryan languages, which was neither Indian nor Iranian. 'East Iranian'

[1] Cf. B. C. Law, Indian Culture, I, p. 387: *Lampākās tu muruṇḍāḥ syuḥ*.

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is too wide, because also Sogdian is an eastern Iranian tongue; 'Khotanī', because also other languages have been and are spoken in Khotan, and 'Saka', because it is *a priori* probable that there were more than one Saka language. If we want a precise designation, we may think of 'Khotanese Middle Iranian', 'Khotanese East Iranian' or 'Khotanī Saka', and I shall provisionally use the last-mentioned term. We now know, however, that the speakers themselves called their language *hvatanaa*, i.e. *hvadanaa*, and the country *hvatana*, i.e. *hvadana*, and it is *a priori* likely that *hvadana* is the same word as *Khotan*.

In the Chinese T'ang-shu we read[1]: 'Yut'ien (i.e. Khotan) is also called Kü-sa-tan-na (*Kiu-sat-ta-na*), or also Hoan-na (*xuan-na*) or K'ü-tan (*K'iuət-tan*). The northern barbarians call it *Yu-toen* (*Yiu-d'uən*). The various Hu peoples speak of Ho-tan (*xuat-tan*)'.

Here *Yu-t'ien* is the traditional Chinese form, which was adopted at a much earlier date, and which, according to Karlgren, began with a *g* in Archaic Chinese. It cannot, of course be utilized for ascertaining the local pronunciation of the name in later days. *Kü-sa-ta-na* clearly represents *Kustana*, and has sometimes been considered as a mistaken semi-Sanskritization. We can also abstract from the forms used by the northern barbarians and by the Hu tribes. The remaining designations, *Hoan-na* and *K'ü-tan* seem to be mentioned as variants of the names used by the Khotanese themselves.

*K'ü-tan* clearly represents *Khotan*, and *Hoan-na* is evidently the same word as *Hvadana*, for which we also find *Hvaṃna* in Khotanī Saka documents.

Though it is remarkable that the intervocalic *t* is attested in the name Khotan from the oldest Chinese adaptation till the present day, there cannot *a priori* be any serious objection to the assumption that *Hvadana, Hvaṃna* represents an adaptation of the ancient name in accordance with the phonetical tendencies of the Iranians who held sway in the country from an unknown date. In Khotanī Saka every intervocalic *t* became *d*, and this *d* was subsequently dropped. We must, however, reckon with another possibility. The word *Hvadana* can have been the designation used by the Iranians to denote themselves, perhaps derived from the pronoun *hva*, Skr. *sva*, which base is well-known to have been used for forming ethnic names. On account of the similarity in sound, it can then subsequently have been applied to the country itself, instead of, or at the side of, the old form *Khotan*.

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[1] The pronunciation of the Chinese names in the T'ang period has been added within parenthesis, from Karlgren's well-known dictionary.

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As already stated, we do not know when the Iranian language was introduced in Khotan. In his ingenious paper on the languages of Ancient Khotan,[1] Thomas comes to the conclusion that the old vernacular of Khotan was a monosyllabic form of speech, of a similar kind as Tibetan, and that the Iranian language must have been introduced in the period between Sung-yun (518 A.D.) and Hiuen-tsang. His conclusions are based on a careful analysis of names and words occurring in a series of texts found in the Tibetan Tanjur and in the Kharoṣṭhī documents recovered in Chinese Turkestan and accessible in the magnificent edition of Messrs. Boyer, Rapson and Senart.[2] The Tibetan texts are no doubt comparatively late, but they seem to be based on good old traditional accounts. The bulk of the Kharoṣṭhī documents come from the old Shan-shan country and not from Khotan, but it is highly probable that the Indian dialect in which they are written came to Shan-shan *via* Khotan. The material used by Thomas is therefore unobjectionable. Still I have always hesitated to accept his conclusions. And, so far as I can see, there is, in the big collection, one document which seems to speak against them.

I refer to the only record which is distinctly referred to the reign of a king of Khotan, viz. No. 661. It has been ably edited, with a series of illuminating remarks, by Peter S. Noble,[3] and it seems to be of considerable interest. The consistent writing of *dh* for every initial *d* points to a pronunciation with an initial corresponding to *th* in English ' thou '. Forms such as *iḍa* for *iśa*, *saǧaḍi* for *sakāśe*, *dhivajha* for *divasa* point to a voiced pronunciation of intervocalic *ś* and *s*. *Kāli* for *kāle*, *ajiṣanayi* for *adhyeṣanayā*, etc. seem to show that *e* had become *ī*. The form *aṣṭi* ' eight ' is quite isolated, other documents having *aṭha*. All these features have, as is well-known, exact parallels in Khotanī Saka. For details I must refer the reader to my paper quoted above. Since it was written, T. Burrow[4] has drawn attention to a word occurring in the document, which seems to add considerable strength to my argument. The record is dated on the 18th day of the third month of the tenth year, during the reign of *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajhasya avijidasiṃhasya*, i.e. the Khotan mahārāja rājātirāja hinajha Avijitasiṃha. The term *hinajha*, which has not hitherto been understood, is explained as representing *hīnāza*, i.e. army-leader, and as a translation of the

[1] Asia Major II, pp. 251 ff., cf. his paper in Festgabe Jacobi, pp. 46 ff.

[2] Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. Oxford, 1920–1929.

[3] Bulletin of The School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VI, pp. 445 ff., cf. also my remarks Acta Orientalia, X, pp. 67 ff.

[4] Bulletin of The School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VII, pp. 514 ff.

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Greek title *stratēgos*. This brilliant identification is, I think, absolutely convincing, and *hīnāza* is just the form we would expect in Khotanī Saka, cf. *hīna*, Avestan *haēnā* ' army '.

The use of this Iranian word, in addition to the features mentioned above, seems to make it almost certain that Khotanī Saka was used in Khotan in the days of Avijitasiṃha. The circumstances in which the record was found show that it cannot well be later than about the middle of the third century. The translation of the Greek title *stratēgos* may even point to a somewhat earlier date. According to Rapson,[1] this title was 'inherited by the Śakas and Pahlavas from the Yavanas ', and ' the line of *stratēgoi* was no doubt continued under the suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇas '. The use of this title by King Avijitasiṃha thus seems to indicate that the Saka rulers of Khotan had some relations with their kinsmen in India and the Indian borderlands, and they may themselves have come to Khotan from that region.

Before leaving this record, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the name of the country is there *Khotana*, not *Khodana* or *Hvadana*.

It has not hitherto been possible to find traces of any other Saka language in Chinese Turkestan. Quite recently, however, this state of things has been altered, and new facts have been brought to light, which may prove of some importance for our knowledge of the history of the Sakas.

Among the Central Asian antiquities collected in the Berlin Academy there are some documents, which have not hitherto been utilized for the simple reason that we could not understand them. They comprise six documents found at Maralbashi, near Kāshgar, one tablet recovered at the neighbouring Tumshuk, and an incomplete folio excavated at Murtuk near Karakhoja in Turfan.

They are all written in the alphabet which we know from the so-called Tokharian, especially the B dialect,[2] with the addition of nine unknown letters. In a paper contributed to the Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy, I hope to have proved that the language used in these records is so closely connected with Khotanī Saka that we can only consider the two forms of speech as sister dialects. The documents seem to belong to about the 7th century A.D., i.e. to be contemporary with Khotanī Saka literature, but there are no traces of any connexion with Khotan. The Iranians

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[1] Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 570, 591.

[2] The question about the proper name of the language is still *sub judice*; cf. the papers quoted Acta Orientalia, XIII, pp. 244 ff., and by Reuter, Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne, XLVII, 4.

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of Maralbashi use titles such as *jezdaṃpura*, Khotanī Saka *jastapūra*, evidently a translation of *devaputra*, and *Vāsudeva*, so that it seems necessary to infer that they had inherited traditions connecting them with the Kuṣāṇas. But the script and other impulses they had received from the east, especially from Karashahr, and it is even probable that some of their kinsmen were settled as subjects of Karashahr.

Though the Maralbashi dialect is closely related to Khotanī Saka, it deviates in some respects, usually so that it has preserved older forms. I shall only mention one detail. We have seen that old *ai* became *ī* in Khotanī Saka, e.g. in *hīna* 'army'. In Maralbashi, on the other hand, we have *e*; thus *γedidi*, Khotanī Saka *ggīte*, i.e. *γīte* 'proclaims'. It seems justifiable to draw the conclusion that the two tribes had separated before old *ai* became *ī* in Khotanī Saka. And that would mean that they must have done so before the time of Avijitasiṃha. It is hardly possible to object that *ai* may have become *ī* earlier before *n* than elsewhere. Forms such as *kali*, *ajiṣanayi*, mentioned above, show that the change was general, and, on the other hand, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Shan-shan realm we find *e* for old *ai* before *n* in *jheniǧa*, Khotanī Saka *ysīnīta* 'entrusted'.

The two Saka tribes must therefore have separated some time before the middle of the third century, and there is no *a priori* objection to thinking of the second century or even earlier.

The Iranians of Maralbashi seem to have used the identical designation *Hvadana* about themselves as those of Khotan. If *Hvadana*, therefore, is the same word as *Khotan*, we must necessarily infer that the Hvadanas of Maralbashi had come from Khotan.

Further research will perhaps lead to the result that such was actually the case, and it is certainly too early to think of a final solution of the problem raised by the Maralbashi colony. I can only draw attention to some features which seem to speak against the identification of Hvadana and Khotan.

The designation *Hvadana* is common to the two tribes, and we must probably infer that it had come into use before they separated. The fact that Khotan is called *Khotana* and not *Hvadana* in the Avijitasiṃha record seems to speak against its identification with Hvadana. But we *can* assume that Khotana was the old pre-Iranian form of the name and was retained in writing, though the Iranians pronounced it Hvadana.

Another difficulty is that there are no traces of relations between the Hvadanas of Khotan and those of Maralbashi. It may be solved by assuming that the two tribes, who must have separated before the middle of the third century, had lost contact with each

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other in the seventh century, though both still preserved traces of former relations with their cousins in India and the Indian borderlands. The Maralbashi Hvadanas must then, at a later stage of development, have come under the influence of the civilization developed by other, more eastern, tribes.

Finally, all that we know about the wanderings of the Sakas seems to show that they usually led them to the south, while an emigration from Khotan to Maralbashi would have gone in the opposite direction.

None of these considerations can be said to be decisive. Taken together, however, they raise a certain presumption in favour of the possibility mentioned above, that Hvadana is the old indigenous name of the tribe and has only subsequently, after the Hvadanas had made themselves masters of Khotan, been used as a name of the country.

In that case it would be a likely hypothesis that the Hvadanas came to Khotan not from Bactria or from the Indian borderlands, but from the north, and that the Hvadanas of Maralbashi were descended from a section of the tribe, which did not follow the main branch down to Khotan, but remained in and about Maralbashi, and subsequently lost contact with the rest, but at least for some time, kept in contact with their kinsmen in Bactria and India, and subsequently came under the influence of the wave of civilization which spread over the northern oases of Eastern Turkestan and led to a rich development, especially in the east, whence the Hvadanas of Maralbashi received the art of writing and probably also Buddhism, to which we can see that they were devoted.

The immigration which led the Hvadanas to Maralbashi and Khotan must, at all events, be referred to a comparatively early date. It might even be considered as the final stage in the southwards movement of the Sakas after their first defeat at the hands of the Yüe-chï. It is so far impossible to fix a *terminus post quem.*

How long the Iranian language held its own in Maralbashi, we cannot say. In the Murtuk folio there are some attempts at using it in poetical writings. But we do not know of any literature written in it. The colophon of a Turkish Translation of a Buddhist work[1] contains the remark that it was translated from the Küsän into the Barčuq language. Barčuq is a name of Maralbashi, and at the date of the colophon the written language of Maralbashi was consequently Turkï. But no inference can be drawn from this fact as to the later history of the Iranian dialect of the Hvadanas.

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[1] F. W. K. Müller, Berlin Sitzungsberichte, 1918, p. 580.

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# ART NOTES FROM DHANAPĀLA'S TILAKAMAÑJARĪ

*By* C. SIVARAMAMURTI

*Introductory Note :*

Of the many books in Sanskrit that go to form its rich and vast literature there would be rarely one that fails to create sufficient interest even in a general reader by rambling sometimes into spheres of knowledge other than the one that that particular one professes to treat. Of many such subjects that creep into books Art—painting and sculpture—is one ; and literary references to it are numerous. Lots of tomes there are, some packed with these valuable evidences of the history, evolution and concept of Art and some others giving occasional but nevertheless very valuable references. To the former type should be assigned the splendid prose romance of Dhanapāla, the Jain writer, which teems and bristles with notes on Art on every page. The special mention of some technical terms in the Tilakamañjarī makes the study all the more useful and interesting. There are lots of references to show what an advanced concept of Art criticism obtained in Ancient India ; and the conversations of princes and painters and Citrācāryas are as edifying as instructive. The period ought to have been characterized by a munificent patronage of the royal court, old temples being repaired and workmen like sculptors and painters being engaged in the work.[1] Even the wayside wells near shady banyan trees had the sides of the walls near the entrance (gateway) painted in gay colours with the forms of different gods.[2] So Art was not a stray thing preserved in a museum or some such place kept aloof and dissociated from daily life but was an element throbbing in the very veins of an active and vigorously alive nature all animate with human thought and movement.

*Citravidyā :*

The tremendous importance attached to the learning of Art is really well understood only when we see the very many passages in literature where the encyclopædic knowledge of the princes, noblemen, princesses and other high class men and women of the

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[1] क्वचिद्दर्शनपथावतीर्णेषु शीर्णदेवतायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय सपदि संपादितपूजासत्कारान्व्यापारयतः । p. 54.

[2] द्वारगभित्तिगर्भप्रतिष्ठितानेकदेवताप्रतिमाभिः.....मार्गवापीभिः स्वपुटितमहावटद्रुमोपान्तस्थलाम् । p. 95.

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land is spoken and special emphasis is laid on painting and music. We know from the Bhāgavata that of the four upavedas Sthāpatya-veda is one [1] ; painting and sculpture being integral parts of architecture which is embellished by the agency of these two we can evaluate aright the worth and need of this branch of knowledge in a scheme of polite learning. This accounts for passages like the one where Harivāhana's knowledge of painting and music is emphasized when his equipment in learning is narrated.[2] Harivāhana is eulogized as a pāradṛśvā in Nṛtta, Citra and Gīta elsewhere in the book.[3] There is given in one passage a long list of different interesting branches of knowledge mastered by a princess—all of them fine arts—and the proficiency of the royal lady is such that she is not afraid of being questioned on these subjects—but rather welcomes friendly discussions on these.[4] No wonder such worthy and excellent masters of the art, amateurs though they be, are respected by even the professionals and we have lots of painters carrying pictures to them for criticism and appreciation [5] ; and long hours are spent, as one passage gives it, by the prince in trying to solve the Cārūtva-tattva in the company of townfolk well-versed in the Citraśāstra, Alekhyaśāstravids, and masters of art, Citravidyopādhyāyas.[6] At a mere sign of the brow the prince gets the picture, wrapped up in silken covers and the like, laid bare and unrolled [7] and the beautiful form of the figure is revealed to him for his critical estimate of it. Whole days are sometimes spent by the prince in looking at

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[1] आयुर्वेदं धनुर्वेदं गान्धर्वं वेदमात्मनः।
स्थापत्यं चास्रजद्वेदं क्रमात्पूर्वादिभिर्मुखैः॥ Bhāgavata III, xii, 38.

[2] विशेषतश्चित्रकर्मणि वीणावाद्ये च प्रवीणतां प्राप। p. 65.

[3] नृत्यगीतचित्राविकल्पशास्त्रपारदृश्वा हरिवाहनो नाम कुमारः। p. 133.

[4] यदि च कौतुकं ततश्चित्रकर्मणि वीणादिवाद्ये लास्यताण्डवगतेषु नाट्यप्रयोगेषु षड्जादिस्वरविभाग-निर्णयेषु पुस्तकर्मणि द्रविडादिषु पत्रच्छेदभेदेषु च विदग्धजनयोग्येषु वस्तुविज्ञानेषु पृच्छैनाम्। p. 297.

[5] गृहाण चित्रपटमेनम्। अत्र प्रयत्नेन भूत्वा लिखितमेकं मया दिव्यकुमारिकारूपमनुरूपपरिवारपरिकरम्। तदस्य कुरु कलाशास्त्रकुशलस्य कौशलिकम्। अहमपि त्वामनुप्राप्त एव।' इत्यभिदधानः संनिधानस्थापितायाः प्रकटचीनकपटप्रसेविकायाः सयत्नमाक्षिप्य चित्रपटमेनमुपानीतवान्। p. 133.

[6] मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः संनिधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्परा-जनितकुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितुमागतैरालेख्यशास्त्रविद्भिर्नागरलोकैः सह विचारयन्नविचार्य चारुत्वतत्त्वं तस्याश्चित्रपटपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्णमनयत्। p. 144.

[7] सलीलवलितभ्रूलतालक्षिताज्ञया च तया विस्तारिते पुरस्तात्तत्र निश्चितदृष्टिरत्युत्कृष्टरूपां..... चित्रपुत्रिकां ददर्श। p. 132.

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numberless pictures of the most reputed beauties of the day—so great is the passion for the art.[1] The word parityaktānyakarmā is here very significant.

*Citraśālā :*

The information on the Citraśālā that we get in literature is not merely ample but more—is almost exhaustive. In fact we know more of it, its structure, its types, its contents and so on, through literary evidences than through passages in the Śilpa texts describing it. The Citraśālā is a vast subject of study and it has been dealt with in a separate paper[2]; it is therefore proposed to give here all that Dhanapāla has said on it in his book.

It is evident from literature that there were three kinds of Citraśālās, the public art galleries, the private ones in the houses of wealthy men, noblemen and others, and the art galleries of the royal palaces. Of the last we have definite divisions made by Dhanapāla. Though almost every apartment in the palace was filled with pictures we have the Jalamaṇḍapa and the Antahpura mentioned specially as containing art treasures. Painting the Jalamaṇḍapa appears to have been especially popular in Ancient India and that that served as a Citraśālā by itself is no exaggeration. Dhanapāla's special mention of a Citraśālā in the Jalamaṇḍapa[3] is supported by Kālidāsa's similar mention of paintings in the Jalamaṇḍapas of Ayodhyā.[4]

From a separate mention of the Citraśālās of the harem we are led to understand that the kings had Citraśālās of their own different from those in the queens' apartments. The beautiful picture halls of the queens appear to have been situated in a central place in the mansions with a big verandah about them containing many seats for the weary ones to sit and rest before finishing a round in the hall and exhausting all the pictures giving each one the proper attention that is its due.[5]

Apart from the art galleries of the harem there appear to have been special Citraśālās, of course minor ones, of the bedroom. These

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[1] कदाचिदङ्गनालोल दति निपुणचित्रकरैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपाधनीकृतानि रूपातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिबिम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा दिवसमलोकयत्। p. 15.

[2] Triveni, Vol. VII, No. ii, p. 169. Citraśālās: Ancient Indian Art Galleries by C. Sivaramamurti.

[3] क्वचिद्विचित्रानेकचित्रशालं जलमण्डपमगच्छत्। p. 88.

[4] चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः।
नखाङ्कुराघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरम्भसिद्धप्रहृतं वहन्ति॥ Raghuvaṁśa xvi, 16.

[5] क्वचिद्राज्ञान्तःपुरप्रासादमिममस्याश्चित्रशालिकायाः प्राङ्गणवितर्दिकोपविष्टां समाश्लिष्य देवीं, etc. p. 24.

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were called Śayanagṛhacitraśālās. Dhanapāla has taken trouble to emphasize this type of Citrasadma by mentioning it in his book a number of times.[1] The magnificence and glory of the art gallery is best brought home to our mind only by a knowledge of how it was arranged and kept. We get an inkling of the way the Citraśālās were maintained from the line of Dhanapāla wherein he talks of the floor of the hall as being smeared all over with rich sandal paste.[2] From that and in proportion to that we are to imagine the rest of the beautifying of the mansion. The line is no doubt an exaggeration. The Citraśālās appear to have been highly perfumed. But the grandeur and glory of the institution must have been true.

*Rangavalli :*

The name Rangavalli is of very frequent occurrence in literature and it simply means ' colour creeper '. It consists of fantastic or symmetrical drawings of designs and creepers on the floor with colour powders and such other transitory materials. There is a mark of auspiciousness attached to these drawings and they are usually practised by Hindu women all over India. The vernacular name Rangoli in Bombay signifies these creepers and it is but a corruption of the Sanskrit term. Mr. Gladstone Solomon in his pretty little book ' The Charm of Indian Art ' really charms us with a graphic account of Rangoli as it obtains in the Bombay parts to-day. The Alpona of Bengal and the not-very-well-known but nevertheless the most important of this type of Rangavalli that lingers still in our land, the Kolam of South India, of which no one has cared to say even a wee little, are also of especial interest to the student of Indian design and freehand drawing.

Poets have waxed eloquent when describing the Rangavalli and there are whole passages in their works giving a graphic account of the themes, the methods and the beauties of Indian design.[3]

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[1] रणितमणिना भूषणचक्रवालेन वाचालयन्तौ चित्रशालिकां श्रव्यामसृजत्। p. 238.
...प्रविश्य वसुसुन्दरीद्वितीया शयनचित्रशालाम्। p. 246.
आरोप्य च शयनचित्रशालिकायामवलम्बितगतिस्खलत्कालमेव गत्वा, etc. p. 266.
cf. विचित्रचित्रशालिनि.....श्रव्यागृहे। Nalacampū, p. 83.

[2] चित्रशालाध्यासंपाद्यमानहरिचन्दनपङ्कोपलेपनं। p. 34.

[3] Soḍḍhala shows these drawings to be transitory in the line of his Udayasundarikathā—
मन्त्रिचोल्लाञ्चलसंमार्जनेन भज्यमानरङ्गावलिः। p. 39.
He stresses its special quality of adding grace to the floor in the line—
रङ्गावल्लीवलयमिव प्राङ्गणभुवः, चित्रमिव भित्तेः,....शोभाविष्करणकारणमस्ति नगरमिन्दीवरं नाम। p. 94.

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Bāṇa has specially dealt with it in his Kādambarī and Trivikrama talks of different types of Kolams in his Nalacampū. There are innumerable other poets that have contributed to our knowledge of design in Rangavalli as practised in Ancient India. Dhanapāla has also a lot of useful information to supply on this very fascinating subject.

In one sufficiently long passage,[1] that resembles the one of Bāṇa in his Kādambarī,[2] Dhanapāla tells us of how the floor is first smeared with haricandana, i.e. sandal—it is an exaggeration to talk of haricandana lepana in an ordinary house but in the royal mansion which he describes it is quite alright—and then drawings of Svastika in colour powders are laid on it with care and dexterity, how the figure of Ṣaṣṭhī devī is sketched, and how the Mātṛpaṭala (perhaps the Aṣṭamātarah) is arranged on the ground and so on as also Rakṣābhūtirekhā (amulet-like powerful drawings calculated to drive away spells). In another passage the threshold of the temple of Kāmadeva is described as filled with different patterns of creepers all drawn with colour powders in innumerable tints.[3] This sort of beautifying the floor of a temple or place of worship is known as Balikarma.

All these aforestated drawings are drawn with colour powders and come under the head Dhūlīcitra mentioned in the Śilpa texts like the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, the Śilparatna and so on. There is also another type, given in the selfsame Śilpa works, by name Rasacitra and this also is mentioned by Dhanapāla. A maiden, Candralekhā, is asked to draw Svastika designs with kṣīrodamauktikakṣoda[4]—a white watery solution described as that of powdered

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[1] 'कुरुत हरिचन्दनोपलेपद्वारि मन्दिराङ्गणम्, रचयत स्थानस्थानकेषु रत्नचूर्णस्वस्तिकान्, दत्त द्वारि नूतनं चूतपल्लवदाम, विकिरतान्तरुत्फुल्लपद्मजोपहारम्, कारयत सर्वतः शान्तिसलिलचेषमहतकालचेषम्, आहरत भगवतीं षष्ठीदेवीम्, आलिखत जातमातृपटलम्, आरभतार्यष्टदासपर्याम्, विधत्त पर्यन्तेषु शयनस्य सद्योभिमन्त्रितां रक्षाभूतिरेखाम्,' इत्यादि जल्पता तत्पनिकटोपविष्टेन गुडान्तनिकटोपविष्टेन गुडान्नजरतीजनेन, etc. p. 63.

[2] उभयतश्च द्वारपक्षकयोर्मर्यादानिपुणेन गोमयौघिरुत्तानविनिहितवराटकदन्तुराभिरन्तरान्तरावद्धविविधवर्णरागरुचिरकूर्पासकुसुमलेशश्लाघ्यिताभिः कुसुम्भकेसरलवाश्लेषश्लोहितामिर्लेखाभिरालिखितस्वस्तिकभक्तिजालमुपरचयता हारिद्रद्रावविच्छुरणपिञ्जरितास्मरधारिणीं भगवतीं षष्ठीं देवीं कुर्वता विकचपद्मपुटविकटग्रिखण्डिपृष्ठमण्डलाधिरूढमालोललोहितपटघटितपताकसुश्लिष्टशक्रिदण्डप्रच्छदं कार्तिकेयं संघटयता विन्यस्तालक्तकपाटलमध्यभागौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावावद्धता....पुरश्चिवर्गेण समधिष्ठितम्। Kā, pp. 142-143.

[3] ..अस्मिन्दकालिखितबद्धवर्णचूर्णपचवल्लिना....बलिकर्मणा कल्माषितसमग्राग्रिमभूमिभागं....कुसुमशरासनं देवमद्राक्षम्। p. 249.

[4] चन्द्रलेखे, विलिख प्रशस्तललितानिलक्षतः क्षीरोदमौक्तिकक्षोदैः स्वस्तिकान्। p. 304.

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pearls to add an air of grandeur to it—and this corresponds to the Izhaikkolam of South India drawn with a white paste solution by allowing it to trickle down a rag soaked in it and held in between the fingers which fly rapidly along the floor their tips settling the drawing on the ground. Trivikrama has given an elaborate account of the Rasacitra and the information supplied by him is most useful.[1] He talks of Kolam drawings in zig-zag patterns, ~~~~~ something like the conventional waves, and other types as well.

Other passages in the Tilakamañjarī show that even in hermitages far away from human habitation the sense of the beautiful was preserved by the inmates of those thatched dwellings and exhibited in the flowery drawings of creepers, i.e. Rangavalli drawn on the verandah and thresholds of those humble dwellings all smeared over at first with cowdung to serve as a background and give relief to the drawings.[2] Over the drawings beautiful and multicoloured flowers were arranged for heightening their beauty.[3]

*The Citrakara and his Methods :*

Royal favour and munificence encouraged and maintained a distinct type of Citrakaras proficient in theory and practice alike ; and we have such Citravidyopādhyāyas employed in the courts to teach members of the royal family. They were also called to examine and discuss the merits and blemishes of pictures brought to the king for inspection.[4] The kings themselves being proficient in the various arts examined the pictures leisurely to pass criticisms.

Ordinarily there were many Citrakaras employed for executing various commissions. Old and dilapidated temples were repaired and the Sthapatis, Vardhakis, Citrakaras and others were honoured by the king by being offered sandal paste, flowers, etc. before they proceeded with their work. The passage in the text describing the honours shown to the artists and architects going for their work[5]

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[1] अतिस्थूलमुक्ताफलरचिततरङ्गरेखाराजिराजिताजिरं राजभवनमविशत् । Nalacampū, p. 209.
मण्डयन्तां मसृणमुक्ताफलचोदरङ्गावलीभिः प्राङ्गणानि । Ibid., p. 117.

[2] कदाचिदचिरोपलिप्तासु पर्णशालाङ्गणवितर्दिकासु दर्शितानेकपत्रलेखान्स्वस्तिकानभिलिखन्ती । p. 270.

[3] कृतसमस्तप्रातरितिकृत्यायास्तत्क्षणोपलिप्तमितस्ततो रचितरुचिरस्वस्तिकामविरलन्यस्तपुष्पस्तबकशबलाम् । p. 294.

[4] मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः संनिधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनित-कुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितुमागतैरालेख्यशास्त्रविद्भिर्नागरलोकैः सह विचारयन्नविचार्यं चारुत्वतत्वं तस्याश्चित्र-पटपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्णमनयत् । p. 144.

[5] क्वचिदङ्गनपथावतीर्णेषु शीर्णदेवायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय सपदि सम्पादितपूजासत्काराव्यापारयतः । p. 54.

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is supported by the similar description in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa,[1] and they serve as illustrations of the dictum of the Śilparatna wherein the Śilpins are required to be honoured.[2]

But such honour never promoted any sort of pride in the Śilpin and we have the extreme humility of the artists inviting discussion and suggestive corrections of any possible blemishes in their executions shown in some of the passages of the Tilakamañjarī like the one where the young artist shows a picture to the prince asking him to give his frank opinion on it.[3] The painter is also so humble as to request the prince to excuse some of his shortcomings apparent in the picture like insufficient knowledge, inattention during work, impropriety (insufficient knowledge of propriety) and want of proper practice, etc.[4]

From very many references to the activity of the painter in the text we gather that he was usually employed in the royal courts for producing portraits of princes and princesses for being sent round to various kingdoms for arranging suitable marriages.[5]

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[1] सितकुसुमविलेपनवसनसत्कृतैः सूत्रधारैरादीयमानविवाहवेदीसूत्रपातम्। H.C., p. 142.

[2] तस्मादेष सदा पूज्यः स्रष्टपत्यादिचतुष्टयः॥ S.R. I. 12.

[3] 'कुमार, अस्ति किञ्चिद्दर्शनीययोग्यमत्र चित्रपटे रूपम्। उद्धृतरूपः कोऽपि दोषो वा नातिमात्रं प्रतिभाति। अद्याप्यनुपजातपरिणतिश्चित्रविद्यायां शिक्षणीयोऽहमखिलशास्त्रपारगेण भवताभागेन।' इति p. 135.

[4] तेनापरिज्ञानमवधानमुचितज्ञतामनभ्यासं चात्र विषये न मे संभावयितुमर्हति माननार्हः। p. 136.

[5] द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपह्रियमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्धरूपः। p. 133.

अतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवारवाङ्नाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय निसर्गसुन्दराकृतीनामवनिगोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्वमङ्कितानि नामभिर्यथावस्थितानि विद्धरूपाणि। p. 138.

तत्र च त्वदुपलम्भाशया दिग्मुखख्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्धरूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितश्चित्रफलकद्विरभिलिख्योपनीतान्यजस्रमवलोकयतः.....मे गताः कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः। p. 263.

Cf. प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतिसंदर्शिताभ्यः
समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसन्मानकामैः।
अधिविविदुरमात्यैराहृतास्तस्य यूनः
प्रथमपरिगृहीते श्रीभुवौ राजकन्याः॥ Raghuvaṁśa XVIII. 63.

ततः समुत्सुको राजा निजं चित्रकरोत्तमम्।
कुमारिदत्तनामानं पृथ्वीरूपः समादिशत्॥
पटे यथावल्लिखितां समादाय मदालसिम्।
एताभ्यां सह भिक्षुभ्यां द्वीपं मुक्तिपुरं व्रज॥
तत्र रूपधराख्यस्य राज्ञस्तद्दुहितुस्तथा।
युक्त्या रूपलतायास्त्वं मदाकारं प्रदर्शय॥ Kathāsaritsāgara IX. i. 123–125.

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Of the methods of the painter to produce a picture we have ample interesting information in the Tilakamañjarī. The general method of working a picture being the same in the case of an amateur and a professional we can safely use the passage wherein a princess is described as drawing her lover—the prince.[1] Close to her is placed a casket full of brushes, and a big board is kept before her by her maids; she begins the work and imagining ever and anon the model transfixed in her mind she paints. Now she pauses to think of him again, now she adds a touch on the canvas, and now again she stops to think of his form to see if she is correct in her delineation. This is exactly what any painter does and corresponds to the description given in the Śilparatna wherein also is emphasized this thinking over and over again of the figure to be drawn.[2] That brushes were kept in Samudgakas or boxes is borne out by the evidence of passages like the one from the Daśakumāracarita where such a thing is described.[3]

But it was not always that the phalaka was used for painting. Sometimes paṭa was used and some other times the wall itself served the purpose. Pictures drawn on paṭas appear to have been carefully rolled up and preserved in silken covers and whenever required were unrolled and seen.[4] This practice is very often referred to in literature and we have Bhāsa and others talking of it.[5]

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[1] कदाचिदन्तिकन्यस्तविविधवर्तिकासमुद्गका प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुनि चित्रफलके निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुबाणव्रातविद्धा देवस्यैव रूपविद्वमभिलिखन्ती, etc. p. 319.

[2] श्यालिखेत् किट्टलेखिन्या सुमुहूर्ते सुलग्नके।
स्वस्थचित्तः सुखासीनः स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा पुनः पुनः॥ Ś. R. Citralakṣaṇa, 39.

[3] नागदन्तलग्ननिर्यासकल्कवर्णितं फलकमादाय मणिसमुद्गकादर्णवर्तिकामुद्धृत्य तां तथा श्रयानां तस्याश्च मामावद्धाञ्जलिं चरणलग्नमालिखम्। Daś. Ucc. II, p. 99.

[4] इत्युदीर्य दूरावनतपूर्वकाया दक्षिणकरेणादाय सादरमुपरितनवसनपल्लवप्रान्तसंयतं दिव्यं चित्रपटमुपनिन्ये। p. 131.

"गृहाण चित्रपटमेनम्। अत्र प्रयत्नेन भूत्वा लिखितमेकं मया दिव्यकुमारिकारूपमनुरूपपरिवारपरिकरम्। तदस्य कुरु कलाग्रहणकुशलस्य कौशलिकम्। अहमपि त्वामनुप्राप्त एव" इत्यभिदधानः संनिधानस्थापितायाः प्रच्छदपटीनकर्पटप्रसेविकायाः सयत्नमाकृष्य चित्रपटमेनमुपनीतवान्। p. 133.

[5] कान्चुकीयः—....अयं स चित्रपटः।
दुर्योधनः—ममाग्रतः प्रसारय।
कान्चुकीयः—यदाज्ञापयति भट्टारकः (प्रसारयति)। Dūtavākya.
तदुपरि च दिव्यांशुकवेष्टितोऽयं विमुक्तः पटः। Udayasundarīkathā, p. 68.

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*Art Criticism :*

From the passage describing Prince Harivāhana sitting amidst a number of Citravidyopādhyāyas and others well-versed in the Citrasāśtra we learn that art criticism was a special study with these Nāgarakas.[1] To justify our surmise we have lots of references, apart from those in the various Śilpa texts treating purely this subject, in the Tilakamañjarī itself in the form of observations on various notions on Art and occassional discussions on pictures and the subjects. The Citrakara asks the prince whether there is no obvious or marked blemish in the picture and whether it is on the whole pleasing to look at and excuses himself by saying that he is not quite an adept at handling the brush and requires more of training.[2] The prince points out a single blemish; the picture is too full of women and lacks the figure of a man.[3] That is the only one point that detracts from the full charm of the picture; and the prince suggests some beautiful men to be added on in the retinue of the princess. By doing so, the picture, he says, would gain in charm; the prekṣaka (one who sees it) would be satisfied and the painter too would have shown his skill. The painter in excusing himself gives a catalogue of shortcomings that act as causes of imperfect execution of picture work.[4] A meagre knowledge, inattention while working at it, lack of proper sense of propriety, and insufficiency of practice, all contribute to make it a bad piece of work. Great enthusiasm is also required. But enthusiasts too fail sometimes in accomplishing even a comparatively easy (crude) task which they set themselves to do with heart and soul. Painting being a strictly delicate and refined science requires greater diligence and enthusiasm.[5] Painting of bhāvas or emotions in a picture is

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[1] मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः संनिधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनितकुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितुमागतैरालेख्यशास्त्रविद्भिर्नागरलोकैः सह विचारयन्नविचार्यं चारुत्वतत्वं तस्याश्चित्रपटपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्णमनयत्। p. 144.

[2] 'कुमार, अस्ति किंचिदशोभनयोग्यमत्र चित्रपटे रूपम्। उद्भूतरूपः कोऽपि दोषो वा नातिमात्रं प्रतिभाति। अद्याप्यनुपजातपरिणतिश्चित्रविद्यायां शिक्षणीयोऽहमखिलशास्त्रपारगेण महाभागेन।' इति। p. 135.

[3] एक एव दोषो यदत्र पुरुषरूपमेकमपि न प्रकाशितम्। अनेन च मनागसमग्रशोभोऽयम्। तदधुनाप्यस्य शोभातिशयमाधातुं प्रेक्षकजनस्य च कौतुकातिरेकमुत्पादयितुमात्मनश्च सर्ववस्तुविषयं चित्रकर्मकौशलमाविष्कर्तुं युज्यन्ते कतिचिदस्या नरेन्द्रदुहितुः प्रकृतिसुन्दराणि पुरुषरूपाणि परिवारतां नेतुम्। p. 136.

[4] तेनापरिज्ञानमवधानसुचिताज्ञतामनभ्यासं चात्र विषये न मे संभावयितुमर्हति माननार्हः। p. 136.

[5] उत्सुकमनोभिश्च कर्तुमारब्धमतिस्थूलमपि कर्म नोपजायते सुष्ठवम्। किं पुनश्चित्तैकाग्रतातिशयनिर्वर्तनीयचित्रम्। p. 139.

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mentioned in one passage.[1] This is the most difficult task and we have the passage on art criticism in the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā stressing on this portrayal of bhāva or emotion in a picture.[2] The Śilpa texts recognize and mention a special class of Bhāvacitra[3]; and we have the Viṣṇudharmottara talking of the nine rasas as possible of portrayal in a picture.[4] Bhoja in his Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra adds two more and gives eleven rasas to be depicted in pictures.[5] Painting of suitable colours in their proper places and presentation of relief or rather chiaroscuro was considered a great accomplishment.[6] Art being a very difficult and delicate science, almost impossible of mastery, it was held universally, as it is held even to-day, to be a natural gift—God's gift—and got only by an abhyāsa (practice) of a previous birth.[7]

*Technical terms :*

The Tilakamañjarī uses also some words of the artists' parlance purely technical and the passages in which these occur are of especial

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[1] आविष्कृतानेकभावविभ्रमाणि लिखितानीव केनापि निपुणचित्रकरेण दिग्भित्तिषु दिवानिशं ददर्श तस्याः प्रतिबिम्बानि। p. 146.

[2] अहो रञ्जितोऽहमनेन चित्रकरकौशलेन। तथाहि—अत्र सुविशुद्धा रेखा संगतानि भूषणानि उचितक्रमा-वर्णविच्छित्तिः परिस्फुटो भावातिशय इति। दुष्करं च चित्रे भावाराधनं तदेव चाभिमतमतिविदग्धानाम्।

Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā, Prastāva VI, p. 876.

[3] शृङ्गारादिरसो यत्र दर्शनादेव गम्यते।

भावचित्रं तदाख्यातं चित्रकौतुककारकम्॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatāttvaratnākara.

[4] शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणवीररौद्रभयानकाः।

बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव चित्ररसाः स्मृताः॥ Viṣṇudharmottara.

[5] शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा रौद्रप्रेयोभयानकाः।

वीर (प्रत्ययाच्चौ ?) च बीभत्सस्वाद्भुतस्तथा॥

शान्तस्चैकादशेत्युक्ता रसाश्चित्रविशारदैः। Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra.

The second line must read वीरस्त्वहं प्रत्ययश्च, etc. This solution of the text which is so very puzzling was given by my professor Mahāmahopādhāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar. Vide f.n. on p. 908, vol. IX, I.H.Q., 'Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting' by V. Raghavan.

[6] राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशितव्यक्तनिम्नोन्नतविभागा...चक्र-वर्तिकन्यका। p. 135.

[7] सुजनतेव स्वभावमधुरा जन्मान्तरायाताभ्यासादुपागता तवैषा चित्रगतिः। p. 135.

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importance to the student of Art since these corroborate the information given in the Śilpa texts. The word Sūtrapāta is an important one in the artists' dictionary. It connotes the first preliminary lines drawn to settle the final figure. In one passage we find Dhanapāla using the word.[1] The word Sūtrapāta is found used very largely in literature. The Viddhacitra, mentioned in the Śilpa texts, like the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, as correct portrait work and life-like representation,[2] is specially referred to a number of times in the Tilakamañjarī by that name and every time an accurate portrait is meant.[3] The passages referring to Viddhacitra are very important since they supply us with practical usages of expressions and words generally met with only in Śilpa texts. It can here be remarked that the name of Rājaśekhara's drama Viddhasālabhañjikā contains a similar use of the term Viddha. Similarly the Bhāvacitra of the Śilpa texts which portrays emotions[4] is also mentioned in the Tilakamañjarī.[5] This expression of emotions in a picture is most difficult and a painting full of it is counted as the best ; and there is no Śilpa text that ignores this class of pictures. It would here be interesting to note a similar expression in the case of Leonardo in his Treatise on Painting where he says ' By far the most important point in the whole theory of painting is to make the actions express

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[1] कण्ठकाण्डे करिष्यति पतिष्यन्त्यास्तद्भुजलतायाः प्रथमसूचपातमस्तानमालतीकुसुमकोमलः स्वयंवरस्रजः p. 142.

[2] सादृश्यं लिख्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत्। p. 142.

तच्चित्रं विद्धमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः॥ A.A.C.

[3] द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपह्रार्यमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्धरूपः। p. 133.

यतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवारवाङ्नाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय त्रिसर्गसुन्दराकृतीनामवनिगोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्वमङ्कितानि नामभिर्यथावस्थितानि विद्धरूपाणि। p. 138.

तत्र च लदुपलम्भाशया दिङ्मुखख्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्धरूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रफलकैरभिलिख्योपनीतान्यजस्रमवलोकयतः.....मे गताः कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः। p. 263.

पत्रलतिके, पुराण पुरुषरूपबन्धेन स्वविद्धचित्रेण देवीविचित्रवस्त्रभिकाभित्तिसौभाग्यम्। p. 304.

कदाचिद्लिकन्यस्तविविधवर्तिकासमुद्गका प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः पुरोऽवस्थापिते शुभ्रे चित्रफलके निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुबाणव्रातविद्धा देवस्यैव रूपविद्धमभिलिखन्ती। p. 319.

[4] शृङ्गारादिरसो यत्र दर्शनादेव गम्यते॥

भावचित्रं तदाख्यातं चित्रकौतुककारकम्। Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

[5] चाविष्कृतानेकभावविभ्रमाणि लिखितानीव केनापि निपुणचित्रकरेण दिग्भित्तिषु दिवानिशं ददर्श तस्या प्रतिबिम्बानि। p. 146.

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the psychical state of each character, e.g. desire, disdain, anger, pity and the like'.

*Miscellaneous :*

The passages in the Tilakamañjarī are full of information on Art topics. There is a mention of Javanikāpaṭas in the Jain temples.[1] Such screens (used in temples) were generally painted ones. Banners, screens, etc. of temples painted all over have been very famous in India and according to Mr. P. Brown and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy they are to be found even to-day in Nepal and Tibet. In one passage that enumerates a number of the polite arts we have Patraccheda mentioned as of many kinds like Draviḍa, etc.[2] That Patraccheda was an art learnt by the gentry of the land need not be repeated. We have it mentioned largely in literature. The Kuttinīmata shows us how the Patrakartarī was used for Patraccheda.[3] But the question how many kinds of Patraccheda there were and what this special kind of Draviḍa Patraccheda was should remain unanswered till further researches bring fresh information to answer it. One other passage gives us an account of a particular folk art that entertains small children. It is described as the sport of toy-horses and toy-elephants.[4] Perhaps these were sham fights between such dolls; or they might have been merry-go-rounds in which children delight going round and round mounted on toy-animals. Such folk arts supply work for the wood carvers and other skilled workmen who are as important in the world of Art as artists and sculptors. The Tilakamañjarī thus reveals to us an ocean of information on Art that Dhanapāla has to give out to the world and his book is a true reflection of the state of affairs in the Art world of his day.

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[1] नागदन्तावसक्तप्रबलचामरार्चितचारुभित्तेरेकपार्श्वावलम्बमानसंकोचितदेवाङ्गजवनिकापटस्य, etc. p. 176.

[2] यदि च कौतुकं ततश्चित्रकर्मणि वीणादिवाद्ये लास्यताण्डवगतेषु नाट्यप्रयोगेषु षड्जादिस्वरविभागनिर्णयेषु पुस्तकर्मणि द्रविडादिषु पत्रच्छेदभेदेषु च विदग्धजनयोग्येषु वस्तुविज्ञानेषु प्रश्चैनाम्। p. 297.

[3] पत्रच्छेदमजानन्नन् वा कौशलं कलाविषये।
प्रकटयति जनसमाजे विधाणः पत्रकर्तरीं सततम्॥ Śl. 74.

[4] अवसिते च वासरे विरलीभवत्सु क्षत्रियसुतरङ्गवारणक्रीडाप्रधानेषु प्रेक्षणकेषु, etc. p. 264.

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# TREATMENT OF RĪTI AND GUṆA IN THE DHVANYĀLOKA

*By* PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI

It is known to students of Sanskrit Poetics that the concepts of Rīti and Guṇa received a different treatment at the hands of different writers in the early history of the discipline. Some of these writers dealt with only one of these concepts, while others knew and treated of both either correlating one with the other or assigning to each of them an independent place in their system. Thus, Bharata dealt with the concept of Guṇa only and he understood its importance so far as it constituted the *anubhāva* which helps the realization of Rasa in the drama. Bhāmaha referred to both Rīti and Guṇa but he did not express clearly his views about these two elements. Rudraṭa treated of Rīti only and he understood by the term Rīti a definite arrangement of words, compounded or uncompounded. He entirely ignored the concept of Guṇa, as accepted by other orthodox theorists. It was Daṇḍin and Vāmana, the adherents of the Rīti School proper, who assigned to the Rītis and their constituent Guṇas an important place in their respective systems. A proper disposition of words (according to their sense) was, in their opinion, the main thing to be considered in poetry, and in order to endow this disposition with a special (*viśeṣa*) charm they had to conceive a number of Guṇas which were considered by them to be the most important elements of poetry. Later on, the author of the Agni-purāṇa treated of both the elements separately ; his scheme of Rīti was somewhat peculiar and he evolved a large number of Guṇas, most of which were unintelligible on account of his defective treatment.

It was at this stage that the Dhvani theorists, headed by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, came into the field. We know that the one fact common to the treatment of all the early writers was that they treated of the concepts of Rīti and Guṇa as means of external embellishments of poetry. Even when Vāmana calls Rīti the *ātmā* or essence of poetry he means by it only external beauty of objective representation realized by means of certain standard excellences. The sole function of these elements as well as of Alaṁkāras was, in their treatment, to embellish the external aspects of poetry, namely, the word and its sense, and for this the Dhvani theorists rightly called them *vācya-vācaka-cārutvahetu*.

The Dhvani theorists, however, judged poetry from quite a different angle of vision. Their changed outlook regarding the

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conception of poetic beauty itself naturally led them to reconsider the position of the different poetic elements. The Rasa-dhvani is considered by them to be the most prominent factor in poetry and, in their opinion, other poetic elements stand subordinate to it. The charmingness or otherwise of the Guṇas, Alaṁkāras or Doṣas is judged by them not on their own account but in terms of the part they play towards the realization of Rasa. It is for this reason that the division of the Doṣas into *nitya* and *anitya* varieties arose, and some of the Doṣas cease to be so when they are considered to be in consonance with the delineation of particular Rasas.[1] But when it is said that all these elements are subordinate to the *mukhya artha*, Rasa, it must not be understood that they all stand on the same level or in the same relationship to Rasa. It will be presently seen that the Guṇas, according to the Dhvani theorists, concern directly the inner nature of poetry, while the Alaṁkāras constitute such factors as are more or less external. It will be of some interest to note that the most common sense interpretation of the terms Guṇa and Alaṁkāra on the analogy of human virtue and ornament partially struck the earlier theorists when, for instance, Vāmana quoted a pair of verses where the Guṇas were likened to the youth (*yauvana*) or the natural grace (*rūpa*) of a lady and the Alaṁkāras to the artificial ornaments of her body.[2] But they brought in this analogy simply to demonstrate the essentiality of the element Guṇa in poetry, and they failed to explain the elements in relation to the underlying sentiment of a poem which, however, they totally ignored.

The Dhvanikāra, however, draws a distinction between the Guṇas and the Alaṁkāras in the following verse—

*tam arṛtham avalambante ye'ṅginaṁ te guṇāḥ smṛtāḥ |*
*aṅgāśritās tvalaṁkārā mantavyāḥ kaṭakādivat ||*

(Dhvani-kārikā, ii, 7.)

implying thereby that while the Guṇas belong to and are properties of Rasa, the *aṅgī artha*, the Alaṁkāras are related to the *śabda* and *artha* (*aṅgāśritāḥ*).

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[1] śruti-duṣṭādayo doṣā anityā ye ca darśitāḥ |
dhvanyātmanyeva śṛṅgāre to heyā ityudāhṛtāḥ ||
(D.K., ii, 12.)

Ānanda's *vṛtti* runs on this :—*dhvanyātmanyeva śṛṅgāre'ṅgitayā vyaṅgye te heyā ityudāhṛtāḥ. anyathā hi teṣām anitya-doṣataiva na syāt.* It should be noted that in Raudra-rasa Śrutiduṣṭa, or Śrutikaṭu as Mammaṭa calls it, is treated as a source of charm because there it fits in with the situation depicted. But we should not forget that in Śṛṅgāra (as also in Śānta, Adbhuta and Vīra, Locana, p. 82) it is a veritable defect.

[2] Kāvyālaṁkāra-sūtra vṛtti, *vṛtti*. (Under iii, 1, 2.)

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Ānandavardhana makes the character of the Guṇa more clear when he takes it to be analogous to the human virtues like heroism in his *vṛtti* on the above *kārikā* :—*ye tamarthaṁ rasādi-lakṣaṇaṁ anginam santam avalambante te guṇāḥ śauryādivat.* The *kārikā* quoted above gives us simply what may be called the *sāmānya lakṣaṇa* of the Guṇa and the Alaṁkāra, i.e. it deals only with the fundamental point of distinction between the two elements. But if this *kārikā* is judged by itself, it seems that the respective scopes of the Guṇa and the Alaṁkāra are restricted and confined herein, as if the Guṇa has nothing to do with the *śabda* and *artha* and the Alaṁkāra nothing with the Rasa-dhvani. We shall, therefore, recollect at this stage the Dhvani-kāra's attitude towards the relationship between the Alaṁkāra[1] and the Rasa, namely, that the existence of Alaṁkāra is justified according to the part it plays towards the ultimate realization of Rasa-dhvani and shall then pass on to the definition of the individual Guṇas (*viśeṣa lakṣaṇa*) to understand fully the position of that element in the new theory of poetry.

Now it is a fact of common experience that the ornaments adorn the (external) body of a man. It applies similarly in the case of poetry of which word and sense constitute the body. But what relation may the Alaṁkāra possibly bear to the underlying sentiment of a poem which is, just like the soul of a man, beyond the direct grasp of any Alaṁkāra ? To understand this we must take recourse to Abhinava's comments (on the position of Alaṁkāra) which must have been utilized, with some modification, by later writers like Mammaṭa when they explained clearly the different ways in which an Alaṁkāra may function in a poetic composition. Abhinava means to say that the real cause is the *dhvanyātmā* (i.e. Rasa-dhvani) which the poetic figure ultimately decorates. Although the ornaments like necklace, etc. are put on the body, yet it is the inner soul which they really glorify by way of standing in property to the particular mental condition of the man. For instance, a dead body does not shine with earrings and such other ornaments because here the soul, the real *alaṁkārya*, is non-existent. Then again, if the body of a hermit is decorated with an ornament, it only creates laughter on account of a lack of propriety. And since there is nothing (proper or) improper with regard to the body as such, it follows that the soul is, in fact, the *alaṁkārya* because it is this latter that feels ultimately glorified by reason of the external

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1 *rasa-bhāvādi-tātparyam āśritya viniveśanam |*
*alaṁkṛtīnāṁ sarvāsām alaṁkāratva-sādhanam ||*
(D.K., ii, 6.)

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decoration.[1] Here Abhinava appears almost to have ignored the importance of the *vācaka śabda* or of the *vācya artha* as an *alaṁkārya* and his extreme position with regard to Rasa was probably responsible for this attitude. His immediate successors, however, consider the issue from an ordinary point of view, namely that, it is the human body which is directly adorned by the ornament, and consequently they clearly lay it down that the Alaṁkāras are characteristics *chiefly* of the *śabda* and the *artha* and if they embellish Rasa they do that only *indirectly* through the word and sense. The case with the Guṇa is just the reverse because it will be presently seen that the Guṇas are primarily the properties of Rasa and they may be said to belong to the *śabda* and *artha* only secondarily.

The Dhvanikāra mentions and characterizes only three Guṇas, namely, Ojas (energy), Prasāda (lucidity) and Mādhurya (sweetness), instead of the usual ten of Bharata, Daṇḍin and Vāmana and even more of other writers. The authors of the Dhvanyāloka put forward their own theories and establish these three Guṇas, but they do not attempt at criticizing or refuting the theory of ten Guṇas of earlier writers, which later theorists like Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha and others have taken upon themselves to do. These three Guṇas have been classified on the basis of the particular mental conditions involved in the perception of Rasa. The general definition (*sāmānya lakṣaṇa*) of the Guṇa has presented to us the element only in its broad character, namely, that it belongs to the Rasa and naturally further light is necessary in the *viśeṣa lakṣaṇa* to form a definite impression about the nature of the element on the basis of the *sāmānya lakṣaṇa*. Now, since there are eight or nine Rasas, the question arises 'Does a particular Guṇa belong to all the Rasas or only to some of them? And in what sense can it be said to belong to the Rasas?' This is what is discussed in the *viśeṣa lakṣaṇa*. Thus, Śṛṅgāra is a Rasa which softens (lit. gladdens—*prahlādana*—D.K., ii, 8*b*) the heart to a great extent, and Mādhurya resides in a poem where this Rasa prevails.[2] Similarly Dīpti which is a mental condition involving a brilliant expansion of the heart is taken to be the

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[1] Abhinava remarks in connection with the above Karika (Locana, pp. 74-75). *etad uktaṁ bhavati—upamayā yadyapi vācyo'ortho' laṁkriyate tathāpi tasya tad evālaṁkaraṇaṁ yad vyaṅgyārthābhivyañjana-sāmarthyādhānam iti. vastuto dhvanyātmaivālaṁkāryah. kaṭaka-keyūrādibhir api hi śarīra-samavāyibhiś cetana ātmaiva tattaccitta-vṛtti-viśeṣaucitya-sūcanātmatayā 'laṁkriyate. tathā hyacetanaṁ śava-śarīraṁa kuṇḍalādyupetam api na bhāti alaṁkāryasyābhāvāt, yati-śarīraṁ kaṭakādi-yuktaṁ hāsyāvahaṁ bhavati, alaṁkāryasyānaucityāt. na ca dehasya kiñcid anaucityam iti vastuta ātmaivālaṁkāryaḥ, aham alaṁkṛta ityabhimānāt.*

[2] *śṛṅgāra eva madhuraḥ paraḥ prahlādano rasaḥ |*
*tanmayaṁ kāvyam āśritya mādhuryaṁ pratitiṣṭhati ||*
(D.K., ii, 8.)

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character of Rasas like Raudra. Ojas resides in the *śabda* and *artha* which are suggestive of these Rasas.[1] And lastly, that quality of Kāvya which prevails through all Rasas and functions in all compositions (hence transparency of *śabda* and *artha*) is known as Prasāda.[2]

It will appear that the definitions given by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana's *Vṛtti* on them do not help us to form a very clear conception about the element, and here, as elsewhere, we have to look upon Abhinava as an infallible guide in understanding their view points. Thus, some important questions arise in this connection, namely,—

(1) when it is said that the Guṇas reside in the Kāvya (*tanmayaṁ kāvyam āśritya* . . . . ii, 8c implying *śabdārtha=kāvya-śarīra*) is it not inconsistent with the general definition of the element, viz. that it belongs to the *angī artha* ;

(2*a*) what is the relation of mental conditions like *druti*, *dīpti*, etc. with the Rasa ? Are they identical with it or are they produced as its effect so as to be distinct from it ;

(2*b*) in any case how does the question of conceiving a separate element 'Guṇa' arise at all ? When its existence cannot be clearly and independently felt, may it not be taken to merge its identity in Rasa ?

We may just attempt at a discussion of these issues on the basis of the teachings of Abhinava. The mental condition itself is primarily the Guṇa.[3] Thus, the Guṇas, Ojas, Prasāda, and Mādhurya

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*s'ṛṅgāra eva rasāntarāpekṣayā madhuraḥ prahlāda-hetutvāt prakāśanaparaḥ. śabdārthayoḥ kāvyasya sa mādhuryalakṣaṇo guṇaḥ* (*vṛtti* on the above p. 79, Dhvanyāloka).

[1] *raudrādayo rasā dīptyā lakṣyante kāvyavartinaḥ |*
*tadvyaktihetū śabdārthāv āś'rityaujo vyavasthitam ||*
(D.K., ii, 10.)

*raudrādayo hi rasāḥ parāṁ dīptim ujjvalatāṁ janayantīti lakṣaṇayā ta eva dīptir ityucyate. tatprakāśanaparaḥ śabdo dīrghasamāsa-racanālaṁkṛtaṁ vākyam* (*vṛtti* on above p. 80, op. cit.).

[2] *samarpakatvaṁ kāvyasya* yat tu *sarvarasān prati |*
*sa prasādo guṇo jñeyaḥ sarvasādhāraṇakriyaḥ ||*
(D.K., ii, 11.)

(*prasādastu svacchatā śabdārthayoḥ. sa ca sarvarasasādhāraṇo guṇaḥ sarvaracanā-sādhāraṇas' ceti . . vṛtti* on above op. cit., p. 82.)

[3] *dīptiḥ pratipattur hṛdaye vibhā* (*kā*) *sa-vistāra-prajvalat-svabhāvā. sā ca mukhyatayā ojaḥśabdavācyā. tadāsvāda-mayā raudrādyās tayā dīptyāsvāda-viśeṣātmikayā* (*°ātmatayā ?*) *kārya-rūpayā lakṣyante rasāntarāt pṛthaktayā ; tena kārane kāryopacārād raudrādir evaujaḥ-śabda-vācyaḥ.* (Locana, p. 80, ll, 7-10.)

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exist respectively in the form of the three mental conditions *dīpti* (expansion) *samarpakatva* or *vyāpakatva* (pervasion) and *ārdratā* or *druti* (melting), which are evoked only in the process of the realization of Rasa; and so the Guṇa has, according to the Dhvani theorists, an inseparable association with that element, i.e. the question of the Guṇa does not, in their opinion, arise when there is no Rasa. Hence Rasa is the cause (*kāraṇa*) of which the Guṇa (in the form of the mental condition *druti* or *dīpti* or *vyāpti*) is produced as an effect. So when it is said that expansion or *dīpti* is the character of Rasas like Raudra, etc. there is an apparent identification of the Guṇa and the Rasa, or superimposition of the *kārya* on the *kāraṇa*. But this identification or superimposition occurs as a matter of course in the realization of Rasa which, involving as it does, an absolute state of mental relish, renders it impossible for the relisher at that stage to distinguish between the cause and the effect, because both are merged in a single whole.

This may, no doubt, lead one to doubt the necessity of recognizing the Guṇa as a separate poetic element. But since the Dhvani theorists appear to have made it a point to give full recognition to all the poetic elements accepted in the earlier schools (but characterizing them in the light of their revised conception of poetry) they could hardly deny the Guṇa the status of a separate element of poetry, specially when this element constituted the most essential point of interest in one of the earlier schools, namely, the Rīti school. Moreover, when one understands the viewpoint of the Dhvani theorists and judges poetry on the complete analogy of a human body, as they have done, one fully appreciates the propriety of attributing to the Guṇa the dignity of a separate poetic element just like Rasa, Alaṁkāra and Doṣa. A supreme disinterested pleasure is admittedly the *svarūpa* of Rasa, but is not this pleasure realized in the form of one or more of these three mental conditions? It is true that a peculiar association of the *vibhāva, anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāva* rouses the *sthāyin* to a stage of relish. But when is it actually relished? Not until it transforms itself into one of these mental conditions, although the process of transformation is very rapid and abrupt. Is not then the Guṇa as essential in the realization of Rasa as the *sthāyi-bhāva* itself? If it is true that the Guṇa comes into existence on account of the Rasa, it is equally true that the Guṇa (in the form of the *citta-vṛtti*) constitutes a part and parcel in the actual realization of Rasa. Nay, in the ultimate stage of relish Śṛṅgāra has no other existence excepting a supreme delight in the form of the melting of the heart which is the character of the Guṇa Mādhurya; Raudra has no other existence excepting in the form of a brilliant expansion of the heart which is the character of

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the Guṇa Ojas. Similarly Prasāda in the form of a pervasion of the heart is an essential character of all the Rasas. Thus, although in theory the Guṇa is swallowed up in the Rasa, in practice, it makes the Rasa what it is. This adequately explains the propriety of recognizing the Guṇa as an element of poetry; and when the Guṇa plays so important a part in the realization of Rasa it appears that the Dhvani theorists would have done well to recognize it explicitly as such when they explained the principle involved in the relish of Rasa.[1]

It has been seen above that the Guṇa is a property of Rasa, but of Rasa itself the realization is not possible unless one is able to appreciate the situation depicted in the composition, in which some of the accessories of Rasa find their expression. This proves the importance of *śabda* and *artha* in the awakening Rasa and ultimately of producing the Guṇas, i.e. the mental conditions spoken of. Abhinavagupta does not take up in detail the question as to what particular letters are specially favourable for particular Guṇas. This is discussed first by Mammaṭa (Kāvyaprakāśa Jhalkikar's edition, pp. 484-85). But, while commenting on Dhvanikāra's definition of Mādhurya, Abhinava remarks that Mādhurya is that capacity of the word and the sense which awakens the sweet Rasa Śṛṅgāra (*madhuraśṛṅgāra-rasābhivyakti-samarthatā śabdārthayor mādhuryam iti hi lakṣaṇam*). (Locana on D.K., ii, 8, p. 79.)

If Mādhurya and Śṛṅgāra here are taken to be *upalakṣaṇas* respectively for Guṇa and Rasa in general (just like Ojas and Raudra above), this remark would imply that letters and words may be so arranged in a particular composition that when read or heard they are capable of producing one or other mental condition involved in the realization of any particular Rasa. In the opinion of these theorists the Guṇa resides primarily in Rasa, and it is said to belong to the *śabda* and *artha* only secondarily, i.e. in the sense that these latter possess the capacity for producing it. Abhinava distinctly remarks (op. cit., p. 79, l. 8) *vastuto mādhuryaṁ nāma śṛṅgārāde rasasyaiva guṇaḥ tan madhurābhivyañjakayoḥ śabdārthayor upacaritam.* Thus when the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana took the *śabda* and *artha* to be the substrata of Guṇa they only recognized their importance in the perception of Rasa in which the Guṇa, in

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[1] It is interesting to note that Bhaṭṭanāyaka recognized these three mental conditions in the process of the *bhoga* of Rasa, although he did not use any technical name for them, such as, Guṇa. His views on this point have been quoted in the Locana (p. 68, II, 16, 18) . . . *uktaṁ bhaṭṭanayakena* (p. 67) . . . *bhāvite ca rase tasya bhogaḥ. yo'nubhava-smaraṇa-pratipattibhyo vilakṣaṇa eva druti-vistāra-vikāsanāmā rajastamo-vaicitryānanuviddha-sattva-maya-nija-cit-svabhāva - nivṛtti - druti - viśrānti lakṣaṇaḥ para-brahmāsvāda-sacivaḥ.*

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their opinion, actually resides. It may be remarked in this connection that Jagannātha (Rasa-gaṇgādhara, p. 55) considers the Guṇa to be the property as much of the *śabda* and *artha* as of the Rasa. He does not admit that one has to take recourse to any secondary usage when one says that the Guṇa belongs to *śabda* and *artha*.

Coming to the details of the mutual relationship between the Rasas and the Guṇas these theorists deal with the question from two different points of view, according as (1) a single Guṇa belongs to different Rasas, and (2) different Guṇas belong to a single Rasa. Thus Mādhurya or sweetness is present generally in the Śṛṅgāra Rasa, but it also resides in increasing degrees in the Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra and the Karuṇa, because the mind undergoes the process of melting in a greater degree in Vipralambha-śṛṅgāra than in Sambhoga and in still greater a degree in Karuṇa.[1] Similarly Ojas or energy which involves an expansion of the mind resides generally in the Raudra Rasa, but Abhinavagupta remarks that it may also be present in the Vīra and the Adbhuta.[2] And lastly Prasāda is a Guṇa which is common to all the Rasas. It has been seen that the perception of Rasa depends on understanding the composition in which some of the accessories of Rasa find their expression, and thus the quality of pervading is the character of this Guṇa in the sense that in every Rasa the mind must be prepared to grasp at once the situation depicted in the composition. On the other hand each of the four Rasas, Hāsya, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa and Śānta displays in itself a peculiar association of more than one mental condition, i.e. each of them contains more than one Guṇa.[3] Thus, Mādhurya and Ojas are equally present in Hāsya, for in the first place this Rasa is subordinate to Śṛṅgāra and in the second place (it is a fact of common experience that) an expansion of the heart is invariably associated

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1 *śṛṅgāre vipralambhākhye karuṇe ca prakarṣavat |*
*mādhuryam ārdratāṁ yāti yatas tatrādhikaṁ manaḥ ||*
(D.K., ii, 9.)

In this connection Abhinava raises an important objection to the effect that if there is sweetness even in Karuṇa, what is the significance of *eva* (only) in the previous *Kārikā* beginning with *śṛṅgāra eva madhuraḥ*, etc. ? He replies by saying that *eva* here does not imply exclusion of other Rasas. He apparently takes Śṛṅgāra to be an Upalakṣaṇa for Rasa in general and understands by the Kārikā-portion quoted above that Guṇas like Mādhurya are really the properties of Rasa. Hence *eva* does not mean ' only ' but it means ' really ' or ' primarily '.

2 (*raudrādaya ityatra*) *ādiśabdaḥ prakāre. tena vīrādbhutayor api grahaṇam* (Locana, p. 80, ll. 6-7).

3 *evaṁ mādhuryadīptī paraspara-pratidvandvitayā sthite śṛṅgārādi-raudrādigate iti pradarśakatayā tatsamāveśa—vaicitryaṁ hāsya-bhayānaka-bībhatsa-śānteṣu darśitam* (ibid., p. 82, ll. 1-3).

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with Hāsya.[1] Similarly in Bhayānaka (the Frightful) as well as Bībhatsa (the Disgustful) Rasa are present both Ojas and Mādhurya, but the former exists in a greater degree than the latter does.[2] And, lastly, in Śānta either Ojas or Mādhurya predominates according to the variety and individual tendency of its accessories.[3] It deserves to be noted here that in the opinion of Mammaṭa (viii, *sūtra* 9) it is Mādhurya that exists in an excessive degree in the Śānta Rasa. Govinda, however, remarks that this is slightly mixed up with Ojas in view of the fact that a feeling of aversion (which involves an expansion of the heart) lies at the very root of this Rasa (*śānte tu jugupsādyanvayād ojoleśānuviddham*,[4] Kāvya-pradīpa, *vṛtti* under viii, 4*a*-*b*, p. 279). We have thus seen that the three mental conditions *druti*, *dīpti* and *vyāpti* are enough to help the manifestation of all the Rasas, and hence they justify only three Guṇas corresponding to them and not more.

It is remarkable that the authors of the Dhvanyāloka do not entertain the element of Rīti in poetry thinking it to be unnecessary. The Dhvanikāra remarks that the Rītis were introduced by theorists who only dimly understood the true significance of poetry.[5] This implies that when Rasad-hvani is accepted as the all-important element of poetry (in view of the fact that it serves to afford the poetic charm from within by identifying the mind with the situation depicted in the composition), there is no need of conceiving a separate

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[1] *hāsyasya śṛṅgārāṅgatayā mādhuryaṁ prakṛṣṭam vikāsa-dharmatayā caujo'pi prakṛṣṭam iti sāmyaṁ dvayoḥ* (ibid., p. 82, ll. 3-4). Abhinava evidently means after Bharata (*śṛṅgāraddhi bhaveddhāsyaḥ*, Nāṭya-śāstra, VI, 44*a*, K.M.T.) that amorous gestures, etc. lie at the basis of the Comic but when it is ultimately realized it is transformed into a brilliant expansion of the heart.

[2] *bhayānakasya magna-citta-vṛtti-svabhāvatve'pi vibhāvasya dīptatayā ojaḥ prakṛṣṭaṁ mādhuryam alpam. bībhatse 'pyevam* (Locana, p. 82, ll. 4-5). At the stage of the actual perception of these two Rasas the mind, no doubt, softens down in fear and in disgust respectively, but Ojas is said to predominate in the sense that the ferocious look and the loud roar, etc. of the object of fear and the loathsome appearance, etc. of the object of disgust produce at the very outset an expansion of the mind to a considerable degree.

[3] *śānte tu bībhāva-vaicitryāt kadācid ojaḥ prakṛṣṭaṁ kadācin mādhuryam* (ibid., p. 82, ll. 5-6).

[4] But a man of experience would probably say with Mammaṭa that *druti* is the only condition which the heart undergoes in the realization of the Śānta Rasa. The aversion to worldly objects involved in this Rasa softens down to a chastening stage of mental calm and it is clearly distinct from the loathing (*jugupsā*) involved in the Bībhatsa Rasa. So there appears to be little scope for an expansion of the heart in the Śānta Rasa.

[5] *asphuṭasphuritaṁ kāvya-tattvametad yathoditam |*
*aś aknuvadbhir vyākartuṁ rītayaḥ sampravartitāḥ ||*
(D.K., iii, 52, p. 231.)

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poetic element as the Rīti which at its best produces no more than a sensuous delight. Abhinava makes this more clear. He distinctly remarks[1] that the Rītis are made to resolve into the Guṇas; and since the Guṇas are subordinate to Rasa, the Rītis merge their identities in Guṇas and ultimately in Rasa. From his commentary[1] it seems that he has no objection to assume the position of Vāmana that Rīti is a special kind of verbal arrangement and that its speciality consists in its intimate association with the Guṇas. But he differs from the Rīti theorists with regard to the nature of the association of the word-structure with the Guṇa. Thus according to the Rīti theorists—

(1) Guṇas make up the Rīti and as such they are the essential characteristics of it.

(2) They produce the poetic charm on their own account. The primacy of Rasa being not recognized, the Rīti theorists' conception of Guṇa, and for the matter of that of poetic charm itself, was only formal. The word-structure, therefore, is of the highest importance in their theory of poetry.

But we have seen above that in the poetic scheme of the Dhvani theorists that

(1) Guṇas are primarily the characteristics of Rasa and only secondarily of the word-structure.

(2) The importance of the word-structure is not altogether lost sight of but is recognized only so far as it helps the production of the Guṇa in the form of the mental condition involved in the perception of Rasa.

Thus, when the verbal arrangement or the word-structure does not reside on its own account but merely serves as a means for the apprehension of the inner charms of a poetic composition, the Dhvani theorists do not think it worth while to regard it as a separate poetic element, and so they do not assign to it any particular name such as Rīti. So long as the verbal arrangement is allowed the recognition that is its due, it is really immaterial whether or not it is endowed with a technical name. Similarly the conception of Śabda-Vṛttis like Upanāgarikā, Paruṣā and Komalā of earlier writers like Udbhaṭa, and the Artha-Vṛttis like Kaiśikī of the dramaturgic writers need not, according to these theorists, be accepted, since just like the Rītis they too merge their identities in Rasa (*tadvad eva rasaparya-*

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[1] *rītir hi guṇeṣveva paryavasāyitā, yadāha—viśeṣo guṇātmā guṇāś ca rasa-paryavasāyina eva.* (Locana, p. 231, l. 7.)

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*vasāyitvāt*, Locana, p. 231, l. 9). It ought to be noted that later writers, like Mammaṭa, younger Vāgbhaṭa and Viśvanātha, enter in detail into the functions of the word-structure and admit it as a separate poetic element, Vṛtti or Rīti.

It is also remarkable that although the authors of the Dhvanyāloka do not admit Rīti in poetry they admit another poetic factor, viz. Saṁghaṭanā, which corresponds in its characteristics partly to the Rītis of Rudraṭa. It is classified according to the absence or presence in varying degrees of compound words. Thus, Saṁghaṭanā may be *asamāsā* (uncompounded) *madhyama-samāsā* (having middling compounds) and *dīrgha-samāsā* (having long compounds). The ultimate function of Saṁghaṭanā is to help the manifestation of Rasa, but it cannot do this independently. It realizes this object through the Guṇas and in manifesting Rasa the nature of the Saṁghaṭanā should be determined by its appropriateness to the speaker and to the theme of discourse.[1] The poet has first to consider: What is the nature of the speaker? What does he mean to say? What is the nature of the situation to be depicted? In other words, which of the mental conditions spoken of is specially favourable for the enjoyment of the Rasa depicted? Now, if a particular Saṁghaṭanā proves to be suitable to that Guṇa, one is at liberty to use that Saṁghaṭanā in connection with the Rasa where the Guṇa in question prevails. If not, that Saṁghaṭanā should be avoided in the said Rasa. Now since the Saṁghaṭanā awakens the Rasa through the Guṇa, a question arises: What is the relationship between the Saṁghaṭanā and Guṇas? Two clear cases are possible. The Saṁghaṭanā and Guṇas may be identical, or they may be different. In the second case, i.e. when the Saṁghaṭanā is different from the Guṇas they can remain in two ways:—(1) The Guṇas may reside in the Saṁghaṭanā (*saṁghaṭanāśryā guṇāḥ*), or (2) the Saṁghaṭanā may remain subordinate to the Guṇa (*guṇāśrayā saṁghaṭanā*).[2] Now, if the Guṇas are identical with Saṁghaṭanā, or the former belongs to the latter, then we have to admit the position that, like the Saṁghaṭanā, Guṇas too have no hard and fast rule for their application, i.e. any Guṇa may be

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1 *guṇān āśritya tiṣṭhantī mādhuryādīn vyanakti sā |*
*rasāṁstanniyame hetur aucityaṁ vaktṛ-tvācyayoḥ ||*
(D.K., iii, 6.)

2 If Saṁghaṭanā be taken to be *āśraya* of the Guṇa then *āśraya* would imply *ādhārādheya-bhāva*, i.e. the container and the contained. (. . *saṁghaṭanāśraya-guṇa-pakṣe . . guṇān . . ādheya-bhūtān āśritya tiṣṭhantī saṁghaṭanā rasādīn vyanakti, vṛtti* on D.K.., iii, 6; p. 134). But when Guṇa is the *āśraya* of the Saṁghaṭanā, then *āśraya* would mean 'an object on which something else depends or to which something remains subservient' (*tadāyattā tanmukha-prekṣiṇī*, Locana, p. 134, l. 10).

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attributed to any Rasa. But since in real practice we see that particular Guṇas are attributed to particular Rasas, whereas any kind of Saṁghaṭanā may be present in any Rasa (provided that it be in keeping with the character of the speaker or the theme), it follows that the Saṁghaṭanā cannot be identical with the Guṇas (*na guṇāḥ saṁghaṭanā-svarūpāḥ . . . Vṛtti*, p. 135), nor can the Guṇas belong to the Saṁghaṭanā (*na ca saṁghaṭanāśrayā guṇāḥ*, ibid.). What do then the Guṇas belong to ?

It has been already seen that the Guṇas belong primarily to the Rasa and secondarily to the word or its sense. Taking advantage of this latter position, the opponent might try once more to establish his point by raising an objection to the effect that if it is conceded that the Guṇas reside in the words, is it not thereby accepted that they reside in or are even identical with the Saṁghaṭanā ? For, words cannot produce the Guṇa (and for the matter of that, poetic effect itself) unless they are united together in a sentence, where however they may remain either compounded or uncompounded. In any case they do come under certain Saṁghaṭanā, which term, as has been already seen, involves absence or presence (in varying degrees) of compound words. It follows therefore that *saṁghaṭita* words and consequently Saṁghaṭanā itself can well be the *āśraya* of the Guṇas.[1] Ānandavardhana replies that it is not true that words must necessarily be *saṁghaṭita* in order to produce the poetic effect, for (i) suggestion of Rasa may take place even through a single word or part of a word, where the question of Saṁghaṭanā does not arise at all, and (ii) even in the case where suggestion takes place through a sentence there is no hard and fast rule that a particular Saṁghaṭanā should be employed in connection with a particular Rasa. Thus, the Guṇa may be said to belong (only secondarily) to the word, but on no account does it belong to a fixed *saṁghaṭanā* of words and far less can it be identical with the Saṁghaṭanā. So it is seen that the spheres of the Guṇa and the Saṁghaṭanā are different (*tasmād anye guṇā anyā ca saṁghaṭanā . . .* Pṛtti, p. 137) and that it is the *Saṁghaṭanā* which remains subordinate to the Guṇas, through which it helps the awakening of any particular Rasa. The Rasa is the main thing to be considered in poetry, and whatever hinders the awakening of it must be dispensed with. As for instance, long compounds are generally detrimental when the sentiments of love and pathos are to be depicted, for the strain required in understanding the involved constructions

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[1] *nanu yadi śabdāśrayā guṇās tatsaṁghaṭanā-rūpatvaṁ tadāśrayatvaṁ vā teṣāṁ prāptam eva. na hyasaṁghaṭitāḥ śabdā artha viśeṣaṁ pratipādya rasādyāś-ritānāṁ guṇānām avācakatvād āśrayā bhavanti* (p. 136).

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fails to produce a melting of the heart which is a mental condition particularly favourable for awakening the sentiments in question.[1] And in Rasas which are best realized through an expansion of the heart *madhyama* and *dīrgha samāsa* would prove to be specially favourable. Ānandavardhana insists upon the presence of the quality of prasāda in all compositions. If this is absent, then even *asamāsā* Saṁghaṭanā fails to awaken the Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa Rasas and in case of the presence of this Guṇa even *madhyama-samāsā* can awaken them. Hence the whole issue resolves into the fact that compound words can be sanctioned in Mādhurya, and even Ojas can go without them provided the propriety is not lost, the awakening of Rasa is not in any way hindered and they are quite in keeping with the character of the speaker and the situation to be depicted.

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[1] *karuṇa-vipralambha-sṛṅgārayos tvasamāsaiva saṁghaṭanā....dīrgha-samāsā saṁghaṭanā samāsānām aneka-prakāra-sambhāvanayā kadācid rasa-pratītiṁ vyavadadhātīti tasyāṁ nātyantam abhiniveśaḥ śobhate. viśeṣataḥ....karuṇavipralambhasṛṅgārayoh tayor hi sukumārataratvāt svalpāyām apyasvacchatāyāṁ śabdārthayoḥ pratītir mantharībhavati* (pp. 139-140).

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# THE PSYCHOBIOLOGICAL FACTOR OF SORROW (DUKKHA) AS THE FUNDAMENTAL PROCESS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION

*By* PANCHANAN MITRA *and* S. SIRCAR

" To the Buddhist, sorrow is not only the petty ills of flesh and fortune but an understanding of the universality of the Law of Impermanence and its logical corollary." (*Dahlke.*)

The form and functional growth of the organism, the origin and nature of life in its relation to non-life, the geological and astrophysical order of events behind the organic and the inorganic, in short the entire problem of existence is an ever-expanding riddle in an expanding universe of thought-processes continuously widened with the process of the suns! The Rig Vedic poets sang as to the forces of nature, their full-throated hymn as to what was it of which man was formed, how was this accomplished, where was it done (Rig-Veda, Mandala 10, 129, 6) and tried to probe into the darkness of the impenetrable profound. Pythagoras tried to catch the harmonic principle from the spheres and Plato set his God geometrising. The novelist of to-day feels somewhere hidden lies the one single key that is to fit in into all the locked chambers yet unopened. And the scientists are being fast shred of their self-sufficiency of the last century and do not feel that they fare any better than the ancient dreamers and singers, philosophers and poets ' of imagination all compact '. The palæontologist closes his book with a sigh that ' if the mysteries of living and evolving germ-plasm are even deeper and more enigmatical than we have been inclined to believe, it were better to recognize the fact ' (Le Gros Clerk : Early Forerunners of Man). Russel would think that we have been experiencing a nightmare of dogmatic materialism and dogmatic theories of evolution and are just waking with a humbler and simpler attitude towards the great and unsolved problems of life, the complexity and mysteriousness of vital phenomena and would advocate a return to Aristotle (Form and Function).

Another will like to seek the key to the vault, the why and wherefore of things with Plato and Pythagoras in Number and recover from the kingdom of Mathematics coterminous with space and coeval with time the physical and mathematical law by which are bound the living and the dead, things animate and inanimate (D. Arcy W. Thompson, Growth and Form, p. 779).

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But it is to man of all the entities in the creation that the riddle first appears. Every man of every culture has his go at it and perhaps has a glimpse of it through the veil. But in the main the process of becoming and non-becoming is the great mystery yet unsolved. Becoming passes into non-becoming and non-becoming into becoming and in spite of countless repetitions of the process it is yet a problem of problems, a question of questions that is ever brought forward after the multimillennial advance of the ceaseless repetition of the same phenomena. Man out of non-man, life out of non-life, consciousness out of non-conscious states, so runs the order of the universe. And is it not still a paradox? But the paradox has its limitation. It verily ceases to be a paradox when the limitation is understood or known. Within the Infinite the finites take their place. The finites look dissociated from the Infinite. The bubbles of the paradox burst. With the breaking up of the bubbles on the surface of the matrix fades away the paradoxes. Do the reverse paradoxes appear? Is not isolation the blindfolding and universalisation the right unfolding? The finite linked with the infinite—that is universalisation. Do the paradoxes start again? Organisms shot out of non-life elements is a riddle to the organic mind. Organisms or rather well-regulated structures devoid of mind act blindfold to this process. The state of blindfold response to this process is the non-conscious state (called *achetan* or *jaḍ* or unintelligent matter by the Hindu). Consciousness is the right response to this process. It is then the function or action of this process to produce a system that responds accurately and rightly to it. Viewed in this light, man out of non-man or organism out of non-organic nature or inorganic substance is by no means so much of a baffling paradox or unsoluble riddle. It is the problem that has been, is being, and has still to be worked out. Solutions silence some old questionings but recapitulate problems of the newer order and they in their turn await further solutions. The process goes on repeating itself. The repetitions are but the subdivisions of Time eternal. The process resembles identically the eternal Time. The exponents of the age bear the emblems of the solution of the problem. The exponents march out of the preceding exponents. Solutions are then the problems of newer origins but bear the same characteristic stamp. The march of the reciprocal bearings of the solution and the problem is thus the indicator of further unfoldment. But though the problem appears more and more diversified, the gulf of mystery dwindles into a thin misty veil. And at last Time solves its own problem. It is the exponents of that phase of time who will be accredited with the great solution.

So also the credit has gone to the previous exponents in each of

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preceding phases. But it is the ' now-phase ' of time and the problem is still to be worked out. The newer and subtler aspect of the problem is what may be called the ' follow-up of Time '. The still unsolved is to be attempted for solution. The ' follow-up ' from pre-nebula to the nebula state, then from the inorganic to the organic state of the earth is some sort of the state of unrest that characterizes itself in various forms but the fundamental nature of its existence is universally present everywhere. This unrest is the great transformant, the link-up chain at every step of the problem.

The commotion, the spiral motion in the nebula, the action, reaction, and interaction of the elements, the affinity in the positron, the sensitivity in the cell, the irritability in the protoplasm, the character diterminant activity of the biophors, and the growth in complexity and the evolution of the higher-sense organs till we arrive at man, are but the marching phases *mutatis mutandis* of the unrest.

The vital aspect of the unrest is detected as irritability. The nature of irritability and the previous steps of the differently named phases of the same unrest is similar in nature.

To know well what this unrest is in every part of its follow-up as it advances we have to institute a full enquiry into its *modus operandi* in each and every grade of change phenomenon. The task is beset with innumerable difficulties as it is not possible always to probe deep into every detail of the non-organic and organic phenomena of the universe.

The great commotion and its next phase the commotion-cum-spiral motion in the nebula are of ever transformative nature. The commotion distinguishes itself in the course of its transformative process as energy in display in the mass of inert substance—the matter. Matter and energy appear more and more distinctive one from the other. But in its finality their distinctive nature is totally nil. The positron of any element, say Hydrogen, has some display of energy in it but its mass is not so distinctive as in the Hydrogen where the energy display of positron is apparently nil. But any small portion of its mass can exist separately from any great mass of it. And every detached minutest portion of its mass is alive in its behaviour and property to its entire mass. But the response to stimuli is equally manifestative and same in every portion of its mass. Protoplasmic behaviour towards stimuli exhibits the same character. Positron and biophor are but the same, the only difference lies in the formation of the mechanism in one of them. The advance in the making of the forms or mechanisms exhibits change in behaviour of the response towards the stimuli.

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The functional property becomes more and more latent. That is, in the making up of the mechanisms (forms) the energy appears separate, dormant, dependant, and less motionless or less in unrest. But the functional value of energy does not get nullified but changes infinitely.

But the two together when unseparated bear no distinction. The common characteristic of both of them is only the unrest. One is not different from the other. Unrest is the pulse of transformative advance. In the formation of cell which is the dynamic unit of life, in the formation of the positron which is the start to all non-life elements, the same unrest is prevalent. But one naturally is differentiated from the other by assuming some special energy operative in the cell and absent in the other. But the behaviouristic nature of the unrest has formed some sort of mechanism in the cell but not in the positron. The only difference lies in the formation of a mechanism in one and its non-formation in the other. All the gradational nature of organisms depends on the formative nature of this mechanism. As starting from the positron all the non-life substances and elements can be formed, so starting from the cell all other life elements are being formed. The point of controversy lies in the line of ascent or formation of one organism from the preceding one. Many theories or laws have been propounded. Lamarckian laws (1816) stated that (1) life by its own forces tends continually to increase the volume of everybody possessing it, and to extend the dimensions of its parts up to a limit which it brings about itself; (2) the production of a new organ in an animal body results from the arisal and continuance of new need and the new movement which this need brings into being and sustains (this psychical factor in his theory has been termed by Cope archaesteticism); (3) the degree of development of organs and their force of action are always proportionate to the use made of these organs (this is the law of use or disuse or kinetogenesis); and (4) all that has been acquired, imprinted, or changed in the organisation of the individual during the course of its life is preserved by generation and transmitted to the new individuals that descend from the individual so modified (this law is known as the inheritance of acquired characters). Neo-Lamarckians, while not minimising the rôle of natural selection, added the factors of geographical isolation or segregation (Wagner and Gulick), the effects of gravity, the effects of currents of air and water, of fixed or sedentary habits as opposed to active modes of life, the results of strains and impacts (Ryder, Cope, Osborn), the principle of change of function as inducing the formation of new structures (Dohrn), the effects of parasitism, commensalism, and of symbiosis, in short the biological environment, together with geolo-

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gical extinction, natural and sexual selection and hybridity (Packard, Lamark, the Founder of Evolution, p. 398). The Darwinian doctrine of natural selection, the effect of which as an evolutionary factor as summarised by Lull (Organic Evolution, p. 122) is that (*a*) under new conditions harmful characters will be eliminated by selection, (*b*) beneficial characters are intensified and modified, (*c*) the great body of characters, neither hurtful nor beneficial, will not be modified but persist through heredity. The physical basis of heredity, according to Darwin, was the gemmules or tiny particles within the cells which in each instance partake of the nature of the cells producing them. There are as many varieties as there are categories of cells within the organism. This is the theory of pangenesis (pan=all, genesis=generation). Naegeli spoke of organic crystals suspended in an aqueous liquid and separated from each other by thin envelopes of water. De Vries's 'elementary units' or pangenes represents characters (Puggala ?) and are located in the nucleus and similar to Naegeli's micellar groups. According to Weismann the Biophors represent characters and a germ cell contains as many biophors as the individual which this cell is to create will possess elementary indivisible characters. Orthogenesis seeks to state that variations and hence evolutionary change occur along certain definite lines impelled by laws of which we know not the cause (orthos=straight, genesis=production) and kinetogenesis (kineto=moveable, and genesis=production) is the doctrine of hypothesis that animal structures have been produced directly or indirectly by animal movements. Lastly, Osborn in his idea of coincident selection states, 'Individual or acquired modificarions in new circumstances are an important feature of the adult structure of every animal. Some congenital variations may coincide with such modifications, others may not. The gradual selection of those which coincide (coincident variations) may constitute an apparent inheritance of acquired modifications'. These Lamarckian, neo-Lamarckian, Darwinian, neo-Darwinian hypotheses, the laws of heredity, orthogenesis, and kinetogenesis theory of gradational march of organisms are as it were just like the build-up of the anatomical structure and some physiological law of the body of the organism as a whole from cell-life to man.

Signs and actions of life have been stated and some laws of transmutation have been propounded. But the solution of the problem has not yet been made. The unity of plan has been admitted but the problem has not yet been solved. The conclusion arrived at is that 'evolutionary change occurs along certain definite lines impelled by laws of which we know not the cause' (Lull-Organic Evolution, p. 175). The laws have been formulated but the cause

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is unsolved. The 'Now-phase' of time attempts to find out the cause by the study of the behaviour of the life element towards its surrounding and modifications caused in the mechanism by these. So irritability, the starting behaviouristic sign of life in the first life element, has been taken as the fundamental characteristic of life-mechanisms.

In the study of the bodily actions of plants and animals three main functions of physical activity are perceived. Contraction, expansion and the sense of irritability which is the only property of the protoplasm and without which no sensation or consciousness or nervous activity is possible. This irritability gradually develops from diffusiveness which is homogeneously distributed throughout the mass into the functioning of control and capacity of conducting which afterwards evolved in it more responsive function of the different parts of the mass to external changes such as light stimuli, etc. It is this which made possible the rise of the plant and animal kingdoms. After gradual change and transformation the irritability became manifest in the nerve not only as the power of contraction but also as the power of conduction. The kingdom of plants is more undeveloped in the power of conduction than in the aspects of expansion and contraction of irritability. Inasmuch as this change has been brought about in different objects in like manner sensation and consciousness have developed. The existence of pleasure and pain has been perceived in the cases concerned. The final evolution of the order of the functional change of irritability is thus full of significance and apparently different from the previous activity, so also the final evolution of sensation and consciousness is strangely different but in both cases the law of changeability* is in operation.

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* *Note.*—On the one hand we find change brought about in the systems gradually leads to the perfection of the nervous system. Thus G. H. Parker shows that personality is dependent physically on the nervous system. Of the nerves there are three types, sensory or afferent, motor or efferent and internuncial neurones. In the lowest organism, such as for instance the multicellular sea-anemones, we have only a diffuse nervous system and no central organ or adjustor and sensibility to nervous impulse lies in every part of the surface, and in the still more primitive sponges we have muscles but no nervous tissue so to speak and the muscles behave as independent effectors. The adjustors came last and the central adjustor or brain grows in size and complexity. In the lower mammals there is the cerebral cortex of smell or archipallium and in the higher mammals grow the neo-pallium which becomes the central organ

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It is not unrelated differentiation, it is related yet different and full of developed activating energy. It is from this that there came later on the existence of the human mind as a supreme achievement. So man has come to be endowed with mind and between man and animal there is so much difference but both are under the sway of the same rules of the same activation or operation. Thus the laws that are in operation in generating pleasure and pain in man are also in evidence from man to protoplasm. It is only the order of succession that constitutes the difference and not the law neither its operation. The instrument measuring the sensation of man can only record its relative depth or want of depth, or the degree of the expression but the function and the norm are everywhere equally and harmonically manifestative.

The plant and the animal kingdoms or the world of the living are incessantly coming into clash with their inner nature and outer world. Irritability is the first sign of this clash. The inner nature by virtue of its own inner process is ever keen on the transformation of this clash with external nature into something conducive to its own nature. However apparently this clash might look like the conflict of opposite forces it is without doubt conducive to the growth of the inner nature and inasmuch as it is so in like degree joy or pleasure will be manifest. Thus with the seed in sprout or with the bedecking with leaves and twigs and adornment with flowers and fruits the plant is undoubtedly beaming with the manifest signs of joy.

Eternal is this clash. So long as there is change and growth in function and operation it goes on. Inflowing by its very nature, its activity, is omnipresent. Changing circumstances bring about

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till we reach the predominant association areas,—the adjustor of adjustors, the conductor of conductors of the receptive sensory and responsive motor control areas in the brain. And hand in hand with the perfection of the nervous system the signs of inner nature become more and more clear and manifest. Thus do gradually appear feeling, emotion, etc. from instincts, and sensation, perception, etc. from the nervous system—the medium of activity in external nature and world of matter. Each moves on linked to the other. Pleasure and pain emerge out of indistinctness into more and more clear and distinct manifestation.

The system of voluntary and involuntary muscles make their appearance for this very reason. On the other hand has appeared the conscious and the subconscious states, will, free-will, etc. At the back of the feeling of pleasure and pain of any individual in the activity of his physiological system both the things are present.

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difference in functions and result in this clash. But when instead of showing sustenance we find this bringing destruction, doubt looms large in the horizon. In the very work of sustenance there also lurks destruction in nature. But when the destruction brought about by this clash is sensed as premature, doubts are doubled. The struggle for sustenance is indeed carried on by the object to the very last but by the pressure of nature the elasticity of the constitution is destroyed and destruction and doubt hold the field. No doubt the signs of sorrow are then writ large in that object.

From irritability appears instinct due to the subsequent developed mechanism. Response to the stimulus depends on the capacity of receptivity in the mechanism. The result is irritability. Receptivity increases somewhat like geometrical progression but response somewhat like arithmetical progression. But it is very much of more complex nature in the greater mechanism. So it is difficult to find out the actual line of progress of responsivity and receptivity. In a study of the nervous system and the response-reflex action, etc., when conscious and unconscious response is taken into consideration we find the sum total value to follow the law as:—

$$\frac{\text{Receptivity}}{\text{Responsivity}} = \text{irritability} = \frac{\text{Dukkha}}{\text{or sorrow}} = \text{transformant impulse, that is}$$

the impulse of transcendence of the mechanism.

From this clash or struggle of inner and outer nature the system gains largely the power to carry on this struggle with the external nature—but at the same time and in like measure as a result of the process of development of inner nature the feeling of dominating the other is aroused. Personality, ego, self grow up. The conscious and unconscious state of the mind is the result of the success or failure in this struggle. To the extent the results of the struggle of the inner and outer nature are clear and manifest, there is consciousness. Knowledge is the practical aspect of this consciousness. The more one has mastery over external nature the more is free-will operative but owing to want of full knowledge of both aspects of the nature of this struggle, free-will began to be impeded in the field of action. The result of this retarded action is felt by the human mind as sorrow.

The 'I' gradually wants to see everything under its own will. But this 'I,' brought into being as an activation of both the natures, becomes oblivious of the work of inner nature, loses the feeling of change, and builds up a non-elastic nature ; so sorrow becomes incessant. Even the actions of pleasure and their work brought forth sorrow. So man took to accepting sorrow as his eternal companion

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and as a result of this acceptance by the functioning of the mind the possibility of the state beyond sorrow or bereft of sorrow receded from his ruin. Thus man with problem-pressed, false memories, began to be in the throes of sorrow and suffering.

But this perception and sensation of sorrow is one that fails to be transcended by or got rid of by any animal. The question then arises, is there not for certain some relation between biology and this fact of perception. There is constantly an effort in the system to transcend this state of sorrow perceived and felt. This effort is an unconscious process and does not cease its operation in every creature or type till it is led to a state transcending this condition into an unperceived state and till then it has to suffer sorrow. If the type-transcendence is accomplished there is an end of the sorrow. But soon again the static condition of the new state becomes anew the cause of another type of sorrow and there begins afresh the same effort for transcendence into another state. Thus clearly sorrow perception goes on working as a transformant impulse in the animal, individual or type, and pleasure is perceived just at the moment of transition.

Thus this ' transformant impulse ' of DUKKHA is manifest in countless life-entities encompassing their transition to other types of life. At the point of transition there is the desire-fulfilment and the feeling of secure stability in that condition ; but as soon that condition is imagined to be lasting there is again the feeling of sorrow. For after the attainment of the transcended state the effort of transcendence from the previously perceived condition ceases to operate and gradually the newly attained state begins to bring about a feeling of sorrow and again there is an effort to cross over. This is the function of the living-nature and this is the sorrow felt by animal-nature. In every living entity it is in operation under special laws. The succession of the order of life has been brought about by this great cause.

It is this incessant clash of external stimuli and the constant effort of the particular types of sense-organs arrived at in the species or order to transcend what it is bound to feel as sorrow that leads to elaboration of transcending types of sense-organs on which the impact was felt most. The diffusive effectors and receptors build up better and better adjustors elaborated in the central control bureau of a growing brain. More and more sensitively agile end-organs coincidently selected and adaptively radiated. But all specialisations were located as it were in the sorrow transforming sense-organs, the subtly elaborated and delicately adjusted light and sound apparatuses (perhaps at the cost of the predominant smell-sense). From the brain to the brain box, to the suitable moving frame

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upholding it (best calculated to easy adaptation to the most various types of habitat and variegated types of food) is the story or history of the human evolution. The form follows the function. And sweet are the uses of adversity that all types feel themselves to be steeped eternally in the sorrow that pulsates the vital urge of transcendence to higher and higher static states of ennui and misery through transitional periods of pleasure. The loathsome toad of pain and sorrow hides within its head the mysterious jewel of precious evolution.

Whenever we want to maintain this life force as static then it appears as dynamic. For that reason sorrow is experienced. Pleasure comes from the sensation of static lastingness. At the root of each perception of pleasure and even the root real functional connotation of pleasure is ' eternal rest ' and the perception of this. The mind-nature and mind-norm wants to experience joys by this nature of elasticity but the perception of this stativity is the cause of sorrow-perception. The mind-norm wants to hold fast to rest and by that fast holding to that it wants to experience pleasure, but change, ' succession of events ' is an inevitable result. Sorrow is inevitable. Then again succession of events bring forth ' progression with transition ', from that comes the rate of incidence or the rate of change. If we can catch hold of this rate of change and if we can move along with this change then the change is not perceived as such. The elastic state of the mind is perceived unimpeded so that every change is perceived not as change, nor as the severing of mental energy projected on some or any object, event or incident but as the continuous state of permanent state or rest. And thus the eternal peace is attained by every individual in his periodically changing life-phenomena or action.

Summing up we might say that every man at every juncture of sorrow felt must try to change himself with the change of the phenomenal world and its reflex action in the noumenon world. This must be such that his capacity of adaptability to the change of both these worlds must coincide with the rate of happenings. He is not a mechanism dissociated from all other mechanisms but a linked up series of points on the whole line of the march of the Process Eternal changing at every pulsation or flux of the operating process. This is how we can understand how all the latest trend of science and psychological investigations is showing in Buddhism its great system of investigation and analysis and we can appreciate more deeply now the noble truth of sorrow, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation.

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# THE APOCRYPHAL BRAHMA-PURĀṆA

*By* RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

It is the general belief that the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*[1] is the real one of that name, the peculiarity being that it has suffered through repeated additions and losses. This belief is at the base of all statements that have been made so long by scholars about its date and authoritativeness. From an examination of the Purāṇas and the Smṛti-Nibandhas, however, it has been found that the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is not the original one but merely an Upapurāṇa of that name and that it was known as such even as late as in the sixteenth century A.D., if not later.

Almost all the Nibandha-writers have drawn profusely upon the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, which was, therefore, one of the most authoritative works in the whole range of Puranic literature. But, curiously enough, not a single of the numerous quotations made by Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Haradatta (the commentator of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*), Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Madanapāla, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, Caṇḍeśvara, Rudradhara, and many others, is traceable in the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. This is unique and significant and undoubtedly goes against the authenticity of the Purāṇa. Definite information, however, about the apocryphal character of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is supplied to us by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, a Nibandha-writer of Orissa. Speaking on the authenticity of the two Purāṇas entitled '*Brahma-Purāṇa*', he says in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (A.S.B. edition, p. 19) :—

> 'Brahma-Purāṇañ-ca Kalpatarau yad-vākyāny-ādṛtāni, tad-vyatiriktaṃ Brahma-Purāṇaṃ Puruṣottama-māhātmyopabṛṃhitaṃ Hemādry-ādi-Nibandha-parigṛhītaṃ śiṣṭa-parigrahād-eva pramāṇaṃ, tad-apy-Upapurāṇāntargatameva.'

Thus he clearly distinguishes between the two *Brahma-Purāṇas*—one, the real Mahāpurāṇa and the other, the Upapurāṇa. His definite mention of the Puruṣottama-māhātmya as occurring in the Upapurāṇa proves the apocryphal character of the extant *Brahma-Purāṇa*, in which there are chapters on this māhātmya. Its apocryphal character is further established by the fact that though Nṛsiṃha

[1] Edited by the AnSS., Vaṅgavāsī and Veṅkaṭeśvara Press. In the following pages the Vaṅgavāsī edition has been used.

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Vājapeyin was clearly acquainted with the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*, none of the numerous quotations made by him from the '*Brahma-Purāṇa*' in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa* is traceable in it. It cannot be argued that the Smṛti-chapters of the present apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa* date from a time later than the Nibandha-writer, because there is a MS. (No. 2337) of this Purāṇa in the Dacca University which is dated 1616 Śaka (=1694 A.D.) and which tallies almost literally with the present editions. The evidences of the Purāṇas also go against the authenticity of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. According to the *Matsya* (Chapter 53, Verse 12), *Skanda* (VII, I, 2, 28), and *Agni-Purāṇa* (272, 1) Brahmā and Marīci are the interlocutors in the original *Brahma-Purāṇa*, but in the present *Brahma* we find Brahmā and Dakṣa. All these facts establish the apocryphal character of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. The title of the work should not be taken as a point in favour of its authenticity. The lists of the Upapurāṇas contained in some of the Mahāpurāṇas show that there were Upapurāṇas bearing the titles of Mahāpurāṇas. For example, *Kūrma-Purāṇa* I, 1, 17–20, names the *Skanda*, *Vāmana* and *Nāradīya Upapurāṇa*.

Though the present apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa* is a voluminous work, there is little which it can claim as its own. It is a late conglomeration of chapters mainly borrowed from other sources such as the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and *Harivaṃśa*, as the following list will show :—

*Brahma-Purāṇa*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chapter I (verses 21–30) | = | *Viṣṇu-P.*, I, 2, 1–8. |
| ,, I (31–end) | = | *Harivaṃśa*, I, 1, 19. |
| ,, 2–5 | = | ,, I, 2–7. |
| ,, 6–8 | = | ,, I, 9–15. |
| ,, 9 | = | ,, I, 25. |
| ,, 10 | = | ,, I, 26 (1–11 and 48-49) ; I, 27. |
| ,, 11–17 | = | ,, I, 28–39. |
| ,, 18 (except verses 1–6) ,, 19–24 | = | *Viṣṇu-P.*, II, 2–7 and 9. |
| ,, 27 (10–end) | = | *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.*, 57 (except verses 1*b*, 50–52*a* and 64*b*). |
| ,, 39-40 | = | *Vāyu-P.*, 30 (verses 79–end). |

*Brahma-P.* chapters 70 (verses 12ff.) to 175 deal with Gautamīmāhātmya which constituted an independent work by itself.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chapter 179 (except verses 1–10 and 66–75). | = | *Harivaṃśa*, I, 40, 8–end (except verses 41*b*–43*a*, 46*b*, 56*a*, 64 and 66*a*). |
| ,, 180, 1–5 (except 3*a*) | = | *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.*, 4, 36–40*a*. |
| ,, 180, 6–13 | = | *Viṣṇu-P.*, I, 2, 1–8. |
| ,, 180, 14–end (except 29–38 and 42*a*). | = | *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.*, 4, 40*b*–end. |
| ,, 181 (5ff.)–212 | = | *Viṣṇu-P.*, V, 1–end (except V, 1, 1–11). |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chapter 213, 3–9 | = *Harivaṃśa*, I, 40, 1–7. | |
| ,, 213, 10–end (except 21*b*–22*a*, 131*a*, 164 and 171). | = ,, | I, 41 (except 12*b*–*c*, 15*b*–19, 21*a*, 22*b*, 28*c*, 49*b*, 55, 58*a*, 59, 83*a*, 111*b*, 138, 151*b*, 161–163, 165–169). |

Chapter 217 has many verses in common with *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.*, 15.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chapter 220, 22–29 | = *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.*, 32, 1–8. | |
| ,, 220, 33–42 | = ,, | 33, 8*b*-end. |
| ,, 220, 69–82*a* | = ,, | 30, 12–end (except 19*b*). |
| ,, 220, 82*b*–99 | = ,, | 31, 1–8. |
| ,, 220, 101*b* | = ,, | 31, 23*b*. |
| ,, 220, 102*a* | = ,, | 31, 25*a*, |
| ,, 220, 105–110*a* | = ,, | 31, 30–34. |
| ,, 220, 110*b*–120*a* | = ,, | 32, 28–37. |
| ,, 221, 1–109*a* (except 59*b*, 77*b*, 84 and 85*b*). | = ,, | 34 (except 17*b*, 30*b*, 42*b*, 68–69*a*, 74*a*, 76*b*–77, 81*a*, 85*b*, 88–90*a*, 92*a*, 93 and 102–103*a*). |
| ,, 221, 109*b*–165*a* | = ,, | 35 (except 8*b*, 33*b* and 55*a*). |
| ,, 222, 1–21 | = *Viṣṇu-P.*, III, 8, 20–end. | |
| ,, 222, 22—end (except verses 51-52). | = ,, | III, 9, 1–end. |
| ,, 230, 1–end | = ,, | VI, 1-2. |
| ,, 232, 1–end | = ,, | VI, 3, 1–end. |
| ,, 233, 1–end | = ,, | VI, 4 (except 15*b* and 49*b*). |
| ,, 234 (except 69*b*) | = ,, | VI, 5 (except verses 52–54, 69–78*a* and 81*a*). |

That, as regards these common chapters, the apocryphal *Brahma-P.* is the borrower, requires no evidence to prove. The quotations made by the early authors from the *Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu-Purāṇa* show that the chapters borrowed by the *Brahma-Purāṇa* have been occurring in these Purāṇas from a time earlier than that of compilation of the present *Brahma*. As to the chapters common to the *Brahma* and the *Harivaṃśa*, a comparison of the portions common to the *Vāyu, Harivaṃśa* and *Brahma* [1] proves the indebtedness of the *Brahma* to the *Harivaṃśa*. In these common portions the *Brahma* follows more the *Harivaṃśa* in its readings and extra verses than the *Vāyu*. The common portions between the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa* and the references in the latter to the names of the great sages and the ten sons of Tāmasa Manu as declared by Vāyu (Vāyu-proktah *Harivaṃśa*, I, 7, 13 and 25) tend to show that the *Harivaṃśa* had the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* as its prototype. Pargiter also doubts the *Harivaṃśa* version of the dynastic account to be a revision of that of the *Vāyu* and says that 'it is manifestly later than the *Vāyu* version.[2]'

[1] Viz. *Vāyu*, 62, 72*b*–98, *Harivaṃśa*, I, 2, 7–27 and *Brahma*, 2, 7–28*a*; *Vāyu*, 62, 99–193, *Harivaṃśa*, I, 4, 26ff. to I, 6, 44*a* and *Brahma*, 4, 19–110; *Vāyu*, 63, 1–11, *Harivaṃśa*, I, 6, 44*b*–54 and *Brahma*, 4, 111–122.

[2] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 78-79.

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We have given above the list of chapters that have been borrowed by the Brahma-Purāṇa from other sources. If these chapters are left out of consideration, those which remain are unimportant and small in number. They are as follows :—

*Brahma-Purāṇa*

| | |
|---|---|
| Chapter 1 (1–20) | = Introductory verses. |
| ,, 18 (1–6) | = Enumeration of the topics treated of in chapters 1–17. |
| ,, 25 | = Names of holy places. |
| ,, 26 | = For introducing chapter 27 on Geography. |
| ,, 27 (1–10) | |
| ,, 28–38 | = Gods and holy places in Orissa. |
| ,, 41–70 (1–11) | |
| ,, 176–178 | |
| ,, 214-215 | = On hells. |
| ,, 216-217 (partly) | = On results of action (karma-vipāka). |
| ,, 218 | |
| ,, 219 | |
| ,, 220 (verses 1–21, 30–32, 43–68, 100-101*a*, 102*b*–104, 120*b*–212). | = On Śrāddha. |
| ,, 223–225 | = On karma-vipāka. |
| ,, 226–229 | = On the worship of Viṣṇu. |
| ,, 231 | = Accounts of the Dvāpara and the future ages. |
| ,, 235–end | = On Sāṅkhya and Yoga. |

Besides these, there may be found even in the borrowed chapters verses which are not traceable in the originals. These verses do not contain anything important for our purpose nor do they shed any light on the date of composition of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. Therefore, they may be neglected.

The apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa*, with its borrowed and non-borrowed chapters, does not seem to have been composed, or rather compiled, earlier than the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Had it been composed earlier, it could not have failed to be quoted, or even referred to, by the Nibandha-writers earlier than the middle of the 13th century A.D. It is not that the early Nibandha-writers did not believe in the authoritativeness of the Upapurāṇas. The numerous quotations made by them from a good number of such works[1] show that they gave almost the same importance to the Upapurāṇas and the Mahapurāṇas as sources of dharma. Even after the middle of the 13th century this apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa*

[1] Viz. *Ādi-Purāṇa* (not the *Brahma-Purāṇa* which also is called *Ādi-P.*), *Āditya-P., Nṛsiṃha-P., Kālikā-P., Nandi-P., Nandikeśvara-P., Devī-P., Saura-P., Saura-dharmottara, Bhaviṣyottara, Viṣṇu-rahasya, Viṣṇu-dharma, Viṣṇu-dharmottara, Viṣṇu-dharmottarāmṛta, Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma, Śiva-rahasya, Śiva-dharmottara, Bhagavatī-P., and Śāmba-P.*

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began to be regarded as authority only by a comparatively small section of writers consisting mainly of Hemādri, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspatimiśra and Govindānanda. Each of them quotes a good number of verses from the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. Of the very numerous quotations made by Raghunandana in his *Smṛti-tattva* two are found to tally with *Brahma-Purāṇa*, 29, 55--59 (on the worship of the Sun). Raghunandana also draws upon the *Brahma-Purāṇa* in his *Yātrā-tattva*. These quotations in relation to Sun-worship and god Puruṣottama show that though Raghunandana used mainly the real *Brahma-Purāṇa*, he also might have quoted a few verses from the apocryphal Purāṇa of the same title. From all this it is highly probable that the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is to be dated not earlier than the beginning of the 10th century A.D. As Hemādri, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspatimiśra and Govindānanda quote verses from it, it cannot be later than 1250 A.D.

Let us now pass on to the different chapters. Chapter 25 gives a long list of the names of holy places chiefly of Northern India. Though it mentions the 'Virajā-tīrtha' and the 'Indradyumna-saras', the names of Puruṣottama-kṣetra and Ekāmra-kṣetra are conspicuous by their absence. Moreover, this chapter is wholly unconnected with those preceding and following it. So, it seems to have been interpolated by some body living outside Orissa.

Chapter 26 is meant for serving as an introduction to chapter 27 dealing with the geography of India. It was, therefore, written at the time when chapter 27 was borrowed from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*.

Chapters 28–70 and 176–178, on the holy places in Orissa, should be considered in four groups :—

(1) Chapters 28 (1–8), 42 (35–end), 43–70 (1–11) and 176–178 on Puruṣottama-kṣetra or Puri sacred to Viṣṇu ;
(2) Chapters 28 (9ff.)–33 on Koṇārka sacred to the Sun-god ;
(3) Chapters 34–41 on Ekāmra-kṣetra or Bhuvaneśvara sacred to Śiva ; and
(4) Chapter 42 (1–34) on Virajā-kṣetra or Jajpore sacred to Devī.

Of these four groups of chapters, those belonging to group (1) were written first of all. The chapters of the other three groups were interpolated later on. The reference to the quarrel between the Śaivas and the Bhāgavatas and the avowedly sectarian character of the chapters of the different groups prove that they were written by different hands.

The determination of the date of composition of the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātmya is rather difficult. They could not

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have possibly been written earlier than the end of the ninth century A.D., because there is mention of the Śiva-temple at the side of the Mārkaṇḍeya lake (*Brahma-P.*, 56, 65 and 72-73). This temple was built in 820 A.D. by Kuṇḍala-keśarin, king of Orissa. Again, the expensive stone temple, which the mythical king Indradyumna is said to have built at Puruṣottama-kṣetra, may be identical with that built by Ananta-varman Coḍagaṅga (Śaka 998–1069), one of the eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa. He ' was a good patron of religious works and charities ' and ' under his orders was built the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri '.[1] We cannot, however, put much stress upon this supposition, because we are not sure that there was no Viṣṇu-temple at Puri before the time of Ananta-varman Coḍagaṅga. That the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra were incorporated in the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* not later than the middle of the 13th century A.D. is certain, for many of these chapters are drawn upon by Vācaspatimiśra in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, by *Śūlapāṇi* in his *Dolayātrā-viveka* and *Rāsayātrā-viveka*, and by Hemādri in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (see Appendix).

The story of Kaṇḍu in *Brahma-Purāṇa*, 178, seems to have been added later than chapters 176-177. This story is told by Vyāsa, whereas in all other chapters on Orissa Brahmā is the speaker. Moreover, the story is inserted all on a sudden without any previous hint. The story that there had been at Puruṣottama an image of Viṣṇu made of sapphire and that it had been buried in golden sand by the god himself before Indradyumna went to the place, is most probably fabricated to give the place greater sanctity and antiquity. A similar attempt was also made with respect to the image.[2] It is said that the image was first constructed by Viśvakarman at the command of Viṣṇu. It was then taken to heaven by Indra, thence to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa, and from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā by Rāma. It was then given to the lord of oceans who, ' for some reason ', placed it at Puruṣottama. The honest motive underlying this story is obvious.

The chapters on Koṇārka, Ekāmra-kṣetra and Virajā-kṣetra could not have been interpolated earlier than 1240 A.D., because they mention the Sun-temple at Koṇārka (*Brahma-P.*, 28, 46-47) which was built between 1240 and 1280 A.D. by Narasiṃhadeva I of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. As Vācaspatimiśra quotes numerous verses from many of these chapters in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* they must be dated not later than 1400 A.D.

Chapters 214-215 on hells and chapters 216–218 on karma-vipāka probably are of the same date as that of composition of the

[1] JASB, 1903, p. 110.

[2] *Vide* Chapter 176.

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present *Brahma*. They cannot be later than 1500 A.D., because Govindānanda quotes verses from chapters 216 and 218 in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*. Many verses of these chapters seem to be common with those in the real *Brahma-Purāṇa*, because of the numerous quotations made by Mādhavācārya only a few are found in chapters 214, 215 and 217 of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. As none of the quotations made by him on ācāra, aśauca, śrāddha and prāyaścitta is found in the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* though it contains chapters on most of these topics, it is sure that Mādhava used the real *Brahma* and not the present apocryphal one.

Chapters 219–222, śrāddha, ācāra, varṇāśramadharma and aśauca, should be dated earlier than 1500 A.D., because Govindānanda quotes numerous verses from chapters 219, 220 and 221 in his *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*. Govindānanda seems to have drawn upon the original *Brahma-Purāṇa* also. Most probably it is for this reason that a good number of the quotations made by him in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* and *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* and all of the numerous quotations made by the same in his *Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī* and *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* are not found in the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*.

The date of chapters 223–231, dealing with karma-vipāka, Viṣṇu-worship, etc. is not known. No Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon them. They may, however, come from the same date as that of composition of the present *Brahma*.

Chapters 235 to end on Sāṃkhya and Yoga were undoubtedly drawn from some older source. In some MSS. of the present *Brahma* these chapters are not found at all.[1]

The Gautamī-māhātmya (chapters 70–175), which was certainly composed by somebody living about the river Godāvarī, is a distinct 'work' (pustakaṃ) by itself. It is called a 'highly meritorious Purāṇa' declared by Brahmā (*Brahma-P.*, 175, 78 and 87). The place which it occupies in the *Brahma-P.* was not meant for it, because it divides the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātmya. The way in which chapter 176 opens, shows that it immediately followed chapter 60. Moreover, in chapter 176 there is no hint from which we may conclude that the māhātmya was there. In *Brahma-P.*, 179, 2, the sages refer to Bhāratavarṣa (chapter 27) and Puruṣottama-kṣetra of which, they say, Vyāsa told them elaborately, but they do not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya which also precedes chapter 179 in our edition. So, it is clear that the māhātmya was

[1] Haraprasād Śāstrī, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, A.S.B., Vol. V, Preface, p. 97.

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not originally there. In the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition it is placed at the end. This māhātmya was attached to the *Brahma-P.* later than the chapters on Orissa, for, the Nāradīya-Purāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition, I, 92) which gives the contents of the present *Brahma-P.* including the māhātmyas of Puruṣottama-kṣetra and Ekāmra-kṣetra, does not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya.

The Gautamī-māhātmya does not seem to have been composed earlier than the 10th century A.D. The story of Gautama's bringing the Godāvarī (i.e. the Gautamī) is undoubtedly later than those in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (I, 16, 95–123) and the *Varāha-Purāṇa* (chapter 71). The story of Bhagīratha (*Brahma-P.*, 78) also is of very late origin. As no author has been found to draw upon this māhātmya, it is impossible to say anything definitely.

Though a comparatively late work, the present *Brahma-P.* has not escaped additions and alterations. Some of its chapters have been lost. Vācaspatimiśra's numerous quotations on Avimukta kṣetra-māhātmya show that the apocryphal *Brahma-P.* once contained a good number of chapters on this māhātmya. The *Nāradīya-Purāṇa* (I, 92) gives a list of contents of the apocryphal *Brahma-P.* This list includes the story of Rāma which is not found in the printed editions.

Excepting the chapters on Koṇārka, Ekāmra-kṣetra and Virajā-kṣetra, the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is Vaiṣṇava from beginning to end. There can be no doubt, therefore, about the Vaiṣṇava authorship of the Purāṇa.

In this connection we should like to say a few words about the Smṛti-contents of the real *Brahma-Purāṇa* which seems to have been lost. We have said that this Purāṇa was regarded as one of the most authoritative works in the whole range of Puranic literature. The quotations made by the Nibandha-writers show that it was a rich store of Smṛti-materials. A list of the multifarious Smṛti-topics dealt with in this Purāṇa is given below :—

(*a*) āśrama-dharma, (*b*) ācāra and āhnika, (*c*) bhakṣyā-bhakṣya, (*d*) bhojana-niyama, (*e*) dravya-śuddhi, (*f*) śauca, (*g*) śrāddha, (*h*) aśauca, (*i*) snāna, (*j*) dāna, (*k*) strī-dharma, (*l*) different kinds of sins, (*m*) prāyaś-citta, (*n*) vrata, and (*o*) māsa-kṛtya.

This list is based on the quotations made by Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Jīmūtavāhana, Ballālasena, Aparārka, Haradatta, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Caṇḍeśvara, Rudra-dhara, Raghunandana, and Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin. Almost all of them quote profusely from the *Brahma-Purāṇa*.

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## APPENDIX

Of the numerous verses quoted by the Nibandha-writers from the '*Brahma-P.*' the following have been traced in the present *Brahma*:—

(1) *Parāśara-bhāṣya* of Mādhavācārya (ed. by Islampurkar), Vol. II, part ii, *Brahma-P.*

p. 209 = 215, 136*b*-137*a* and 138*b*-139*a*.
210 = 214, 29–31 (four lines are not found).
p. 224 = 217, 48–50, 75*b*-76*a*, 57, 59*b*, 80*b*-81*a* and 83*a*.
266 = 217, 68–71*a*, 66-67, 77*b*–80*a* and 45–47.

(2) *Dolayātrā-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi (MS. No. 177c, Dacca University Library), fol. 3*b* (line 4) = 63, 18.

(3) *Rāsayātrā-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi (MS. No. 335o, Dacca University Library), fol. 4*a* = 67, 10-11

(4) *Śrāddha-viveka* of Śālapāṇi (MS. No. 151A, Dacca University Library),
fol. 24*b* = 220, 46*b*-47*a*.
fol. 25*a* = 220, 45*b*-47*a*.
fol. 28*b* (twice) = 220, 51*b*-52*a*. The other quoted passage is not found.

(5) *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda (Bibl. Ind. Series),
p. 15 = 220, 28–30 (except 30*a*).
p. 16 = 220, 183*b*–184*a*. (The line 'āmamāṃsaṃ, etc.' is not found.)
p. 17 = 220, 156-157*a*, 158*b* and 182*b*-183*a*.
p. 18 (twice) = 220, 170 and 197*b*-198*a*.
p. 19 = 220, 180*b*-181*a* and 161. (The line 'vetrāṅkuraṃ etc.' is not found.)
p. 20 = 220, 159-160*a*.
p. 23 = cf. 220, 162.
p. 28 = 220, 4.
p. 42 = 220, 127–129.
p. 43 = 221, 96*a* and 97*a*.
p. 64 = 219, 75*b*.
p. 74 = 220, 118*b*–119*a*.
p. 84 = 219, 46*b*-47*a* and 48.
p. 84 = cf. 219, 54*b* and 62*b*.
p. 122 = 219, 48 and 51.
p. 141 = 220, 160*b*.
p. 142 = 220, 162–164.
p. 144 = 220, 167.
p. 145 = 220, 139-140.
p. 148 = 219, 61*b*.
p. 172 = 219, 69-70*a*.
p. 187 = 219, 72*b*-73*a*.
p. 189 = 219, 75*b*.
p. 203 = 219, 78.
p. 206 = 219, 79.
p. 210 = 219, 81*b*-82*a*.
p. 212 = 219, 83.
p. 258 = 220, 51*b*-52*a*.
p. 263 = 220, 51*b*-53*a*.
p. 285 = 220, 45*b*-48*a*.
p. 300 = 220, 53*b*-54*a* and 55-56.

(6) *Dānakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda (Bibl. Ind. Series),
p. 49 = 216, 18.

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p. 52 = 216, 30.
p. 43 = 218, 26*b*-27*a*.
p. 50 = 216, 12-13.

(7) *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana (edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara),
Vol. I, p. 216= 220, 138.
p. 404 = 29, 55-56. (One verse is not found.)

(8) *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati-miśra (Bibl. Ind. Series),
pp. 53–86 = 27, 2*a*.
28, 1-2. (Four verses from 'santi tīrthāni, etc.' on p. 53 are not found.)
69, 14–end (except 26 and 39-40).
70, 3-4*a*.
42, 34*b*–end (except 35*b*-36*a*).
43, 1–13.
45, 1–5*a*, 16*b* and 17*b*-*c*.
45, 18–24, 53*a*, 54–79, 84–end and 82*a*.
48, 1–6 and 10–end.
49, 1–40*a*, 41*b*–51, 54–56, and 57*b*–end.
50, 1–48 (one verse kuṇḍalābhyām, etc. is not found), 49-50*a* and 51–end.
51, 1–33*a* and 37–end.
p. 87 = 57, 1–7.
pp. 88–92 = 57, 8–30*a*, 32*b*–42, 44–47, and 50–56.
pp. 92–103 = 57, 57–end.
58, 1–7. (Four verses 'tasmāttaṃ muniśārdūla, etc.' on p. 94 are not found.)
58, 12–27, 28*b*-29, 30*b*–58 and 62*b*–end.
59, 1. (Two verses 'sarvalakṣaṇa-saṃyuktaṃ, etc.' are not found.)
59, 3-4, 6*a*, 27*b*, 28*b*–30*a* and 84*b*–end.
60, 1–11.
p. 104 = 57, 3-4.
p. 105 = 57, 8 and 13-14.
p. 106 = 57, 22-23.
pp. 107-108 = 57, 33–37 and 39-40.
p. 109 = 57, 58.
p. 111 = 60, 9-10.
pp. 112–128 = 60, 12–end. (Two verses 'Nārāyaṇa-paro dharmo, etc.' on p. 113 and one line 'aṅguṣṭhe haste etc.' on p. 114 are not found.)
61, 1–end.
62, 1–15, 18*b*–21, and 22*b*–end. (Three lines 'nāstikāya na vaktavyaṃ etc.' are not found.)
63, 1–7.
p. 130 = 60, 40–42*a* and 44-45.
p. 132 = 61, 14–16, 23*a*-*b* and 24.
p. 133 = 61, 25 and 27–30.
p. 134 = 61, 31–34.
p. 135 = 61, 35–38.
p. 138 = 63, 3 and 8-9.
pp. 139–143 = 63, 11–end.
64, 1–end.
pp. 143–154 = 65, 1–13, 15*b*–41*a*, 43–59, 65, 71, 72 and 84–end.
pp. 156–159 = 51, 29–32, 37 and 42–45.
66, 1-2, 10–13*a* and 14–end.

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p. 160 = 67, 3–5.

pp. 161–169 = 67, 2, 6–12, 13*b*–22*a* and 23–80. (One verse 'durlabhaṃ pāvanaṃ, etc.' on p. 167 is not found.)
68, 28–31, 32*b*, 35, 69*b*-70, 73–75*a* and 76.

p. 175 = 177, 19, 24, 16 and 17. (One verse 'kṣetraj n a ñ - c a' etc.' is not found.)

pp. 176–180 = 41, 10*b*-11, 53*b* and 56–78*a*. (Six lines 'bhuktvā tatra varān bhogān etc.' are not found.)
78*b*–88, 91*b*-92, 89-90 and 93.

pp. 180–182 = 28, 44–56*a*, 62*b*–end and 56*b*–62*a*.

pp. 183-184 = 42, 1–7 and 9-10.

p. 184 = 42, 11.

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# THE SIEGE OF CHITOR, 1533-35 A.D.

*By* GOLAP CHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

Writing about the political condition of India on the eve of his memorable invasion Bābur refers to the powerful Hindu kingdoms of Mewār and Vijayanagar as of equal importance with the Turco-Afghān Sultānates of Delhi, Gujarāt, the Deccan, Mālwa and Bengal. Thanks to Robert Sewell and Krishṇa Sāstrī, the story of the Forgotten Hindu empire in the far south of India is no longer unfamiliar to students of history. But Mewār has hardly received its desert. We have no doubt the charming annals of Col. Tod. But these hardly satisfy the curiosity of the critical historian. Attempts have been made in recent times to supplement the great work of the learned Colonel, and new facts have come to light with the progress of antiquarian research. The present essay is an humble endeavour to throw some light on an important episode in the chequered history of Mewār which for several generations held aloft the beacon light of freedom amidst the encircling gloom of Turkish military aggression and of Rājput subservience.

The reign of Vikramajit, son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā of Mewār, marks the closing scene of the long drama of rivalry between the Rāṇās of Mewār and the Sultāns of Gujarāt. Tod has the following account of this last phase of the struggle between the two powers. The young prince Vikramajit was 'insolent, passionate, and vindictive, and utterly regardless of that respect which his proud nobles rigidly exacted. Instead of appearing at their head, he passed his time among wrestlers and prize-fighters, on whom and a multitude of foot-soldiers he lavished those gifts and that approbation, to which the aristocratic Rājput, the equestrian order of Rājasthān, arrogated exclusive right.' As a result of this extravagance Vikramajit soon became embroiled in a quarrel with his vassals which had momentous consequences for him and his kingdom. Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt took advantage of this disunion among the Rājputs to lead an army against the Rāṇā in order to avenge the capture of his predecessor Muzaffar by prince Prithvirāja of Mewār, son of a former king Rāyamalla. It is said that after inflicting a defeat upon the Rāṇā, who was encamped at Loicha in the Būndī territory, he finally laid siege to the fortress of Chitor. The Rājputs offered a stubborn resistance, and we are told the thrilling tale of Jawāhir Bāi, the dowager queen of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, who 'to set an example of courageous devotion . . . clad in armour, headed a sally in which she was slain'.

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The besiegers, however, steadily gained ground. In this moment of imminent danger the defenders 'had recourse to the expedient of crowning a king, as a sacrifice to the dignity of the protecting deity of Chitor', and sent Udayasiṁha, the posthumous son of Sāṅgā Rāṇā [1] out of the fort to Būndī. The ladies in the fort headed by Karṇavatī, the mother of Vikramajit, performed the *johar* (a kind of self immolation). The annalist records that 'Every clan lost its chief, and the choicest of their retainers; during the siege and in the storm thirty-two thousand Rājputs were slain. This is the second *sākā* of Chitor'.

We are also told that in her dire distress the mother of Vikramajit had appealed for help to her *rākhi band bhāi* (a sort of adopted brother) Humāyūn, emperor of Delhi. The Timurid sovereign 'proved himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge, and succour Chitor, and the widows and minor sons of Sāṅgā Rāṇā . . . He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Chitor, took Māndū by assault, and, as some revenge for her (i.e. of Māndū) king's aiding the king of Gujarāt, he sent for the Rāṇā Vikramajit, whom, following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe.' [2]

Mūhaṇòta Nèṇa Sī, the minister of Mahārāja Yaśovanta Siṁha of Mārwār, who wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century, gives the following account of the event mentioned above. In Sam. 1599 (1589?) Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt laid siege to the fort of Chitor and took it. Hāḍī Karmetī performed the *johar*, several Rājputs were killed. The emperor Humāyūn came to Chitor to help Vikramāditya, and after expelling Bahādur reinstalled the Rāṇā on the throne. In the Gujarāt section of his book Nèṇa Sī gives the same information but does not mention the coming of Humāyūn. He says that after the departure of Bahādur to Gujarāt the Sīsodiyās drove away the Turks from Chitor. Nèṇa Sī also gives a *vāta* (account) from Chāraṇa Āsiyò Giradhara which deserves careful notice. In Sam. 1719 (?) Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt laid siege to the fortress of Chitor for the *first time* and surrounded it on all sides. Rānā Vikramāditya was a mere boy . . . Several days after the siege the fort gave way on one side . . . Negotiation for peace was started . . . The Rāṇā agreed to send Udayasiṁha for service. Bahādur taking Udayasiṁha with him went away. It is further stated that as the Sultān had no son he determined to convert

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[1] For a discussion of the date of the birth of Udayasiṁha, see *I.H.Q.*, 1925, pp. 220 f.

[2] Crooke's Tod, vol. I, pp. 360 ff.

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the Rājput prince to Muhammadanism and to leave the throne to him. The Rājputs, however, fled away with their prince when they came to know of this decision of the Sultān. Bahādur followed them quickly and *again* besieged Chitor.[1]

A good deal of romance attaches to Tod's account of the *sākā* of Chitor given above. Furthermore it is apparent that the excellent annalist knows of only one single siege of Chitor by Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt while in reality the balance of evidence is in favour of the view that there were two distinct sieges undertaken by the same Sultān. The reason for the Sultan's campaign against Mewār, as given by Tod, has not found credence among modern historians. An inscription of V.S. 1543 no doubt speaks of Rāyamalla as having vanquished Jāphara,[2] but he cannot be identified with Muzaffar (II) of Gujarāt, who ascended the throne in 1511 A.D. Doubts have also been thrown by competent critics on the story of Humāyūn's coming to the help of the Rāṇā on an appeal from his mother.

The account given by Nēṇa Sī is short and to some extent may be based upon fact. The dates mentioned are however not correct.[3] The Muhammadan historians are silent about Udayasiṁha's being sent to Gujarāt for service. But to reject the evidence of Nēṇa Sī on that ground alone, which is at best an *argumentum ex silentio*, is hardly justifiable. There is, however, reason to believe that the part of the story which refers to Bahādur's attempt to convert Udayasiṁha to Muhammadanism in order to adopt him as his heir is not based on genuine tradition. The Sultān selected Muhammad Shāh of Khāndesh as his successor probably even before the siege of Rāisen.[4] We have absolutely nothing to suggest that Bahādur wanted to reverse the arrangement after the first siege of Chitor. The rest of the story of Giradhara and Nēṇa Sī may be accepted. It is to be noted that Nēṇa Sī gives the important detail about imperial assistance to the Rāṇā and speaks of Humāyūn as coming to the help of Vikramajit. We shall discuss the matter further on. The Rājput chronicler also refers

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[1] *Mūhaṇòta Nèṇa Sī Ki Khyāta*, translated by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dugaḍa, part I, pp. 53 ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XX, App. p. 118.
It should be noted that an inscription of V.S. 1505 gives the title Ranamalla to Kshetrasiṁha and speaks of him as having defeated the lord of the Gurjara country (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, App. p. 111). Kshetrasiṁha was probably a contemporary of Muzaffar I of Gujarāt.

[3] In the Gujarāt section of his book Nèṇa Sī gives Fālgun Śudi 1, 1589 V.S. as the date of the first siege of Chitor. This more or less agrees with the date of the first siege of Chitor by Bahādur.

[4] *M-i-Sikandarī*, Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, pp. 202, 206. Silhādī was alive at that time.

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to two distinct sieges undertaken by Bahādur and in this he receives corroboration from Muslim writers.

The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* records that one chief ambition of Sultān Bahādur was to conquer Chitor. It is related that Bahādur, when yet a prince, was very much annoyed at certain arrangements for succession made by his father. Being in danger of his life he determined to leave Gujarāt. Before his departure he saw his patron saint Kutb-ul-āktab, who pressed him to ask for a boon. The prince replied, 'Except the conquest of Chitor, I have no other wish, because the Rānā of Chitor has very much harassed the Musalmāns of Ahmednagar, killing them, plundering their property, and taking them prisoners'.[1] The saint of course granted the boon. In spite of this, the relation between Mewār and Gujarāt during the early years of Bahādur's reign was harmonious and friendly. Just after his departure from Gujarāt (in 1524) the prince went to Chitor where he was warmly welcomed by Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The mother[2] of the Rāṇā called him her 'son'. It is said that while at Chitor Bahādur nearly lost his life when he killed a nephew of the Rāṇā. The timely intervention of the Rāṇā and his mother, however, saved him from the angry Rājputs.[3] In 1527, Sāṅgā sent his son Vikramajit with suitable presents to Bahādur, who had now become the Sultān of Gujarāt.[4] The son of the Rāṇā was received most graciously and remained for some time in Gujarāt. This happy relation continued even after the accession of Ratnasiṁha, eldest son of Sāṅgā, to the throne of Mewār in 1528. In 1528-29 Bhārun, son of Prithviraja, and nephew of Sāṇgā, came with his followers and entered the service of the Sultān.[5] In 1530-31, Ratnasiṁha sent emissaries to plead for Jagmal, brother of the Rājā of Bāgaḍa, who had revolted from the Sultān and taken shelter with the Rāṇā. Jagmal was granted pardon and was assigned half of Bāgaḍa.[6] Soon after this when Sultān Mahmūd II of Mālwa attacked some of the possessions of Ratnasiṁha, the latter sent envoys to Bahādur complaining against the unfriendly attitude of the ruler of Mālwa.[7]

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[1] Ibid., p. 139. Bahādur refers to an incursion of Rāṇā Sāṅgā in the territory of Gujarāt in the time of Muzaffar II.

[2] Or wife according to another version. Bayley, p. 372.

[3] Faridi, p. 140. As we shall see it was probably the mother of Vikramajit who saved the life of Bahādur.

[4] *Tab-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De. MSS., p. 472. Faridi, p. 158.

[5] *Tab-i-Akbari*, De, 474. The M-i-S says that Prithvirāja, the brother of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, came to the Sultān and became enrolled among his vassals (Faridi, p. 162). Rājput tradition makes Prithvirāja a brother of Sāṅgā who died in the life time of his father (Crooke's Tod, I, pp. 341, 348). Can Bhārun be a variant of Vaṇavīra?

[6] Faridi, p. 165. *Tab-i-Akbari*, De, p. 476.

[7] Faridi, p. 165.

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Finally, when Bahādur marched on his way to attack Mahmūd, Ratnasiṁha and Silhādī came to pay their respect to him and were honoured with robes and other presents. Dungarsī and Jājarsī, two *wakils* of the Rāṇā, remained with the Sultān, and it is permissible to conjecture that the Mewār army took part in the siege of Māndū.[1]

Some time after the investment of Māndū Sultān Bahādur had some misunderstanding with Silhādī, imprisoned him and also besieged his fort of Rāisen. Bhupat, son of Silhādī, appealed to the ruler of Chitor for help which was readily granted as the Rāisen chieftain was a near relation of the Rāṇā. Recent researches have thrown a flood of light upon the traditional version of Tod, and have shown that Bahādur was provoked to attack Chitor by the Rāṇā's interference in the affairs of Rāisen.[2] The Rāṇā therefore sent his brother Vikramajit at the head of forty thousand picked horse and artillery and innumerable infantry to raise the siege of Rāisen, and probably himself joined the forces later on.[3] The Sultān became very much enraged at the conduct of the Rāṇā, and sent Muhammad Khān Āsirī and 'Imād-ul-Mulk against the Rāṇā's brother. Very soon the Sultān himself joined his forces, and compelled the Rāṇā to fall back. The *Tabqāt-i-Akbari* says that the ruler of Chitor sent envoys with the following message: 'The Rāṇā was one of the servants of the threshold, and his object in coming to these parts, was that he should advance his foot by way of intrusion and ask for the pardon of Silhādī.' The Sultān replied, 'At present his forces and grandeur are greater than mine. If he had submitted a petition without fighting, he would of course have attained his objects.' The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* also says the same thing and adds that the Rāṇā pleaded that he had sent his brother Vikramajit 'to entreat the Sultān on his (Silhādī's) behalf, hoping to produce kindness in the Sultān's mind for him. If the Sultān so desired, Vikramajit would seek the (Sultān's) presence.'

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[1] Ibid., p. 165; *Tab-i-Akbari*, De, p. 478.

[2] For an account of Silhādī, see *Cal. Rev.*, 1934, pp. 299 ff.

[3] Faridi, pp. 172 f. The *Mirāt* does not mention the name of the Rāṇā. But in the preceding pages we are distinctly given to understand that Ratnasiṁha had already succeeded Rāṇā Sāṅgā. Vikramajit is called in the *M-i-S* as the reigning Rāṇā's son which is evidently a mistake. He was the younger brother of Ratnasiṁha. Haig, Ross and Ojha think that the siege of Rāisen took place in the reign of Vikramajit. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, III, pp. 328 f., 530 f.; *Udayapura Rājya kā Itihāsa* by G. H. Ojha, p. 394 f.). The account of the *Mirāt-i-S* makes it distinctly clear that Vikramajit was as yet a prince.

That the Rāṇā also joined the army is made clear from the fact that he retired 'from the camp in which he then was'. Faridi, p. 173. The *Tab-i-Akbari* does not mention that Vikramajit was sent in advance.

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The Sultān said, 'Let him come'. The agents who were really sent as spies by the Rāṇā returned and informed him of the military superiority of the Sultān. The Rāṇā, therefore, fled to Chitor without giving battle to the Sultān.[1] Bahādur followed him up to the gates of Chitor and only postponed the siege in consideration of the immediate investment of Rāisen which capitulated in the month of Ramzān 938 A.H. (April–May, 1532). The implacable resentment of the Sultān manifested itself in attacks upon Gāgraun and Mandasor[2]—dependencies of Chitor since the days of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The siege of Chitor was again delayed by the coming of the rains.

The threatened attacks of the Portuguese in Diu next engaged the attention of the Sultān and compelled him to go post-haste to Diu to deal with his Christian enemy. The Portuguese, however, fled away even before the arrival of the Sultān. Being thus relieved from danger on that side Bahādur began preparations for the siege of Chitor. Arms and ammunitions and a great Egyptian cannon were sent to Māndū to be employed in the siege. Several thousand picked veterans were enlisted and ordered to join the camp. Muhammad Khān Āsirī was asked to come from Khāndesh. The author of the *Tārikh-i-Bahādurshāhi*, who witnessed the siege and whom Sikandar quotes, says that the Sultān had sufficient men and siege apparatus to have besieged four such places as Chitor. Tod says, 'This was the most powerful effort hitherto made by the Sultāns of Central India, and European artillerists are recorded in these annals as brought to the subjugation of Mewār'.[3]

Muhammad Khān Āsirī and Khudawānd Khān were ordered to march upon Chitor. When they arrived at Mandasor they were met by the envoys of the Rāṇā. It was submitted that 'whatever the Rāṇā holds of the Mālwa territory he will relinquish; whatever tribute may be imposed on him he will pay; whatever duty is imposed on him he will perform, and he acknowledges himself a subject of the Sultān, and will never be disobedient, but will submit himself to every ordinance of the Sultān, as is right and proper'. Sikandar says, 'Sultān Bahādur, however, remembered the Rāṇā's rash and foolish doings in the matter of sending aid to Silhādī, and he had, therefore, resolved upon the conquest of Chitor and rejected the Rāṇā's petition.[4] He ordered Tātār Khān, grandson of Sultān Buhlūl

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[1] Faridi, p. 173. [2] Faridi, p. 177.

[3] As already stated Tod knew only of one siege and strictly speaking his remarks apply to the Sultān's second attack on Chitor.

[4] *Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarāt* by Bayley, p. 370. As is to be noted the *M-i-S* does not make mention of the name of the Rāṇā. The problem arises who was the ruler of Chitor at this time. We have already tried to show that it was probably Ratnasiṁha who sent aid to Silhādī at the time of the siege of Rāisen.

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Lodī of Delhi, to proceed to Chitor and also asked Muhammad Khān Āsirī and Khudawānd Khān to follow him. When Tātār Khān reached Chitor he expected that the Rāṇā would give battle, but no opposition seems to have been offered at first.[1] On the 14th Rājab 939 (9th Feb., 1533) the lower fortification was captured, and very soon two of the seven gates of Chitor also fell. Bahādur joined his army by a forced march and gave directions for the use of battering guns. The fort was surrounded on all sides, and detachments of troops were sent to ravage the country sides. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* says that the brave souls from both sides performed gallant deeds but the victory fell to the Gujarātis. Through the skill of Rūmī Khān, the finest artillery man of the age, walls were battered to pieces and the fort could no longer withstand the siege. The mother of Vikramajit, who was the chief wife of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, sued for peace through the medium of Bhupat Rāi, her son-in-law, who seems to have been in the camp of Bahādur.[2] She submitted the following :—

'My son has long served the Sultān. He went from this place to Gujarāt, and paid respects to the Sultān.[3] I, therefore, as

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The definite act of *disobedience and the rash and foolish doings in the matter of sending aid to Silhādī* can therefore properly be ascribed to Ratnasiṁha rather than to Vikramajit. A presumption arises, therefore, that Ratnasiṁha was alive even at this time. Pandit Ojha refers to an inscription of Vikramajit, dated Vaiśākha Śudi 11, 1589 V.S. which, if a current year, corresponds to April 15th, 1532. It thus evidently clashes with our contention and makes Vikramajit the Rāṇā of Chitor even at the time of the siege of Rāisen. If, however, the inscription refers to the expired year then the date falls on 3rd May, 1533, and in no way clashes with the Muslim account. We are inclined to accept the latter date until the publication of the epigraph in question removes all doubt.

When did then Ratnasiṁha die ? The *Tab-i-Akbari* informs us that the siege of Chitor lasted for three months (De's MSS. p. 516). The *M-i-S* says that Bahādur left Chitor on the 24th March, 1533. We are therefore led to think that the siege actually began sometime in the beginning of January, 1533. If Vikramajit was the Rāṇā of Chitor at the time of the siege then Ratnasiṁha's death must be placed before January, 1533. The event must have also happened after Rabi-ul-akhir, 939 (November, 1532) when Muhammad Khān Āsirī and Khudawānd Khān were ordered to march upon Chitor.

Pandit Ojha says that the *Amar-Kāvya* MS. gives the date V.S. 1587 for the death of Ratnasiṁha. That does not seem to be correct in the light of Muslim evidence.

It is interesting to note that Badāonī (Rankin, p. 452), Nizām-ud-dīn (De, vol. II, p. 47) and some MSS. of Firishta (Briggs, II, p. 74) say that Bahādur was fighting with Rāṇā Sāṅgā. But Rāṇā Sāṅgā died about five years before the siege in 1528 (Mrs. Beveridge, Memoir, p. 612).

[1] Faridi, p. 178.

[2] *An Arabic History of Gujarāt*, p. 227. *M-i-S* says that Bhupat and Alp Khān were placed by Bahādur on one side of Chitor. (Faridi, p. 179.)

[3] Probably refers to Vikramajit's visit to the court of Gujarāt in 1527, when he was sent by his father Rāṇā Sāṅgā.

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an aged woman, humbly beg that the Sultān will forgive his faults, and, as my life is bound up in his, by granting his life the Sultān will also renew mine, and confer on him an incalculable boon. Henceforth he will be faithful and devoted to service; he will not be disobedient in any matter, and will faithfully and energetically do his duty when he may be ordered. Several towns of the territory of Māndū have been in his possession since the time of the Sultān Māhmūd; those he offers to surrender. The golden girdle and the jewelled crown and cap which belonged to Sultān Māhmūd, the value of which jewellers are unable to estimate, these which were won on the day of the victory over that Sultan, and one hundred *lakhs* of *tankas*, and a hundred horses with gold-worked bridles, and ten elephants, he presents as tribute to your Majesty.'

Sikandar says, 'The Sultān considered it politic, under the circumstances, to accede to the proposals. He had regard moreover to the prayer of the Rāṇā's mother, and remembered the service which she had rendered to him when she withheld the Rājputs from destroying him by threatening to take her own life, when he was in his youthful days a fugitive from his brother, Sikandar Khān, and killed the Rānā's nephew at the feast'.[1] The Sultān retired from Chitor on the 24th March, 1533. Nizām-ud-din says that after laying siege to the fort for some time 'owing to *certain matter*, he (Bahādur) made an *amicable settlement* and returned to Ahmedabad'[2]. The author does not make it clear what were these *certain matters* that induced the Sultān to make an *amicable settlement*. It is to be seen that he accepted almost exactly the same terms which were offered by Ratnasiṁha at Mandasor just before the siege began. Surely this statement of Nizām-ud-din requires some explanation which we are unable to offer in the present state of our knowledge. It has been already noted that Nèṇa Sī following Āsiyò Giradhara gives some additional details about the terms of peace, and says that Udayasiṁha was sent as a hostage with Bahādur.

For about two years after the siege Mewār was immune from any outside attack. Pandit Ojha says that the Rāṇā during this period refused to conduct himself properly and continued to give

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[1] *Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujārat*, Bayley, p. 372. Faridi's text is very brief on his point. It simply says that 'as the petition from the mother of the Rāṇā was reasonable, the Sultān agreed to it and taking tribute, on the 27th Shaban retired from Chitor.' The terms of the peace also find corroboration from Nizām-ud-din, Hājī Dabir and Firishtā.

[2] *Tab-i-Akbari*, p. 802 (De's MS.). Did Bahādur retire for fear of Humāyūn who came to Gwalior at this time?

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offence to his vassals. Some of these discontented nobles went over to Bahādur and began to incite the Sultan to invade Chitor. About this time Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān, the son-in-law of Bābur, who was imprisoned by Humāyūn, fled from custody and took refuge with Bahādur. Thus a quarrel began between the two Sultāns, and Bahādur thinking it necessary to invest the strong fort of Chitor again laid siege to it.[1]

The *Chāraṇa* Giradhara says that the flight of Udayasiṁha induced Bahādur to besiege Chitor for a second time.[2]

Sikandar says that the desire of conquering Chitor again took possession of the heart of Sultān Bahādur when he returned to Māndū after subduing Nizām-ul-Mulk of the Deccan.[3]

As a matter of fact the second siege of Chitor by Bahādur seems to have been a part of a wider scheme. Abūl Faẓl says, 'It is not unknown to the circumspect that Sultān Bahādur was ever engaged in high-flying imaginings, and was always holding in his palate the bruised thorn of evil wishes'.[4] His court became the asylum of discontented Afghāns headed by Tātār Khān, son of Alā-ud-dīn, son of Bhulūl, Sultān of Delhi. Tātār Khān was ever engaged in kindling the ambition of Bahādur and was trying to persuade him to make an attack upon Delhi. But the latter at first refused to lend an ear to it.

The coming of Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān to the court of Gujarāt raised fresh hopes in the mind of Sultān Bahādur who now told Tātār Khān that he was prepared to attack the ruler of Delhi. He sent twenty *krors* of Gujarāti coins to Ranthambhor to raise an army under the leadership of Tātār Khān. Alā-ud-dīn, father of Tātār Khān, was sent to Kālinjar to create disturbances. Burhān-ul-Mulk was instructed to make an attempt upon the Punjāb at the head of a Gujarāti army. Abūl Faẓl says that Bahādur divided his forces with the idea that the imperial army would be thrown into confusion. Tātār Khān was ordered to make a direct attack upon Delhi and Bahādur 'keeping both aloof from and in touch with him, addressed himself to the siege of Chitor so that he might both capture the fortress and be an intermediary for helping the Ludiyāns when occasion occurred'. The geographical situation of the two important fortresses of Chitor and Ranthambhor which lie on the way from Gujarāt to Delhi or Agra made their capture by the rulers of either of the belligerent powers the most important

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[1] *Udayapura rājya kā Itihāsa*, p. 397.
[2] Mahanota Nèṇa si ki khyāta, p. 54.
[3] Faridi, p. 180.
[4] *Akbar-nāma*, Beveridge, p. 293.

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preliminary in an offensive warfare.[1] That the siege of Chitor was not an end in itself is made amply clear by Abūl Faẓl who says, 'Sultān Bahādur, under the pretext of besieging Chitor, had gathered a large body of men under Tātār Khān, . . . . and that he was entertaining wild projects'.

It is well known that the action of Bahādur evoked strong protest from Humāyūn and there was an exchange of letters between them. Hājī Dabīr says that in reply to Humāyūn's second letter Bahādur wrote as follows :—

'There are five justifications for entering on war: firstly, the foundation of a dynasty; secondly, the protection of a dynasty; thirdly, defence against aggression; fourthly, an appeal for help from one State to another; the fifth is not a good one, for it may be an unwarrantable attack, a love of conquest or plunder, disobedience and so forth. But with me it is none of these. I have merely distributed money with the desire to make a holy war and to raise the standard of faith.'[2] All our authorities including Hājī Dabīr, however, make it clear that Bahādur collected men to attack the Mughals.

No details about the second siege of Chitor have been preserved by the Muhammadan historians. Rūmī Khān was again charged with the task of battering the walls, and was promised as a reward the governorship of Chitor. The fort surrendered on the 3rd Ramzān 941 A.H. (8th March, 1535). The Rājput chronicles state that many Rājputs fell on that occasion and Rānī Karmavatī, mother of Vikramajit, performed the *Johar*. Hājī Dabīr says that Bahādur repaired all the damages done to the fort and it was made more strong with cannons, etc. The *amirs* having objected to the appointment of Rūmī Khān, Mālik Nassan was placed in charge of the fort.[3]

We have already pointed out that both Tod and Nèṇa Sī ascribe to Humāyūn the reinstatement of Vikramajit on the throne of Chitor. It cannot be doubted that Humāyūn advanced towards Chitor at this time with the object of confronting Bahādur. Khāfī Khān says that letters were exchanged between the two Sultāns which had for their object the help to be rendered to the Rāṇā.[4]

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[1] Ranthambhor was captured by Bahādur immediately after the first siege of Chitor. We should also note that Chitor and Ranthambhor were captured by Akbar before his conquest of Gujarāt. The conquest of Gujarāt also necessitated for Alā-ud-dīn Khalji the reduction of these forts.

[2] *An Arabic History of Gujarāt*, Index, p. xxxv.

[3] Ibid., p. 239.

[4] *Muntakhāb-ut-Lubāb*, p. 74.

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Firishtā also gives some verses which point to the same conclusion.[1] The emperor at first refrained from attacking Bahādur as he was engaged in fighting with the infidels. Afterwards he defeated Bahādur and returned to Agra by way of Chitor.[2] It is difficult to believe that at this time when he was confronted with a hostile Gujarāti governor in Chitor, and the rebellion and evil designs of his brother Mīrzā Askarī, Humāyūn stayed at or near Chitor for any length of time to drive away the Gujarātis from that place. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* mentions Shāmsher-ul-Mulk as the governor of Chitor when Humāyūn went back to Agra from Mālwa. It also says that Āmīn Nas, governor of Ranthambhor, Shāmsher-ul-Mulk, governor of Chitor, and Burhām-ul-Mulk, governor of Ajmir, effecting a junction fell upon the Mughals and drove them back.[3]

The question may properly be asked—is there no foundation for the story that an appeal was made to Humāyūn to come to the rescue of Chitor? Sir E. D. Ross says, 'According to Rājput legend Jawāhir Bāi, the queen mother of Rāthor race, sent Humāyūn a bracelet, in accordance with the chivalrous custom of Rājasthān, adopting him as her champion against Bahādur, but the legend is inconsistent with the Muslim chronicles and with the conduct of Humāyūn, who, despite the gross provocation which he had received, would not attack a brother Muslim while he was engaged in fighting with the misbelievers.' Sir W. Haig also rejects the story in almost identical language, 'There is no truth in the Rājput story of the despatch of the *rākhi* to Humāyūn by the young Rāṇā's mother, and of the latter's chivalrous response, for though he had received gross provocation from Bahādur, he punctiliously refrained from attacking him while he was engaged in warfare against the "misbelievers".'[4]

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[1] Briggs, II, p. 74.
Humāyūn addressed the following verse to Bahādur:—

'O thou, the ravager of Chitor
In what way would thou subdue infidels?
Knowest thou, that while employed at Chitor,
A king cometh to subdue thee.'

Bahādur wrote the following in reply:—

'I who am the ravager of Chitor,
Will conquer the idolators by valour,
And he who dares not succour Chitor,
Shall see in what way he himself be conquered.'

Other authorities also make mention of these letters. But they do not say that these related to the question of rendering any help to the Rāṇā.

[2] *Akbar-nama*, I, p. 321.

[3] *M-i-S*, Faridi, p. 197 f.

[4] *C.H.I.*, pp. 330, 531.

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Tod's account of the advance of Humāyūn to help the Rāṇā at the time of the *final* capture and the crowning of Vikramajit at Māndū seems incredible. But both Sir E. Rose and Sir W. Haig overlook the fact that there were *two* distinct sieges and the Rāṇā or his mother may well have appealed to Humāyūn at the time of the *first siege*. Referring to the *first siege* Firishtā distinctly mentions the fact that the governor of the fort of Chitor being attacked by Bahādur sought the protection of Vikramajit. Humāyūn started from Delhi in order to chastise Bahādur and help the Rāṇā, but after going as far as Gwalior, and spending two months there returned to Agra. The Rāṇā being hopeless of receiving any help from Humāyūn gave a crown jewel and other valuable presents to Bahādur and thus induced him to raise the siege.[1] That Humāyūn went just at this time to Gwalior is also evidenced by both Khondmir and Gul-badan.[2] Khāfī Khān also says that Vikramajit sought help from Humāyūn when Bahādur went to Chitor. But though the Emperor went to that side he did not help the Rāṇā.[3]

Was there any reason why Vikramajit should seek help from Humāyūn? Our position would be clear if we bear in mind the relation between Vikramajit and Bābur, the father of Humāyūn. It is stated in the *Memoirs* of Bābur that Vikramajit, who was at Ranthambhor with his mother after the death of his father, sent emissaries to Bābur 'to indicate his submission and obeisance and ask a subsistence allowance of seventy *lakhs* for him, it had been settled at that time *parganas* to the amount asked should be bestowed on him . . .' Vikramajit also offered to give the crown and the belt of Mahmūd Khaljī II of Mālwa to Bābur, who promised Shāmsābad in exchange for Ranthambhor.[4]

Shortly afterwards Bābur again records, 'Hāmusī . . was joined with Vikramajit's former and later envoys in order that pact and agreement for the surrender of Ranthambhor and for the condition of Vikramajit's service might be made in their own way and custom. Before our men returned he was to see and learn and make sure of matters; this done if that person (Vikramajit) stood fast to his spoken words I for my part promised that God bringing it aright I would set him in his father's place as Rāṇā of Chitor.'[5]

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[1] Briggs, II, p. 74. Briggs' rendering is a bit defective. I have adopted B. De's note in the *Tab-i-Akbari*.

[2] Elliot, V, p. 124. *Humāyūn-nāma*, Mrs. Beveridge, pp. 115, 116.

[3] Muntakhāb-ut-Labāb, p. 73. Khāfī Khān, Badāonī and Nizām-ud-dīn place the first siege of Chitor in 940 A.H. after the flight of Muhammad Zamān. But this date is probably incorrect. The evidence of Hājī Dabīr and Sikandar is to be preferred in this respect.

[4] *Bābur-nāma*, Beveridge, p. 612.

[5] Ibid., p. 616.

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The extant *Memoirs* do not give us any account of the report made by the envoys who were sent by Bābur to make inquiries into the matters of Vikramajit. Neither do we know as to what extent the contract between Bābur and Vikramajit was carried out actually. It is perhaps certain that Bābur did not invade Mewār on behalf of the younger son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The crown and the belt of the Mālwa Sultān were also not given to Bābur. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the Timurid emperor extended his protection to Vikramajit. While giving an account of the revenue of Hindustān Bābur mentions 'Bikramajit of Rantambur' as one of the *rājās* paying revenue and 'who as obedient from old, receives allowance and maintenance'.[1] Is it therefore altogether impossible that Vikramajit appealed to the son of his patron for help and the latter responded though (as pointed out by Khāfī Khān) he did not or could not afford any effective assistance?

[1] Ibid., p. 521.

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# THE BENGALI COMMENTATORS ON THE AMARA-KŌṢA

*By* NALINI NATH DASGUPTA

It is now almost a settled fact that Amara-Siṁha, a Buddhist by denomination, wrote his lexicon (Kōṣa) in the fourth century A.D.[1] That lexicon in course of time gained immense popularity in Bengal, and evoked quite a large number of commentaries on it. All the commentaries, however, are not preserved, and even of those that are preserved, we have not the knowledge of all, lying hidden as many of them are in private collections, and sequestered nooks, or worm-worn rickstands of manuscripts. Again, in case of many of the known ones, it is very difficult, in the absence of positive informations, to decide if their authors were really Bengali or not.

The Tibetan encyclopædia, Tangyur, contains the translation of a commentary on the Amara-Kōṣa by one Subhuticandra.[2] If he be identical with Subhûti-pâlita, from whom Anandagarbha of Magadha studied the Yôgatantra, he is, according to the testimony of the Pag-Sam-Jon, a Bengali,[3] and, if so, perhaps the earliest known Bengali commentator of Amara-Kôṣa.

If the identification is not tenable, it is Sarvânanda who came to take that place. He hailed from the village of Vandyaghaṭa in Râḍha (W. Bengal), and was the son of one Ârtihara. His commentary entitled 'Ṭîkâ-Sarvasva', was written in Śaka 1082, or A.D. 1159. No MS. of this commentary has been discovered in Bengal, but the 'Ṭîkâ-Sarvasva' was noticed in Dr. Burnell's 'Catalogue of the Tâñjore MSS', and in Mr. Opert's 'List of Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India',[4] and this is probably the commentary that has been referred to as the 'Amara-Vyâkhyâna' by 'Vandigaṭa', in the 'Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Mysore and Coorg' by Mr. Lewis Rice.[5] The MS. noticed by the late MM. H. P. Śâstrî[6] came from Nepal. The

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[1] See K. G. Oka's Introduction to Kṣîrasvâmin's Com. on the Amarka-kôṣa, Poona 1913, pp. 7-8; also Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 216.

[2] Catalogue Du fonds Tibétain De la Bibliothèque Nationale, par P. Cordier, Troisième partie, Paris, 1915, p. 465.

[3] Pag Sam Jon Zang, by Sumpa Khan-Po Yeśe Pal Jor, 1747 A.D. ed. S. C. Das, Cal., 1908, Index, p. xii.

[4] Vol. II, Madras, 1885, p. 689.

[5] Bangalore, 1884, pp. 290-91.

[6] Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Second series, Vol. IV, Cal., 1911, No. 101, pp. 76-77.

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'Ṭîkâ-Sarvasva' is now published,[1] and the Bengali commentator's product is found to contain a good many Bhâṣâ words, more than 300 in number (see Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ, 1326 B.S., No. 2).

In the collection of the Dacca University, there is a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, which is, we are told, on the same lines as those of Sarvânanda, and which ends with the 'Vaiśya-Pradhâna-Varga'.[2] But who wrote it, and when, remains unknown.

To the authorship of Trilôcana Dâsa is attributed a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa,[3] and his identity with Trilôcana Dâsa, the reputed writer of the gloss (pañjikâ) on the Kâtantra-vṛtti of Durgasiṁha, appears indubious. Son of Mêgha, and father of Gadâdhara, Trilôcana is not a modern writer, as is sometimes supposed, notably by the late Paṇḍita Umêśa Candra Vidyâratna.[4] He is quoted in the 'Kâvya-Kâmadhênu' of Vôpadêva in the latter half of the 13th century, while a MS. of his 'Kâtantra-vṛtti-pañjikâ,' in Nâgari character, is dated in Ira Sam 156, equivalent to 1273 A.D.[5] He probably belonged to the 12th century, and might have been more or less a contemporary of Sarvânanda.

It may not be out of place to refer here to the 'Trikâṇḍa-Śêṣa' of Puruṣôttamadêva, although it is not a commentary on, but rather a supplement, in three chapters, to the Amara-Kôṣa. Puruṣôttama, the lexicographer, is, we need not doubt, the Buddhist grammarian of that name, whose Scholium (Bhâṣâ-vṛtti) on Pâṇini's aphorisms, excluding those texts that appertain to the Vedic dialects, was written, according to his commentator, Sṛṣṭidhara, at the command of king Lakṣmanasêna (Lakṣmaṇasênasya râjña âjñayâ).[6] Commentators are not always reliable in such cases; for instance, Ananta Paṇḍita, the commentator of the 'Aryâ-Saptaśatî' of Gôvardhana, wrongly explains the expression 'Sênakulatilaka-bhûpati' of verse 39 of that poem as alluding to the king Pravarasêna (of Kâśmîra), the author of the 'Setu'.[7] But in case of Puruṣôttama, we know that the introduction of his 'Varṇa-dêśanâ' reads as follows:—

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[1] Ed. Gaṇapati Śâstrî, Madras, 1911 and 1917.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1928, p. 2.

[3] Miscellaneous Essays, by H. T. Colebrooke, Cowell's edition, Vol. II, London, 1873, 'preface to the author's edition of the Amara-koṣa', footnote, pp. 52-53.

[4] Jâti-tattva-vâridhi, Cal, 1902, p. 241.

[5] Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper MSS., belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. II, Cal., 1915, p. 89, No. III, 397 B.

[6] See Bhâṣâ vṛtti, published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

[7] N.S.P., ed., pp. 13-14.

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"Śrî-Puruṣôttama dêvasya Dêśanâyaṁ niśamyatâṁ
Varṇa-viplava-râśâya nṛpâjñêva gariyasî
. . . . . .tathâ Gauḍâdi-lipi-sâdhâraṇyâd
hiṇḍîra-guḍâkêśâdau hakâra dakârayor-
-bhrântaya upajâyantê . . . . . '[1]

Since he was thus intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of the writings of the people of Gauḍa (Bengal), and again gives forth that he wrote the work at the instance of a king (nṛpâjñêva), it appears that the statement of Sṛṣṭidhara that he wrote the 'Trikâṇḍa-Śêṣa' at the command of Lakṣmaṇasêna, king of Bengal, is not beside the mark. It is curious that the late MM. H. P. Sâstrî spoke of having found a MS. of the 'Trikâṇḍa-Śêṣa', the characters of which resembled, so far as he could call to remembrance, those of the copper-plate grant of Dharmâditya, obtained from Barisâl[2] (?Faridpur).

The next commentator to be mentioned is Vṛhaspati Râyamukuṭa, who composed his commentary, 'Pada-candrikâ', in Śaka 1353, equivalent to A.D. 1431. A native of West Bengal (Râḍha), Vṛhaspati was in the court of Jalâlu-d-din, the renegade son of Râjâ-Gaṇêśa. The 'Pada-candrikâ' is a copious commentary and cites a large number of authors and works, the names whereof have been arranged alphabetically in the Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84 by (Sir) R. G. Bhândârkar.[3] Paṇḍita Durgâ Prasâda, who prepared the list, misunderstood Vṛhaspati to be a native of Kâśmîra.[4] The idea of the late MM. Hara Prasâda Śâstrî that the 'Pada-candrikâ' was composed in collaboration with the Bengali jurist, Śrîkara Âcârya[5], has been exposed to be quite erroneous by the late Rai Bahadur M. M. Cakravarttî.[6] It has also to be noted here that the author of the commentary, 'Vyâkhyâmṛta', on the Amara-Kôṣa, was the Maithila Śrîkara Âcârya,[7] and not the Bengali jurist of that name, as is sometimes conjectured.[8]

I have got with me a commentary on Amara's text by one Durlabha-vallabha, perhaps an unknown name. The MS. is incomplete and breaks abruptly at page 123, with the Brahmavarga, but the work is old and exhaustive. Durlabha-vallabha calls himself 'Jyôtir-vilvija-candramâh-Kavivarah', and the date of composition is given in the beginning as 'Śâkêcacakṣarasarôdacandrê', which

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1 India Office, No. 1475.
2 Proceedings of the As. Soc., Bengal, 1900, April, p. 79.
3 pp. 61–65, 467–73, 473–78.
4 Ibid., p. 479.
5 Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ, 1321, p. 270.
6 J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 243, footnote.
7 Ibid., p. 243.
8 See Viśvakôṣa, ed. N. N. Vasu; Navya-Bhârata, 1307 B.S., Śrâvana, p. 180.

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I am unable to work out. But some of the authorities quoted in the commentary are Vidyâdhara, Jîmûta-vâhana, the Râmâyaṇa, Vyâḍi, Sâmba-Purâṇa, Vâyu-Purâṇa Mahêśvara, Kṣîrasvâmî, Târapâla, Pâṇini, Sâhasâṅka, Bhaṭṭi (-Kavya), Trikâṇḍa-Śêṣa, Gôvardhana, (Mahâ-) Bhârata, Svâmî, Vâmana, Vâcaspati, Bhîmasêna, Jumara, Hârâvalî, Candragômin, Kâśyapa, Kâlidâsa, Jâtakamâlâ, Vûpâlita, Rabhasa, Śabdârṇava, Srîdhara, and Mêdinî. Since Mêdinî, as we know, cites in his lexicon (Mêdinî-Kôṣa) Mâdhava, the author of the 'Dhâtu-vṛtti' grammar and brother of Sâyana, 1360 A.D., and is cited by Padmanâbha Datta in his 'Bhûri-prayôga' lexicon, we may, without any great risk of error, place him about 1375 A.D. Durlabhavallabha probably lived in the former half of the 15th century. It is significant that neither he quotes Vṛhaspati Râyamukuṭa, nor he is quoted by him.

There is a commentary by one Gôvindânanda,[1] who, if identical with the Gôvindânanda Kavikankanâcârya, belonged, as we are told, to the end of the 15th century. He was a Draviḍa Brâhmin, but was settled in the district of Bâñkurâ, and wrote several works on Smṛti.[2]

The commentary of Paramânanda Śarmâ, an inhabitant of the village Sâlikani in the pargaṇâ of Bhâwâl in the district of Dacca, is called 'Mâlâ.'[3] He also wrote a commentary on the 'Kâvya-prakâśa' of Mammaṭa,[4] and is quoted in Mahêśvara Nyâyalankâra Bhaṭṭâcâryya's commentary on the 'Kâvya-prakâśa'.[5] According to Dr. S. K. De Paramânanda is not earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century, and is probably before the sixteenth century.[6] Mahêśvara himself also wrote a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, but although for certain a Bengali, he was domiciled at Sylhet.[7] He also wrote, like Raghunandana, twenty-eight works in Smṛti, all ending in 'Pradîpa', besides a commentary on the 'Sâhitya-darpaṇa' of Viśvanâtha Kavirâja.[8] He is said to have been born in 1582 A.D., and the name of his father is given as Mukundarâma Viśârada.[9]

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[1] Colebrooke, op. cit.

[2] Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS., As. Soc. Bengal, by H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. III (Smṛti), 1925, Intro., p. xx.

[3] Notices of Sans. MSS., Second series, H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. iv, 1911, No. 19; also Catalogue of Printed Books and MSS. in Sanskrit belonging to the Oriental Library of the As. Soc., Bengal, by Kuñja Vihâri Nyâya-bhûṣaṇa, Fasciculus I–IV, Cal. 1899–1904, p. 12.

[4] R. L. Mitra's Notices of Sans. MSS., iv, p. 210. [5] I quote from a MS.

[6] Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics, by S. K. De, Vol. I, 1923, p. 174.

[7] Caritâbhidhâna (Bengali) by Upendra Candra Mukhôpâdhyâya.

[8] Triennial Cat. of MSS., Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. iv, Part Sanskrit A, 1928, pp. 4525-26, No. 3058.

[9] See Caritâbhidhâna.

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Nârâyaṇa Vidyâvinôdâcârya, son of Vâneśvara and grandson of Jaṭâdhara, of Purvagrâma, wrote a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, a MS. of which is in the Government Oriental Library, Madras.[1] There is also a MS. of it in the India Office Library, where its title is 'Śabdârtha-Sandîpikâ'. From the same Pûrvagrâma hailed Kramadîśvara, the author of the 'Saṁkṣipta-sâra' grammar, as also the Śaiva teacher, Viśvêśvara Śivâcârya, in whose connection we know it definitely that Pûrva-grâma was in Râḍha.[2] Nârâyaṇa's grandfather, Jaṭâdhara, also wrote a lexicon, entitled 'Abhidhâna-tantra',[3] in which he informs us that he was an inhabitant of Châṭu-grâma, i.e. Chittagong.[4] This leads one to the conclusion that the family migrated from Pûrvagrâma, the ancestral home, to Chittagong to settle there. According to Wilson, Jaṭâdhara is comparatively a modern writer, but Aufrecht says that the 'Abhidhâna-tantra' was composed by the time of Râyamukuṭa.[5] If Aufrecht is right, Nârâyaṇa Vidyâ-vinôdâcârya dates from about the last quarter of the 15th century, or the first of the 16th.

All other known commentators belonged to a period between the 16th and the 18th centuries. Of the products of these late writers, importance attaches most to the commentaries of Râmanâtha Vidyâvâcaspati, Raghunâtha Cakravarttî and Bharata Mallika, all belonging to the 17th century. The commentary of the first is entitled Trikâṇḍavivêka,[6] and is, according to Wilson, 'a work of considerable merit, and particularly full of orthoëpical varieties.' Colebrooke also has it that it is 'particularly copious on the variations of orthography, and is otherwise a work affording much useful information'. Râmanâtha also wrote a commentary on the 'Dâyabhâga' of Jîmûta-vâhana,[7] as also one on Bhavadêva Bhaṭṭa's treatise on Saṁskâras, under the title of 'Saṁskâra-paddhati-rahasya',[8] which was composed in 1623 A.D.[9] The commentary of Raghunâth Cakravarttî, son of Gaurîkânta of Sâmantasâra, bears the title of 'Trikâṇḍa-cintâmaṇi', which follows Pâṇini's system of etymology. Raghunâtha is said to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇakânta Sârvabhauma, who wrote his 'Ânanda-latikâ'

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[1] Triennial Cat., Part I, Sanskrit C, 1928, pp. 5394-95, R. No. 3645.
[2] Ann. Rep. Arch. Supdt., Southern Circle, 1915-16, p. 44; also Epigraphist's Report, 1917, Madras Govt., G.O. No. 1035, pp. 122-23.
[3] Works of H. H. Wilson, Vol. V, London, 1865, p. 233; also Mitra's Notices, II, No. 592.
[4] Wilson, op. cit.
[5] Wilson, op. cit., footnote.
[6] Colebrooke, p. 52; Wilson, p. 208; Cat. by K. V. Nyâyabhûṣana, p. 11; also Ind. Office.
[7] Mitra, V.P., 154.
[8] Ibid., VI, p. 237.
[9] S. K. De, op. cit., p. 188.

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in 1652 A.D.,[1] and if it is correct, Raghunâtha belonged to the middle of the 17th century. His commentary has been published along with the text of Amara[2] by Candra Môhana Tarkâlaṁkâra. The commentary of Bharata Mallika, Bengal's favourite exegesist, passes by the name of 'Mugdhabôdhinî'.[3] As Colebrooke puts it, 'It is indeed a very excellent work; copious and clear, and particularly full upon the variations of orthography according to different readings or different authorities; the etymologies are given conformably with Vopadeva's systems of grammar'. So also Wilson says, 'The commentary of Bharata Malla is the favourite authority of the Bengal school, and of all others in which the grammar of Vopadeva is received: it is an able performance and is particularly full on the subject of various readings.' An ardent follower of the Mugdhabôdha Vyâkaraṇa, Bharata Mallika (1675 A.D.)[4], wrote a number of commentaries on the standard Kâvyas in Sanskrit, the most excellent of them perhaps being the commentary on the 'Bhaṭṭi Kâvya', which referring, as they do, to the rules of Vôpadêva, are popularly designated as the 'Mugdhabôdhinî ṭîkâs' in contradistinction to the Pâṇînîya ṭîkâs of Mallinâtha, and in Bengal Bharata Mallika succeeded to eclipse in his age (and also subsequently) the fame of the renowned commentator of the South, who followed Pâṇini. His 'Drutabôdha', a Sanskrit grammar in verse, in accordance with the plan of the 'Mugdhabôdha', but larger than it, and which is probably his most capital performance, was written under the patronage of Kalyânânanda, son of Gajamalla, and grandson of Trailôkyacandra, who claimed to be a chief of the solar race.[5] Besides the commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, the Mallika wrote the 'Liṅgâdi-Saṁgraha', too, which contains annotations on the Amara-Kôṣa, pointing out in detail the genders of all the words in that work.[6]

Four other commentators, who deserve some notice, are Mathurêśa Vidyâlaṁkâra, Srî-Râma Tarkavâgîśa, Râmakṛṣṇa Tarkâlaṁkâra Bhaṭṭacâryya and Gôpâla Cakravarttî. Mathurêśa Vidyalaṁkâra of the sept of Napâdhîya-Vandyaghaṭa, was the son of Sivarâma Cakravarttî and Pârvatî, and his commentary is known as 'Sâra-Sundarî'.[7] He also wrote an independent lexicon,

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[1] Vaṅgêr Jâtîya Itihâsa, by N. N. Vasu, Vol. II, p. 121.

[2] Ed. Candra-môhana Tarkâlaṁkâra. Also see Mitra, V., p. 5; Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. I, 1900, No. 9.

[3] Colebrooke, p. 51; Wilson, p. 206.

[4] Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ, 1320 B.S., p. 65.

[5] Des. Cat. Sans. MSS. in the Library of the A.S.B., by R. L. Mitra, Part I (Grammar), Cal., 1877, p. 20.

[6] Mitra's Notices, Vol. II, No. 529.

[7] Ibid., VII, p. 221.

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'Śabda-ratnâvalî' under the patronage of Murcchâ (Mûsâ) Khân,[1] doubtless the son of Masnad-i-Ali Iśâ Khân, of Katrâbhû, who was the most powerful of the 'Twelve Chiefs' (Bâra-Bhuñyâ) of Bengal, in his times. Both the 'Sâra-Sundarî' and the 'Śabda-ratnâvalî' bear Śaka 1588 or A.D. 1666 as the date of composition in different MSS,[2] but as the time of Mûsâ Khan is known to have fallen between 1599 and 1632 A.D., the date appears to be 'mysterious' in both the cases. Mathurêśa's 'Nânârtha-Śabda', described as a 'dictionary of words having various meanings',[3] is but a component part of the 'Śabda-ratnâvalî'. Srî-Râma Tarkavâgîsa, popularly known as Râma Śarmâ, who must be distinguished from Râmacaraṇa Tarkavâgîśa, a commentator of the 'Sâhitya-darpana' (1700 A.D.),[4] wrote not only the commentary (ṭîkâ) on the Amara-Kôṣa, but also a ṭippanî, or gloss, on the same.[5] It is, no doubt, this Râma-Śarmâ, who composed the 'Kalpataru' (Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî Stavakas).[6] Since he is quoted by Durgâdâsa Vidyâvâgîśa (A.D. 1639) in his commentary on the 'Mugdhabôdha' grammar, he is supposed by Sir George A. Grierson to have probably flourished not later than the end of the sixteenth century.[7] But he might as well belong to the first quarter of the 17th century. Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâcâryya's commentary, or rather gloss, on the Amara-Kôṣa, is entitled 'Nâma-liṅgâkhya-Kaumudî'. A voluminous writer, he was originally an 'Udîcya' or 'Northerner', but had come to settle in Bengal, and he must carefully be distinguished, as has already been pointed out by the late M. M. Cakravarttî,[8] from Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâcâryya Cakravarttî, the logician. An account of his that appeared in the 'Navya-Bhârata'[9] is full of mistakes and confusions. He probably dates from the latter half of the 16th century. Gôpâla Cakravarttî's commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa[10] won very little distinction in comparison with that his commentary on the 'Caṇḍî' (Mârkaṇḍêya) did. He also commented upon the 'Saṁkṣipta-sâra' grammar of Kramadîśvara[11] as well as the 'Gîta-gôvinda' of Jayadêva.[12] In his commentary on the 'Caṇḍî' he traces his descent from one Hiraṇya, and gives himself out as belonging to the Gayaghara-Vandyaghaṭa family, and as the son of Durgâdâsa.

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1 Colebrooke, pp. 51-52; Wilson, p. 233; Mitra, II, No. 1105; Ind. Off. 1512.
2 Colebrooke, p. 52; Wilson, p. 233; Mitra, VII, p. 222.
3 Mitra, I, No. 354.
4 Colebrooke, op. cit., p. 62 footnote; S. K. De, pp. 239-40.
5 Mitra, VII, No. 2512.
6 Ed. G. A. Grierson.
7 Ind. Ant., 1927, p. 1.
8 J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 277.
9 1307 B.S., Śrâvaṇa, pp. 180-87.
10 Colebrooke, footnote, pp. 52-53.
11 Ibid., p. 43.
12 Mitra, VI, p. 292.

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He seems to belong to the 17th century, and must not be confounded with Gôpâla, the grandson of the celebrated Kṛṣṇânanda Agamavâgîśa.

Besides these, Raghunandana Śarmâ,[1] Lôkanâtha Śarmâ,[2] Râmêśvara Śârmâ,[3] Râmaprasâda Tarkâlaṅkâra,[4] Nârâyaṇa Cakravarttî,[5] Râmanâtha Cakravarttî,[6] Nârâyaṇa Vêdântavâgîśa,[7] Ratnêśvara Cakravarttî, and Śrîpati Cakravarttî,[8] wrote each a commentary on the lexicon of Amara. Raghunandana Śarmâ was the son of Śrîkṛṣna Bhaṭṭa, and his commentary is limited to the 'Manuṣyavarga' section of the text. It is difficult to make out if he is the same with Raghunandana Âcârya-Śirômani, the author of the Kalâpatatvârṇava.[9] Lokanâtha's commentary is entitled 'Padamañjarî'. Is he the same with Lôkanatha Cakravarttî, who commented upon the 'Chandômañjarî' of Kavi-Karṇapura, as also on several cantos of the Râmâyaṇa?[10] Râmêsvara Sarmâ's commentary is known as Pradîpa-mañjarî'. In the 'Viśvakôśa', edited by Mr. N. Vasu, he is designated as 'Râmêśvara Nyâyavâgîśa Bhaṭṭâcâryya.' I have got an incomplete commentary, entitled 'Vidvaddhârâvalî-ṭîkâ', by one Râmêśvara Śarmâ, who may be identical with him. 'Vaiṣamya-Kaumudî' is the title given to the commentary of Râmaprasâda Tarkâlankâra, who follows in it the grammatical system of Kalâpa, and 'Padârtha-Kaumudî' is that given to the commentary of Nârayâṇa Cakravarttî, who announces therein the date of the 'Gaṇita-Cûḍâmaṇi' of Śrînivâsa Bhaṭṭa, the guru of Vallâla-Sêna, as 1159-60 A.D.[11] He also compiled in Smṛti the 'Śântitatvâmṛtam'.[12] Ramânâtha Cakravarttî, who is a different person from Ramâkânta Cakravattî, the son of Madhusûdana Cakravarttî,[13] wrote besides the commentary on the Amara-Kôśa, a commentary on the Kâtantra grammar, in which his father's name is given as Vêdagarbha Tarkâcârya of the Vâyi family. Of the rest, nothing practically is known.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, there is a commentary

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[1] Ibid., p. 238.
[2] Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstrî, Second series, Vo. I, 1900, No. 10; also Ind. Off.
[3] Ind. Off.
[4] Colebrooke, footnote, pp. 52-53.
[5] Ibid., p. 52; Wilson, p. 207; Mitra, II, No. 922.
[6] Cat. by K. V. Nyâyabhûṣana, p. 12; also Ind. Off.
[7] Ind. Off.
[8] Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstrī, Vol. I, Cal., 1900, No. 7, and No. 8.
[9] Colebrooke, p. 42.
[10] Mitra, III, Nos. 1259–62.
[11] J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 334.
[12] Mitra, VII, p. 233.
[13] Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstrī, Second series, Vol. I, 1900, preface, p. viii, and No. 403.

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on the Amara-Kôṣa by one Nîlakaṇṭha Śarma[1], but in the absence of details, it is impossible to decide he was a Bengali or not.

In the group of far less noted commentators mentioned by Colebrooke, occur the names of Bhôlânâtha and Râmânanda.[2] The former, who also wrote a commentary on the 'Mugdhabôdha' grammar, appears from the name to be a Bengali, while the latter may be identical with Râmânanda Vâcaspati, alias Śrî-Râma Vâcaspati, who also composed a commentary on the 'Kâśî-khaṇḍa' of the Skanda-Purâṇa, and was a contemporary of Râjâ Kṛṣṇa-candra of Nadîyā.[3]

Lastly may be named the Amarârtha-candrikā, which is a Bengali commentary on the Amara-Kōṣa by Babu Prasanna Kumâra Śâstrî.

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[1] Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits, Sanscrits Et Palis De la Bibliothèque Nationale, par A. Cabaton, Paris, 1907-8, p. 100.

[2] Footnote, pp. 52-53.

[3] Nadîyâ Kâhiṇī, by Kumuda Nâtha Mallik, 1319 B.S., p. 135.

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# FURNITURE (II)

## [MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

*By* GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

The Amarakoṣa gives the following list of articles constituting domestic furniture: *upadhāna, pabarha* (pillow), *sayyā* (bed), *mañca, paryyaṅka, khaṭṭā* (bedstead), *pīthamāsana* (chair or stool), *samputaka* (casket), *paiadgraha* (spitoon), *dipa* (lamp), *prasādhani* (comb), *darpaṇa* (mirror), *vyajana* (fan).[1] *Hemachandra* adds *vetrāsana* (cane-bottomed seat) to the above list.[2]

The Yuktikalpataru[3] has interesting details about the construction of different types of household furniture. In it we have the description of such furniture as seats, royal and common (*viśeṣascātha sāmānyaṃ*), and bedsteads. The royal seat is no other than siṃhāsana (lit. lion-seat or throne). The description is as follows:—

**Siṃhāsana.**—There are eight types of siṃhāsana, viz. *padma, śaṅkha, gaja, haṃsa, siṃha, bhṛṅga, mṛga and haya* (351). The *padmasiṃhāsana* is to be made of *gambhāri* wood, and then decorated with lotus-garlands (artificially carved), its whole frame adorned with jewels, called *padmarāga*, and pure gold and mother of pearls; at the feet of it there are to be lotus buds out of which are to issue eight idols, each 12 aṅgulas in length. This *siṃhāsana* is to be adorned with nine kinds of new jewels and upholstered with new red cloth. By virtue of sitting there the king acquires prowess (356-359).[4]

The *śaṃkha-siṃhāsana* is made of *devadāru* wood adorned with *śaṃkha* (conch shell) garlands, its frame beautified by marks of *śaṃkha* and pure crystal and also with pure silver, with 27 idols at its feet issuing out of the navels of 27 śaṅkhas and covered with white cloth (360-361).

Similarly the six other types are made after similar patterns—all differently named on account of having at their feet idols issuing

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1 Ślokas 39–41, p. 174, Colebrook edition.

2 Abhidhāna Saṃgraha, p. 29.

3 *Loc. Cit.: Āsanayukti*, pp. 50–61 for details.

4 Cf. Vinaya, II, 149; IV, 40. Buddhaghosa thinks that the text refers to bedsteads with carved legs, especially when carved to represent animals' feet (*Vin. Texts*, III, 164).

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out of elephant's head, of swan, of lion, of lotus bud, of head of a deer and that of a horse. They are to be made respectively of the wood of Panasa, Śāla, Candana, Campaka, Nimba and Keśara [Keśare (be) ṇopaghaṭitaṃ], and covered respectively with red, yellow, blue and variegated cloth, and variously ornamented (362–376).

**Bedstead :** *Khaṭṭā* (bedstead) is so called on account of its being made of eight pieces of wood. The posts on which the bedstead stands are known as its *caraṇa* (feet), and its forepart is called *vyupadhāna*, its lower part is known as *nirupakaṃ* and its sides *āliṅganam* (382–84).

Both its sides are to be 4 cubits in length, its *vyupadhāna* and *nirupaka* are to be half of its length, and its four *caraṇa* are to be half of it again, i.e. altogether 16 cubits. This is why it (bedstead) is known as *sarvaṣoḍaśikā* (16 cubits in all), and it grants all desires (385-386). There are bedsteads of bigger size, productive of different results to their users. Thus khaṭṭās of 20 cubits in length, in all, guarantee wealth, abundance and victory to its user ; khaṭṭās of 24 cubits ensure freedom from all diseases ; of 30 cubits ensure fulfilment of all disires and so forth (387–396).

The king's bedstead is known as *śrisarvamaṅgalā*, i.e. conferor of all good ; if it be provided with a covering above, it is known as *sarvajayā*, i.e. bringer of all victories (394-95). There are eight kinds of royal bedstead in all, viz. *maṅgalā, vijayā, puṣṭi, kṣamā, tuṣṭi, sukhāsana, pracaṇḍā, and sārvatobhadra* (402).[1]

The two other types of bedsteads, according to the same authority, are *khaṭṭikā* and *mañca*. The khaṭṭikā is meant for comfort and pleasure and is to be covered with cloths of white, red and black colour (*khaṭṭikā sukhasambhūtāḥ, śuklaraktāsitāmbarāḥ* 381). The mañca is bigger, higher and longer, i.e. more spacious than the khaṭṭikā (*ekaikahasta vṛddhyā tu mañcānām iti lakṣaṇam*— 397).

Bedsteads are to be made of wood and metals. The Rāmāyaṇa has a description of the golden bedstead of Rāvana.[2] We have already seen how, according to Vātsyāyana, every citizen's sleeping-room used to be provided with two bedsteads, the more magnificent one being used for the purpose of sleep, and the humbler one (*pratiśayyikā*) for enjoyment. From the expression *sacchadanā*

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[1] Cf. Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Ch. 78 (Vol. II) ; Samarāṅgana Sūtradhar, Vol. I, Atha Śayanāsanalakṣanaṃ, 1–51, pp. 154–158. Baroda, 1924.

[2] जाम्बूनदमयान्येव शयनान्यासनानि च ।
भाजनानि च शुभ्राणि ददर्श हरियूथपः ॥ Sundarākāṇḍa, 6-41.

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occurring in the description of the *mañcakhaṭṭā* in the Yuktikalpataru (*iyaṃ yadā sacchadanā tadā*, etc.—395) it appears that each bedstead used to be provided with curtain poles.

Along with bedsteads the beds are also to be taken into consideration. Vātsyāyana regards laying of beds as a distinct art—*puṣpāstaraṇam, śayanaracanam.* Bed may be made up of flowers (cf. *phulsayyā* ceremony in connection with Hindu marriage celebrations), and bed may also be made with a view to the seasons and in accordance with the temperament of the persons, male and female, using them.[1] The Naiṣadha-carita speaks of the bed of King Nala as white and as graceful as the moon (*niśāca śayyāca śaśāṅkakomalā* 1-49). The Kādambari has :

कुसुमामोदवासित-प्रच्छदपटेन पट्टोपाधानाध्यासितग्रिरोभागेन, मनिमयप्रतिमादुका प्रतिष्ठापितपादेन,.....शयनेन ॥[2]

**Piṭha** (seats).—Seats are made of metal, stone and wood (*dhātupāṣāṇakāṣṭhaiśca*) in the manner described below. We are concerned only with the wooden seats here.

The seat made of the *gambhāri* wood is conducive to wealth and increase of happiness, and that made of *jāraka* destroys diseases and enemies of all happiness. The seat called *siddhi* ensures all-round success and victory over foes, and if the king is crowned on the seat known as *śubha* it is destructive of all enemies to wealth. And if the king's seat is made of *palāśa* wood, it means increase of both happiness and wealth ; if he uses the seat known as *jayā* for his coronation it brings good and the destruction of foes. If the king's coronation takes place on a seat of sandal wood, it brings happiness, victory, cure of diseases, and friendship. The effect of the royal seats made of *kāleyaka* and *jāraka* wood is precisely the same as that made of sandal wood ; if the coronation seat is made of the *vakula* wood it means victory, destruction of diseases and increase of happiness. Seats when made of fragrant wood, or wood with solid core, have the same effect as that made of *gambhāri* wood. Seats made of the fruitful trees, or of trees with solid core, or with core that is red have the same effect as the seats of *palāśa* wood (424-435).

If seats are made of prohibited wood like mango, *jambū*, *kadamba*, which have no solid core, or very little of it, are destructive of families (*vaṃśanāśanaṃ*) 437.

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[1] शयनीयस्य कालापेक्षया रक्तविरक्तमध्यस्थाभिप्रायादाधारपरिणतिवशाच्च रचनम्। Yaśodhara's Commentary : Kāmasūtra, Sādhāranamadhikaraṇam, iii, 14. (Mahesh Pal edition).

[2] Quoted in Prācinasilpaparicaya.

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Vātsyāyana mentions a type of revolving chair which is used while delivering lectures. It is called *pīṭhamarda, or mallikā-pīṭha* (*Kāmasūtra* III, iv, 15). It is also named *daṇḍāsaṇikā.*

स पीठमर्दं उपदेशदानेऽधिकृतः ।

तां मल्लिकाख्यं पीठं मृद्यतीति कृत्वा ॥

**Materials :** As for the materials out of which the furniture is to be made, the Bṛhatsaṃhitā refers to two classes of wood : auspicious and inauspicious (*śubha* and *aśubha*), and the details about the result following in the wake of particular types of auspicious wood are also given. Thus it says :—

Everybody needs, or feels the need of the science (*śāstraṃ śayanāsana lakṣanam*) dwelling on the attributes of (an ideal) bed, the king is in particular need of it ; hence these attributes are in detail noted below (1) .

Bedsteads, beds and seats if made out of the wood of *asana, spandana, candana, dāruharidrā, devadāru, tinduka, śāla, kāśmārī, añjana, padmaka, śāka* and *śiṃśapā*—they are conducive to welfare (2). The trees that have fallen down under the influence of thunderstorm, water, or wind, or by an elephant ; the trees wherein dwell bees, or birds ; or trees that are the principal ones in the village, or that grow in the cremation grounds, or by the wayside ; or the trees having their upper parts dried up,—all these are not propitious in yielding materials for bedsteads, seats, beds, etc. (3). Beds and seats when made out of the wood of thorny trees, or of trees growing near the confluence of rivers, or grown in grounds adjacent to temples, or of trees that fall down southwards or westwards,—are not conducive to human welfare (4). If one makes beds and seats out of the wood of prohibited trees, and use them, loss of family prestige, the danger of diseases, loss of wealth, quarrel, and various other troubles are sure to follow (5). If an entire bed is made out of the wood of *śriparṇa* tree it guarantees wealth, if out of *asana* tree it guarantees recovery from diseases, if out of the wood of *tinduka* tree it leads to the attainment of a variety of things (11). If a bedstead is made solely out of the *śiśu* wood it leads to the attainment of all-round prosperity, and if of sandal wood destruction of foes, attainment of piety, fame and longevity (12). A bedstead made out of the *padmaka* wood brings in its train longevity, wealth, learning, and material possessions ; and a bed made out of the wood of *śāla* and *śāka* trees guarantees welfare (13).

If the king sits upon a bedstead made solely of candana wood, and decorated with gold and a variety of jewels, he receives adoration from even the very gods (14). A bedstead made out of

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the wood of *tinduki* and *śiṃsapā* and joined to the wood of any other tree, is not conducive to welfare, nor is the bedstead made out of the wood of *śriparṇi*, *davadāru*, and *asana* wood joined to that of any other tree (15). If bedsteads are made out of the wood of *śāka* and *śāla* tree, either separately or jointly, it guarantees welfare. The same holds true of bedstead made in the similar fashion out of the wood of *dāruharidrā* and *kadamba* trees (16). Bedstead of the *spandana* wood proves fatal, consequently, it is not good, and bedstead made of *asana* timber jointly with wood of others is pregnant with a variety of dangerous consequences (17). The foot of a bedstead is preferably to be made out of the wood of mango, *spandana*, *tiniśa*, or candana trees, but that made of *spandana* wood is good ; and seats and beds prepared out of the wood of fruitful trees are always full of good results (18). Tusks of elephants joined to the types of wood mentioned above, when used while making bedsteads, always guarantee welfare. This is why one should decorate bedsteads with elephant's tusks (19). A bedstead when made of the wood of a single tree is propitious, when out of the wood of two trees it is exceedingly so, when out of that of three trees it leads to increase of children, and when out of four it leads to the attainment of things and great fame (38).

A man who sleeps upon a bedstead made out of the wood of five trees is sure to die, and a bedstead of the wood of six, seven or eight trees spells ruin to the whole family (39)[1].

**Fans :** We cannot conclude our description of furniture without noticing the fans that have been in use in India from time immemorial. The objects are to relieve the effects of heat, sweating, thirst, fainting and excess of fatigue (*mūrcchādāhatṛṣṇāgharmaśramanāśitvam*). According to the Suśruta Saṃhitā 'fanning with chowris' (*vāla vyajana*) is refreshing and keeps off flies and mosquitoes, while fanning (with ordinary fans) arrests perspiration, removes the sense of fatigue and fainting fits and alleviates the burning, scorching and parched sensation.[2]

The materials out of which the fans are made, are cloth, cane, bamboo, peacock feather and palm leaf. Of the effects of fans made of different materials it is noted by the Bhāvaprakāśa that the fan-palm relieves or removes rheumatism and the evils of the

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[1] Ch. 78, 1–39, Vol. II, pp. 973–983. For 'wood arts' in India, see 'Dārusilpa in India'—Kedar Nath Chatterjee, Prabāsi, āṣāḍha, 1334 B.S., pp. 418–429.

[2] वालव्यजनमौशस्यं मचिकादीनपोहति ।
शोषदाहश्रमस्वेद-मूर्च्छाघ्नो व्यजनानिलः ॥ S.S. IV, xxiv, 82.

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excess of the humours ; bamboo fans mitigate the effect of *raktapitta*.[1] In the following text from the Rajavallabha virtues and merits of different kinds of fan are described. Fan-palm overcomes disturbances of all the three humours, and is light and agreeable ; bamboo causes heat and irritability and promotes inordinate secretion of the airy and bilious humours ; cane, cloth and peacock feather overcome disturbances of the three humours, and the hair fan is invigorating, and also it keeps off flies, etc.

तालव्यजनगुणः । त्रिदोषशमनत्वं । लघुत्वञ्च । वंशव्यजनगुणः । रूक्षत्वं । उष्णत्वं । वायुपित्तकारित्वञ्च । वेत्रवस्त्रमयूरपुच्छव्यजनगुणः । त्रिदोषनाशित्वं । वालव्यजनगुणः । तेजस्करत्वं । मक्षिकादिनिवारकत्वञ्च ॥[2]

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[1] व्यजनस्यानिलोदाह स्वेदमूर्च्छाश्रमापहः ।
तालवृन्तो भवो वातस्त्रिदोषशमको मतः ।
वंशव्यजनो जन्तुष्णो रक्तपित्तप्रकोपनः ॥ I, i. See Indo-Aryan I, p. 262.

[2] Quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. VI, p. 4600.

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# CONVEYANCES

## [MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

*By* GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

The Indian word *yāna* is employed to denote all means of transport (*yāti anena*),—transport by land, sea or air. According to the Ṭikā of the Amarakoṣa, 'the *yāna* is that by which the goods are carried, conveyed and transported from one place to another'.[1] Broadly speaking, the *yāna* includes all vehicles and conveyances for carrying men, animals and goods and the auxiliary means thereof. In other words the sense of *yāna* is not complete without that of *vāhana*. Buddhaghosa in explaining *yānada* suggests: 'the word *yānada* means a donor of elephants, horses, chariots and such other means of conveyance and locomotion. He who mends the road, levels it up, constructs a bridge or provides a ferry deserves indeed to be called a *yānada*'.[2] Thus with Buddhaghosa the word *yāna* carries with it not only the idea of vehicles and conveyances but also that of such accessories as roads, bridges and ferries. In other words, the Pali Scholiast explains *yāna* as meaning both the means of conveyance and that of locomotion. As an accessory to locomotion, the shoes and sandals (*upāhanā*) are classed in Pali under *yāna*, and consistently a shoemaker (*carmakāra*) is called *rathakāra*. The suggested test of quality of *yāna* lies in their fitness to provide ease, comfort and safety[3].

The Mahāniddesa speaks of *six* kinds of *yāna* (animal vehicles), viz., hatthi (elephant), go (bullock), aja (goats), meṇḍaka (ram), oṭṭha (camel), and khara (donkey)[4], used for riding purposes[5] and

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[1] 'Vahanti nayanti deśāddeśāntaraṁ prāpayanti dravyam anena. Vāhayanti vā vāherṇyantāt lyaṭi vāhanaṁ'.—Kṣatriya Varga, 58, p. 436, Chandramohan Tarkaratna ed., Calcutta, 1886.

[2] 'Yānado ti hatthiyānādīnaṁ dāyako.....yo ca maggaṁ sodheti nisseṇiṁ karoti setuṁ karoti nāvaṁ paṭiyādeti sabbo pi yānado va hoti',—Sārattha-pakāsinī, Siamese ed., i, pp. 100-101.

[3] 'Yāna sukhāvahanto sukhodo nāma hoti'; *ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

[4] Cf. Petavatthu $20^8=43^8$; Jāt. VI, 355, where it is said that *assatari* used to draw a *ratha*.

[5] Cf. हस्त्यश्वरथदोलाद्यैर्धर्मणं वातकोपनम् ।
स्थिरीकरणमङ्गानां वर्त्म वज्रविवर्जनं ॥ राजवल्लभः

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as beasts of burden and drawers of carriages[1]. In the Milinda Pañha, on the other hand, the *yāna* includes a trained elephant, riding horse, a bullock cart, on land a land vehicle, on water a water vehicle, in heaven a vehicle of the gods, and on earth one that man can use[2]. To the same effect Buddhaghosa in explaining *yāna-sannidhi* (storage of *yānas*) suggests: yāṇaṁ nāma vayhaṁ, ratho sakaṭaṁ sandamānika paḷankī ti. Na panetaṁ pabbajitassa yānam, upāhanā yānam pana.[3]

The Yuktikalpataru divides the conveyances into *five* kinds, viz., (1) *catuṣpadam*—those consisting of quadrupeds, or those drawn by such animals as elephants and horses; (2) *dvipadam*—those consisting of men, or those carried on men's shoulders, e.g., *dolā*, palanquin, and the rest; (3) *vipadam*—footless, those consisting of boats, ships and rafts; (4) *bahupādakam*—those consisting of chariots and such other many-footed vehicles, and (5) *vyomayānam*—ærial conveyances[4].

Here we are concerned only with those conveyances or means of transport by land, water or air in respect to which men are largely dependent on plants.

## I. Means of Transport by Land

Transport by land was carried on in chariots, carts, and waggons. Chariots were of primitive use in India, they being mentioned in the Vedas[5]. The Ṛgveda tells us of *three* kinds of chariots, namely, *ratha, syandana*[6] and the bridal chariot[7]. As described there a chariot had one wheel[8], or two or more wheels[9], the axle (*akṣa*) was made of *arāti* wood[10]; the chariots had three seats each. They were

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[1] *Loc. cit*, 145 (on Suttanipāta 816).

[2] *Loc. cit*, IV, 8. 3.—hatthiyānaṁ assayānaṁ thale thalayānaṁ jale jalayānaṁ devesu devayānaṁ manussesu manussayānaṁ etc.

[3] Dīgha Nikāya, I, 6; Dīgha N. Comm. I, 82.

[4] चतुष्पदञ्च द्विपदं विपदम्बहुपादकम्।
चतुर्विधमिदोदिष्टं यानं भूमिभुजो मतम् ॥ ४८
गजाश्वादि चतुष्पादं दोलादि द्विपदम्भवेत्।
नौकाद्यं विपदं ज्ञेयं रथाद्यं बहुपादकम् ॥ ४९
व्योमयानं विमानं वा पूर्व्वमासीन्महौभुजाम्।
यथानुगुण-सम्पन्नानेतानाहुः सुखप्रदान् ॥ ५० ॥ इत्थ यानम्। p. 7, Cal. ed. 1917.

[5] R.V., i, 20, 3; iii, 15, 5; iv, 4, 10; 16, 20; 36, 2; etc; A.V., v, 14, 5; x, 1, 8; Ait. Brāh., vii, 12. 3; etc. For details see Vedic Index, II, pp. 201–203.

[6] R.V., iii, 53, 19.

[7] R.V., x, 85, 20.

[8] R.V., i, 164, 4.

[9] R.V., i, 130, 9; 155, 6; 164, 2, 11, 13; iv, 1, 3; etc.

[10] R.V., viii, 46, 27.

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drawn by horses—two, four, five, seven or more[1], by oxen, ass[2], mule[3], who were controlled by reins and urged on by whip (*kaśā*) by a *Sārathi*[4]. A few of the relevant tests are quoted here :

'Come Aswins, with your three columned triangular car'—I, 47,2.

'May your elegant and rich car, swift as a hawk, come, Aswins, to our presence'—I, 118, 1.

'Come to us, with your tri-columner, triangular, three wheeled and well constructed car'—I, 118, 2.

'We have placed you, Dasras, in your golden, three shafted chariot . . . . . '—I, 139, 4.

'Showerers of benefits, harness the car which has three benches, three wheels, . . . . . '—I, 183, 1.

'. . . . . like a hostile chariot (cf. battle of chariots in ix, 91, 1) (going round) all the regions (of the battle field)'—IX, 94. 3.

'Ascend Surya, the chariot made of good *kiṁśuka* wood and of *śālmali*, multiform, decorated with gold, well covered, well wheeled, . . . . . '[5]—X, 85, 20.

The Arthaśāstra mentions *six* types of chariots, namely, *devaratha* (chariots for gods), *puṣyaratha* (festal chariots), *saṁgrāmika* (battle chariots), *pāryānika* (travelling chariots), *parapurabhiyānika* (chariots used in assailing an enemy's strongholds), and *vainayika* (training chariots)[6].

Hemchandra also in his vocabulary mentions *syandana* for battles, *puṣyaratha*[7] for pleasure trips, *marudratha* for gods, *yogyaratha* for high officials like magistrates, *parighātika* for travelling, *karṇī* for fighting and *rathagarbhaka* for ascending in air.[8]

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1 R.V., i. 164. 4 ; Śat. Brāh., v, 1, 4, 6 ; 4, 3, 8 ; ix, 4, 2, 11.

2 Ait, Brāh., iv, 9, 4.

3 Ait Brāh., iv, 9, 1 ; Chānd. Up., iv, 2, 1 ; v, 13, 2.

4 R.V., i, 55, 7 ; 144, 3 ; ii, 19, 6 ; vi, 20, 5 ; 57, 6 ; x, 102. 6 ; A.V., xv, 2, 1.

5 English translations—Wilson ed.

6 *Loc. cit.*, Bk II, Ch. 33, 139 : The Supdt. of Chariots. Eng. transl., pp. 175-176.

7 Cf. phussaratha (state carriage), Jāt., III, 238 ; VI, 30, sq.

8 युद्धार्थे चक्रवद्युद्धे शताङ्गः स्यन्दनो रथः ।
संक्रीडार्थः पुष्यरथो देवार्थस्तु मरुद्रथः ॥
योग्यो रथो वैनयिकोऽध्वरथः परिघातिकः ।
कर्णीरथः प्रहरणं ज्ञयनं रथगर्भकः ॥
चलन्तु शकटोऽथ स्याद्गन्त्री कम्बलिवाह्यकं ।
अथ काम्बलवस्त्राद्यास्तैस्तै: परिष्कृते रथे ॥ हेमचन्द्र ।

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Amarsiṁha refers also to same kinds of chariots : (*yāne cakrini yuddhārthe*) *śatāṁgaḥ syandano rathaḥ* (a war chariot), *puṣparatha* (any other car for travelling), *karṇīratha, pravahanam* (a covered car for the conveyance of women), *śakaṭaḥ, gantrī* (a carriage drawn by oxen), *śīvikā, pālki, dolā, preñkhā* (a litter)[1].

The Milinda Pañha gives us a detailed list of the different parts of a *ratha*. They are : *īsa* (pole—A. IV, 191), *akkha* (axle), *cakka* (wheels—Vism. 238, Petavatthu Comm. 65), *rathapañjara* (frame work, body—V. Vatthu 83, Jāt. II, 172 ; IV, 60 ; Dham. Comm. I, 28), *rathadaṇḍaka* (ole), *yuga* (yoke—Jāt. VI, 42), *rasmiyo* (reins), *pataḍolaṭṭhi* (goad) and *attharaṇa* (cover or a rug for a chariot—Dig. N. I, 7 ; Vin. I, 192 ; II, 163).[2] We also learn from other Buddhist texts that the *ratha* used to be kept in a *rathaśālā* (cart-shed—Dham. Comm. iii, 121), and there were *rathakāras* (car-builders, shoe-makers—Vin. IV, 9), the chariot fighters were called *rathikas* (Majjhima I, 397).

Description of a typical chariot is to be found in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa[3] which runs thus : ' It was a most excellent car, made of gold, mounted with mirrors, made of crystals, covered over with jewels, furnished with posts made of precious jewels, having white *yak*-tail *chauris* hanging from different places, lined with cotton pure as fire, bedecked with garlands of Pārijāta flowers, mounted on a hundred uniform wheels quick moving like thought and most charming ' [3].

Another description also runs thus : ' The posts should be made of ivory mounted with showy golden ornaments, and set with rubies and other jewels. The car of the goddess should have seven

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[1] Amarakoṣa, Kṣatriya Varga, 51–53 ; Colebrook ed. Bk. II, Ch. viii, sec ii, p. 204.

[2] ' Kin nu kho mahārāja īsā-akkho-cakka-rathapañjara-rathadaṇḍayuga-rasmi-patodaṁ ratho ti ? Īsañca paṭicca akkhañca paṭicca cakkaṁca paṭicca rathapañjarañ ca paṭicca rathadaṇḍakañ ca paṭicca ratho ti saṅkhā,' etc. p. 27.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, Srikrishnajanma Khanda, Ch. 18 :

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे तत्र शातकुम्भरथं वरं ।

× × × × × × ॥

रत्नदर्पणसंयुक्तं रत्नसारपरिच्छदं ।

रत्नस्तम्भैर्निबद्धञ्च सद्रत्नकलसोज्ज्वलं ॥

श्वेतचामरसंयुक्तं वह्निशुद्धांशुकान्वितं ।

पारिजातप्रसूनानां माल्यजालविराजितं ॥

शतचक्रसमायुक्तं मनोयायि मनोहरं ॥ Quoted in Sabdakalpaduma.

Eng. translation. Indo Aryan, I, p. 345.

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magnificent storeys, with curtains of silk cloth, and mountings of crescents, and decorated with bells, large and small, gongs, *chāmaras*, rings, pennons, flags and looking-glasses. Such a car should first be worshipped, Indra, with flowers of the jasmine tribe, and the *pārijāta*, with agallochum and sandal paste, with the aroma of fragrant pastiles, and then the image of the goddess should be placed in it.'[1]

Chariots constituted a department of military defence like the cavalry and the navy. A reference is made to this department by Megasthenes and a detailed description is given in the Arthaśāstra. From the Vedic to the Maurya is a long period of time. Throughout the whole of this intervening period there must have been plenty of fighting in ancient India in which chariots were certainly used as a means of conveyance.[2] They were, so to say, the ancient counter parts of military motors, armoured cars, etc. The human heroes, gods and goddesses, both of history and legend, are described as using chariots both for civil and military purposes. (Cf. the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata). Rajyavardhana, elder brother and predecessor of Harshavardhana, is credited as the first Hindu ruler who dispensed with the use of chariots in battles. It now exists as a sacred relic used in connection with the great Car-festival at Puri and other places.

The Amarakoṣa gives the following number of chariots of a complete brigade: every *vāhinī* (battalion) of 405 soldiers in-

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[1] Devipurāṇa; Rathayātrāvidhi māhātmyam, Ch. 39. Eng. transl. Indo Aryan, I, p. 345. The text runs thus:

दन्तिदन्तमयैर्दण्डैर्हेमवद्भैः सुशोभनैः ;
विचित्रपद्मरागाद्यैर्मणिभिश्चोपशोभितैः ॥
रथन्तैः कारयेद्देव्याः सप्तभौमं मनोरमं ।
दुकूलवस्त्रसञ्छन्नमर्द्धचन्द्रोपशोभितं ॥
घण्टाकिङ्किणिशब्दाढ्यं चामरैः कटकान्वितं ।
पताकाध्वजशोभाढ्यं दर्पणैश्चोपशोभितं ॥
तं रथं पूजयेच्चक्र जातीकुसुममल्लिकैः ।
पारिजातकपुष्पैश्च यत्नकर्दमचन्दनैः ॥
सुगन्धधूपितैः कृत्वा देवीं तत्र निवेशयेत् ॥

For different types of gods' chariots, see Kūrmapurāṇa, Chs. 38 & 40.

[2] Cf. battles of Kurukṣetra, that of Poros against Alexander; (V. Smith's Hist. for illustration of the battle-field); Dhana Nanda, Emperor of Magadha, had 2,000 war chariots (Diod. xvii, 93; Curtius, ix, 2; Plutarch Alex. 62—quoted in Buddhist India, p. 267).

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cludes 81 cars and 243 horses; three such *vāhinīs* form a *pṛtanā*; 3 *pṛtanās* a *camū*, 3 *camūs* constitute an *anīkinī* and 10 such *anīkinīs* an *akṣauhiṇi*, or a complete brigade thus includes 21,870 cars, the same number of elephants, 65,610 horses, and 10,09,350 foot soldiers.[1]

We have already seen that besides chariots, waggons, palanquin, dolā, etc, also come under land vehicles, or as means of transport by land. They are still in use among the Indians. The waggons are next in importance to the chariots. They are called *śakaṭa* in Pali[2] and Sanskrit. Throughout the Ṛgveda and other Vedic literature we find waggons being used as a means of bringing harvest from the field. But Buddhist literature of the 6th century B.C. is full of references about merchants conveying their goods and merchandise right across the country in carts drawn by bullocks, travelling in caravans. These caravans, long line of two-wheeled bullock carts, as many as 500 in number, were a distinctive feature of the times (see Jātaka stories). There were cart-ferries (*nāvā-tittha*) for crossing large rivers (Jāt. III, 230), and land-pilots (*thala-niyāmaka*,) to pilot the caravans across the desert in safety. (Jāt, Fausböll, no 2). In the description of a *śakaṭa* in the Milinda Pañha (IV, 6, 6,) we get such terms as nave of the wheel, its spokes and the circumference, and the axle-tree[3]. Like chariots waggons were also used to be employed during battles, and the waggon array was known as *śakata-vyūha* (Jāt., II, 404 ; IV, 343 ; Vism. p. 384).

## II. Means of Transport by Water

Under this heading come ships, boats and canoes. In the Vedic texts we find mention of *nāu*[4] (ships), and *plava*[5] (boats). A few relevant texts from the Ṛgveda are quoted here :

'. . . as (merchants) covetous of gain crowd the ocean (in vessels), on a voyage '—I, 56, 2.

' . . . as those who are desirous of wealth (send ships) to sea '—I, 58. 3.

' . . . sailing in a hundred oared ship '—I. 116, 5.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, War chariots, II, viii, 2, 46, p. 210—Colebrook ed.; see also Indo Aryan, I, p. 350.

[2] Śakaṭa—cart, waggon; Dīgha N., II, 110, 234; Vin. III, 114; Jāt. I, 191; Jāt II, 296; Miln. 238; Petavatthu Comm. 102.

[3] 'Nābhi pi tassa phaleyya, arā pi tassa bhijjeyyuṁ, nemī pi tassa opateyya, akkho pi tassa bhijjeyyā ti'. Cf. also Vessantara Dilemma I, 173 (IV, 1, 37).—Rhys Davids and Stede.

[4] R.V., i, 31, 2 ; ii, 39, 4 ; viii, 42, 3 ; 83, 3 ; A.V., ii, 36, 5 ; V, 19, 8.

[5] R.V., i, 182, 5 ; A.V., xii, 2, 48. Eng. transls. are from Wilson's edition.

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'. . . you constructed a pleasant, substantial, winged bark, borne on the ocean waters for the son of Tugra. . . .' —I, 182, 5.

Carpentry, at that early age, was a regular profession. They (carpenters) made chariots, boats, waggons, etc. They were called *tvaṣṭr* (R.V., X, 119, 5). It is mentioned in the Ṛgveda (IX, 112, 1) that various are the occupations of men: the carpenter desires timber, the physician disease, and so on.

Coming to Buddhist literature, we come across, innumerable references to ships, boats, etc., and navigation. In the Dīgha Nikāya (I, 222, Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 283), and Aṅguttara (3, 368), we hear of sea voyages out of sight of land. In later documents, such as the Jātakas, the mention of such voyages is frequent. In the earlier Saṁyuttas, we find mention of voyages lasting over six months made in *nāvā*. 'The later texts[1] of the 3rd century B.C. speak of voyages down the Ganges, from Benares to the mouth of the river and thence across the Indian Ocean to the opposite coast of Burma, and even from Bharukaccha round Cape Comorin to the same destination'[2].

From the Milinda Pañha[3] we get the following information about the ship (*nāvā*), the pilot (*niyyāmako*), the sailor (*kammakaro*) and the port (*nāvā-sañcaraṇa*):

> The ship—it conveys many folk across (*nāvā bahuvidha-dāru-saṅghāta-samavāyena bahuṁ pi janaṁ tārayati*); can bear the onslaught of various thundering waves, etc. (*nāvā bahuvidha-umi-ṭṭhanita-vegavisaṭa-m-āvaṭṭavegaṁ sahati*); and journeys over a perilous sea[4] (*nāvā aparimita-m-ananta-m-apāram-akkhobhita-gambhīre mahatimahā-ghose timi-timingala-makara-maccha-gaṇākule mahatima-hāsamudde carati*).[5]

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[1] Benares to Burma (Jāt. IV, 15–17); Champā to Burma (Jāt. vi, 32–35); journey to Babylon (Jāt. III, 126, 189); traffic with China first mentioned in the Milinda (pp. 127, 327 and 359).

[2] Buddhist India pp. 95-96.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, S.B.E. Vols. 35 and 36; Original text—edited by V. Trenckner.

[4] Cf. Divyavadāna, p. 228ff; Avadānakalpalatā, No. 89; Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XXXIV, 2. For description of the Bharhut Sculpture, see Barua—Barhut Jātaka Scenes, pp. 78–80.

[5] Milinda, vii, 2, 8; cf. also Vin. III, 49; Saṁyutta, I, 106 (*eka-rukkhikā*), III, 155=A, iv, 127 (*Samuddika*—a 'liner'); Aṅg, II, 200; III, 368; Jāt. I, 239; II, 112; III, 126; 188; IV, 2, 21, 138; V, 75 (with 500 passengers), VI, 160 (nāvyā-canal ?); Miln. 261 (100 cubits long), etc. etc.

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The pilot—He should test a shore he has not yet arrived at and so guide the ship[1]; he puts a seal on the steering apparatus lest any one should touch it.[2]
The sailor—he is not lazy, he zealously navigates his ship.[3]
The port, i.e., the place for the traffic of boats.[4]

By the fourth century B.C. it seems that transportation and means of conveyance were much better and more advanced than ever before, probably because the foundation of a strong central government needed these things both for civil and military purposes. Navy was a regular department of the Government, supervisors regulated traffic. It can easily be conjectured that Chandra Gupta with his vast military forces scattered over his whole empire required a large number of boats, waggons as well as chariots for transportation of troops in case of need. We are told in the Arthaśāstra with regard to the naval force: It was under the Nāvādhyakṣa, the naval force was considerable and the Superintendent of ships had to perform multifarious duties. The State maintained both big sails (*mahānāvaḥ*) controlled by captains (*śāsakaḥ*), steersmen (*niyāmakaḥ*), and expert keeper of the sail and rigging; and small boats (*kṣudrakaḥ*). The Officials and the Nāvādhyakṣa had not only to protect the coastal regions, or rivers from enemies, or to put down piracy (*himsṛka nirghātayet*), but they were also in charge of administering the maritime and waterway regulations and those relating to markets and harbours' (*paṭṭanadhyakṣanivandham paṇya paṭṭanacāritram*).[5]

There is a significant passage in the Arthaśāstra, namely, 'they (the villagers living on the banks of rivers) shall provide themselves with wooden planks, bamboos and boats. They shall by means of bottle-gourds, canoes, trunks of trees, or boats rescue persons that are being carried off by floods. Persons neglecting rescue

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[1] 'Niyyāmako rattindivaṁ satataṁ samitaṁ appamatto yattapayatto nāvaṁ sāreti,' etc. p. 378; S.B.E. 35, p. 272.

[2] 'Niyyāmakassa yaṁ kiñci mahāsamudde kalyāṇaṁ vā pāpakaṁ vā sabban taṁ viditaṁ hoti; niyyāmako yante muddikaṁ deti: mā koci yantaṁ āmasitthā ti, p. 379; S.B.E. Vol. 36, p. 301.

[3] 'Kammakaro-bhaṭako ahaṁ, imāya nāvāya kammaṁ karomi, imāyāhaṁ nāvāya vāhasā bhattavetanaṁ labhāmi, na me pamādo karaṇīyo, appamādena me ayaṁ nāvā vahetabbā ti'-p. 379.

[4] 'Yathā mahārāja sadhano nāviko paṭṭane suṭṭhu katasuṅko mahāsamuddaṁ pavisitvā Vangaṁ Takkolaṁ Cīnaṁ Soviraṁ Suraṭṭhaṁ Alasandaṁ Kolapaṭṭanaṁ Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ gacchati aññam-pi yaṁ kiñci nāvāsañcaraṇaṁ evaṁ eva', etc. Milinda 359.

[5] Bk. II, Ch. xxvii, 126–128; Eng. transl. pp. 156–159. See, also for details Kauṭilya—Narayan Banerjee, pp. 187 sqq.

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with the exception of those who have no boats, etc., shall be fined 12 panas'[1].

The author of the Yuktikalpataru[2] divides *Vipada yānaṁ* (footless, water conveyances) into *two* classes, namely, *sāmānya* (ordinary) and *viśeṣa* (special). On the basis of measurement *Sāmānya* boats are again divided into *ten* subdivisions, viz., *kṣudrā, madhyamā, bhīmā, capalā, paṭalā, abhayā, dīrghā, patrapuṭā, garbharā* and *mantharā*; of these *ten* the first *four* were for inland purposes, and the others were oceanic (*tāsāmevāmbudhau gatiḥ*)—92–95.

On the basis of their bottom being covered with copper plate or with iron plate *Viśeṣa* boats (ships) were classed into two types, namely, *dīrghā*, and *unnatā; dīrghā* again was divided into *ten* subclasses, viz., *dīrghikā, taraṇi, lolā, gatvarā, gāminī, tarī, janghālā, plāvinī, dhāriṇī* and *veginī*[3].

Then we have boats with cabins (*sagṛhā*) and without cabins, differently named on the basis of the position of the cabin in the front (forepart), rear, or the whole of it (*sarvamadhyāgramandirāḥ*). The first was meant for kings and queens, the second for the use of the sovereigns during the rainy season, and the third for military expedition[4]. These cabins were used to be made of woods and metals, the former being conducive to happiness and prosperity, the latter giving pleasure and ease[5].

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, Bk. IV, Ch. iii; Eng. transl. p. 262; cf. Yuktikalpataru, *Atha Jaghanyajalayānāni* which include —*droṇī, ghaṭī, phalayānaṁ* (tumbī, etc.), *carmayānaṁ, vṛkṣayānam*, and *jantuyānaṁ*.—pp. 229-230.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, *Atha Yānam*, p. 7. (Cal. 1917).

[3] लौहताम्रादिपत्रेण काष्ठलोष्ठेन वा तथा।
दीर्घा चैवोन्नता चेति विशेषे द्विविधा भिदा ॥ ९९ ॥
दीर्घिका तरणिर्लोला गत्वरा गामिनी तरिः।
जङ्घाला प्लाविनी चैव धारिणी वेगिनी तथा ॥

[4] Both the Manu Saṁhitā and the Raghuvaṁsa refer to boats used in war, thus:

स्यन्दनाश्वैः समे युद्धेदनूपे नौद्विपैस्तथा ॥ Manu, vii, 192.

वङ्गा नुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौ सविनोद्यताम्।
निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गङ्गास्रोतोऽन्तरेषु सः ॥ Raghu, iv, 36.

Cf. Veda—दुर्गाणि विश्वा नावेव सिन्धुम् ॥ Quoted in the Yuktikalpataru.

[5] सप्तधा त्रिविधा प्रोक्ता सर्व्वमध्याग्रमन्दिरा ॥ २०
सर्व्वतो मन्दिरं यच्च सा ज्ञेया सर्व्वमन्दिरा।
राज्ञां केशाश्वनारीणां यानमेव प्रशस्यते ॥ २१

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Boats as a pleasant means of conveyance reached a finished perfection by the time Kālidāsa's immortal epic, the Raghuvaṁśa, was composed, for we are told therein of a seven storied boat used for pleasant trips. Thus :

स नौविमानादवतीर्य रेमे विलोलहारः सहताभिरम्भु ॥ XVI । ६८

We are told in the Mahābhārata of ships driven by machine. Whether the fact belongs to history or to legend is a moot point to decide. The vividness of description surely deserves more than a passing notice.

The requisite passage runs thus :

ततः स प्रेषितो विद्वान् विदुरेण नरस्तदा ।
पार्थान् सन्दर्शयामास मनोमारुतगामिनीम् ॥ ५ ॥
सर्ववातसहां नावं यन्त्रयुक्तां पताकिणीम् ।
शिवे भागीरथीतीरे नरैर्विश्वासिभिः कृताम् ॥ ६ ॥ Māhā. I, 143.

The Yuktikalpataru also gives us the types of wood out of which ships and country boats were used to be made together with the effects following on the employment of each :

' According to the Vṛkṣāyurveda there are four kinds of timber : the first, or the Brahmana, class comprises wood that is light and soft and can be easily joined to any other kind of wood ; the second, or the Kṣatriya, class of wood is light and hard and cannot be joined to any other classes ; the wood that is soft and heavy belongs to the third, or the Vaiśya class ; while the fourth, or the Sūdra, class of wood is characterized by both hardness and heaviness. There may also be distinguished wood of the mixed (*dvijāti*) class in which are blended properties of two classes. According to Bhoja, a ship built of the *Kṣatriya* class of wood brings wealth and happiness. It is these ships that are to be used as means of communication where the communication is difficult owing to vast water. Ships on the other hand which are made of timbers of different classes possessing contrary properties are of no good and not at all comfortable. They do not last for a long time, they soon rot in water, and

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मध्यतो मन्दिरं यत्र सा ज्ञेया मध्यमन्दिरा ।
राज्ञां विलासु यात्रादि(त्रं) वर्षासु च प्रशस्यते ॥ ११
अग्रतो मन्दिरं यत्र सा ज्ञेया अग्रमन्दिरा ॥
चिरप्रवास यात्रायां रणे काले घनात्यये ।
मन्दिर(रा)भानं नौका प्रसरत्न एवार्द्ध भागतो न्यूनम् ॥ १२

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they are liable to split at the slightest shock and to sink down.[1] Care should be taken that no iron is used in holding or joining together the planks of bottoms intended to be sea-going vessels, for the iron will inevitably expose them to the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea, or bring them within a magnetic field and so lead them to risks. Hence the planks of bottoms are to be fitted together, or mortised by means of substances other than iron '[2].

As to the materials out of which country boats were used to be made we have the testimony of Herodotus and others who tell us that a kind of reeds was used by the Indians for their construction. According to him (iii, 98) one section of this reed would make a boat. Ktesias (66) also notes this unusual reed. Diodoros mentions of a king of India who built 4,000 boats of reeds which grew about the rivers. Pliny (vii. C(2), and xvi, C(37) 65) speaks of this reed as of so prodigious a length that sections between two . . . . can make a canoe, capable in some instances of holding three men. He says that this reed was used in their temples. The plants were distinguished into male and female and had short leaves. Dr. Bale says that this plant might be either a cocoanut, the date palm or the palmyra palm[3]. But it appears from the above description that the reeds in question refer to toddy palm which are even now used as canoes in lower Bengal.

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[1] Cf. Milinda Pañha (IV, 2, 32) where it is said that 'a ship pieced together with timber of all sorts is broken up by the force of the violence of the waves' (nāvā pi nānādārusanghaṭitā ūmivegasampahārena bhijjati)—S.B.E. 35, p. 227.

[2] लघु यत् कोमलं काष्ठं सुघटं ब्रह्मजाति तत् ।
दृढाङ्गं लघु यत् काष्ठमघटं क्षत्रजाति तत् ॥ ८४
कोमलं गुरु यत् काष्ठं वैश्यजाति तदुच्यते ।
दृढाङ्गं गुरु यत् काष्ठं शूद्रजाति तदुच्यते ।
लक्षणद्वययोगेन द्विजातिः काष्ठसंग्रहः ॥ ८५
क्षत्रियकाष्ठैर्घटिता भोजमते सुखसम्पदं नौका ।
अन्ये लघुभिः सुदृढैः विदधति जलदुर्व्यदे नौकाम् ॥ ८६
विभिन्नजातिद्वयकाष्ठजाता न श्रेयसे नापि सुखाय नौका ।
नैषा चिरं तिष्ठति पच्यते च विभिद्यते वारिधि मज्जते च ॥ ८७
न सिन्धुगाद्यार्हति लौहबन्धं, तल्लोह-कान्तैः ह्रियते हि लौहम् ।
विपद्यते तेन जलेषु नौका ; गुणेन बन्धं निजगाद भोजः ॥ ८८, p. 224.

English translation from Indian Shipping—Mookerjee, pp. 20-21.

[3] Proc. Roy. Irish Aca., 2nd Series, Vol. II, 6, pp. 201–203.

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Strabo refers to the existence of pine, fir, cedar, oak, pitch-pine and various other trees as timber employed by the Indians for ship building[1].

The Amarakoṣa gives us almost a complete list of the accessories of a boat: *uḍupa, plava, kola* (a raft or float), *kupaka, guṇavṛkṣaka* (the mast)[2], *kṣepaṇi* (the oar), *aritra, kenipātaka* (the rudder), *abhri, kāṣṭhakuddāla* (a scraper, or shovel), and *secana* (bucket).[3]

## III. Means of Transport through Air

The Yuktikalpataru[4] distinctly includes the flying conveyances (*vyomayāna, vimāna*) in the list of *five* kinds of vehicles. The Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra[5], ascribed to king Bhoja, speaks of two varieties of flying machines : one meant for solo flight, and the other for carrying passengers.

The first kind is described as follows :—

'A huge bird-like flying machine should be constructed with light wood, its parts being neatly and firmly joined. In its hold should be placed a mercury engine (turbine ?) with a fire place below it. The aviator is carried up in it by the current of air produced by the movement of two wings which are propelled by the mercury apparatus (turbine ?) within, and makes various figures as he flies far up in the air '[6].

As for the construction of the second kind, the prescription is—'In the same way (as described above, even) a heavy wooden machine, built like a temple, flies in the sky. The clever aviator should place, according to rules, stronger and larger jar-shaped boiler (*dṛḍhakumbhān*) containing mercury within it. The machine

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[1] Ancient India,—Mc Crindle, Sec. II–IV, 29, and Sec. IV, XI, vii, 2.

[2] Cf. Milinda.—mast (kūpo rajjuñ ca varattañ ca lakarañ ca dhāreti—S.B.E. 36, p. 300) ; anchor—it fastens the ship and brings it to rest. (nāvālakanakaṁ bahu umijālākulavikkhobhita salilatale mahati-mahāsamudde nāvaṁ laketi ṭhapeti, na deti disāvidisaṁ harituṁ. nāvālakanakaṁ hatthasate pi udake nāvaṁ laketi ṭhānaṁ upaneti, etc.), S.B.E. 36, p. 299.

[3] Colebrooke edition, I, ii, 3, pp. 62-63 ; Pātālavarga, 25–28.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 7, Calcutta 1917.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 30, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 175–177.

[6] लघुदारुमयं मञ्चाविच्छन्नं दृढसुश्लिष्टतनुं विधाय तस्य ।
उदरे रसयन्त्रमादधीत ज्वलनाधारमधोऽस्य चा(ति?ग्नि)पूर्णम् ॥
तचारूढः पुरुषस्तस्य पक्षदन्द्वोद्वाह प्रोद्भूतेनानिलेन ।
सुप्तस्यान्तः पारदस्यास्य शक्त्या चित्रं कुर्व्वन्नम्बरे याति दूरम् ॥

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(moves) with a start and rises up in the air by the energy of the mercury (*rasarājaśaktyā*) which whizzes when slow heat is applied to those stronger and larger boilers (containing mercury), from a fire burning in an iron pot. That iron propeller (*āyasa yantra*) fitted with mercury (boiler) and well adjusted in the plane roars like a lion when it flies up in the air '.[1]

This matter of fact description of two kinds of flying machines in the Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra is not to be confounded with the poetical description of the Puṣpakas of the Epics, and the *Phussa-rathas* of the Jātakas. Nor can it be reasonably maintained that the ślokas containing descriptions were a later interpolation. A similar but earlier description of flying machines may as well be traced in the Suttanipāta commentary[2], which is to be dated as early as to the 5th century A.D. In the Pali story the credit of first invention of such machines is given to a renowned head of an ancient institution of carpenters and wood-carvers near about the city of Benares. The required materials mainly consisted in timbers of the fig (*udumbara*) and such other light wood (*appasāra-rukkhā*). The shape and the size are described. The machine in its completed form looked like a wooden bird (*kaṭṭha-sakuṇa*) and resembled a flying eagle in its majesty (*supaṇṇa-rājā viya*). The machine was fitted with an engine or apparatus inside (*yantaṁ pūresi*). The upward movement, the progress of the flight and the manner of the surprising descent are described. The necessity for invention arose from acutely felt difficulty in maintaining the institute of carpenters by the sale of timbers, or by the execution of occasional orders. The story speaks of a regular fleet of such machines which might be made use of for the satisfaction of the love of conquest, or the spirit of world domination.

The *yantra* (apparatus) was, according to the Sanskrit treatise, a mercury engine (? turbine—*rasa-yantra* or *pārada-yantra*) which was made in the shape of a water jar (*kumbha*), with an arrangement

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1 इत्थमेव सुरमन्दिरतुल्यं सच्चलत्यलघुदारुविमानम् ।
आदधीत विधिना चतुरोऽन्नस्य पारदभृतान् दृढकुम्भान् ॥ ९७
अयःकपालाहितमन्दवह्निप्रतप्तकुम्भभुवा गुणेन ।
व्योम्नो झगित्याभरणत्वमेति सन्तप्तगर्जद्रसराजशक्त्या ॥ ९८
वृत्तसन्धितमथायसयन्त्रं तद् विधाय रसपूरितमन्तः ।
उच्चदेशविनिधापितनम्रं सिंचनादमुरजं विदधाति ॥ ९९

2 Paramatthajotikā, Vol II, Part 2, pp. 575–577.

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for heating the mercury by a fire-place (*jvalanādhāra*) under it. The sound of the boiling mercury according to variations in the heat produced is vividly described. The timbers of a fig-tree, mentioned in the Pali story, are no more than an example in point of *laghu dāru* (light wood) recommended in the Sanskrit work[1].

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[1] For other points of detail, see ' Flying machines in Ancient India ', an article in the Calcutta Review by Barua and Majumdar, Dec. 1933, pp. 287ff.

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# THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

*By* S. K. De

## I

It is difficult to give a proper exposition of the philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism without a detailed reference to the sacred texts which are cited throughout as revealed and indisputable and on which indeed the faith elaborately bases its philosophical ideas. The whole system is built up on a direct explication of its own peculiar sectarian texts ; and absolute faith in their interpretation by its acknowledged theologians is essential for an acceptance of their truth. Such entire reliance upon verbal authority and verbal interpretation makes it difficult in any exposition to steer clear of the texts which are quoted at every step, but it also impairs the value of its theology and philosophy as an independent system of thought. The usual procedure is to make a dogmatic statement, and then support it not so much by argumentation, which is held at discount, as by a compilation of authoritative texts, chiefly derived from the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and by interpretation of those texts in the light of the peculiar dogmas and doctrines of the school. The basic theory of the threefold Śakti of the supreme being, for instance, is founded upon a text of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, amplified by other texts ; while its other fundamental doctrine of the threefold aspect of the deity as the Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat is entirely based upon a system of interpretation of a single text of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*. The same remarks apply to its central postulate of the highest and exclusive divinity of Kṛṣṇa ; while its doctrine of Bhakti is deduced from a peculiar theory of emotional realization which is based entirely upon a series of devotional texts and dogmatic statements.

It is true that in some older systems of Indian philosophy mere Tarka or discursive reasoning is deprecated as a means of attaining ultimate truth ; and in most systems, belief in Śruti or revelation and interpretation of revealed texts are at least theoretically accepted as the proper mode. But in the speculations of the Bengal school this attitude of reverence for infallible authority appears to have been carried to its extreme limit. The Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, believing that everything is revealed by grace of a personal god,

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theoretically rejects all Pramāṇas excepting Śabda or revealed word, but Śabda as a source of belief has a peculiar significance in this school. We shall have occasion later on to explain its theory of Pramāṇa, but, briefly speaking, the appeal is not to reason but to a system of scriptural authority. It is true that theoretical homage is paid to Śruti or the Vedas in the wider sense of Indian philosophy, but the term Śabda in practice denotes other kinds of sectarian scriptures which, as Smṛtis, are hardly admitted by older philosophical schools. The Pramāṇa is practically circumscribed to a few Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas and other sectarian texts ; but it is curious to note that these texts are regarded as revealed or authoritative chiefly on the strength of statements to that effect in these texts themselves. Older Śruti texts, when convenient, are indeed cited with respect, but we are told that the sense of the earlier Śrutis is unfathomable, and that the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, which can explain them properly, are the only kind of revelation which are accessible at the present decadent age. In the compilation and exposition of the Purāṇa and Smṛti texts, again, the same dogmatic attitude is prominent. Non-Vaiṣṇava texts are rejected as *tāmasika* and untruthful, and even among Vaiṣṇava texts the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* alone is regarded as the quintessence of all Śāstras and as possessing the supreme authority. Other schools of Vaiṣṇavism have propounded their doctrines by writing elaborate commentaries on the *Vedānta-sūtra* and interpreting it in their own way ; but the Bengal school regarded the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* as Vyāsa's own commentary on his *Vedānta-sūtra*, and therefore confined itself to an interpretation of this Purāṇa in its own light, instead of composing a separate commentary on the Sūtra. They therefore proceed almost entirely on an explication of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. If some of the texts cited from this or other sources are apocryphal, this fact makes no difference so long as they fall in with the peculiar doctrines of the school. Even of Vaiṣṇava texts there is a careful selection and arrangement of those which are favourable, and inconvenient texts are sometimes quietly forgotten or glossed over or sometimes twisted in an ingenious way to suit its particular views. These methods are not unfamiliar to students of sectarian religious literature, but they possess little philosophical interest. The details of such a method may prove interesting and valuable to the faithful devotee, but they hardly appeal either to the general reader or to the critical enquirer.

It would appear, therefore, that as it is chiefly a system of mystical-emotional dogmatics, the strictly philosophical views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are intimately mixed up with the details of its devotional theologism and its emotional erotic

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mysticism which are set forth in its pious text-books of legend and fancy. Its purely speculative thought, therefore, cannot be easily disentangled from its sentimental and mythical envelopment. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, no doubt, presents itself as a deliberate historical religion promulgated by a definite founder, but in the practical working out of the system the direct intuitive realisation or the teachings of the Master hardly find a place. Except the usual obeisance and homage to Caitanya and general passages testifying to his identity with the supreme deity, there is nowhere in the extensive works of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva any direct reference to his personal views and teachings. These theologians and philosophers are chiefly concerned with the godhead of Kṛṣṇa and his Līlā as revealed in their older scriptures, and Kṛṣṇa in their theory is not an Avatāra but is alone the supreme deity himself (*svayaṃ bhagavān*). They are almost entirely silent about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme, and it is somewhat strange that in presenting a system of religion in his name they rely upon older sources and do not refer at all to his direct realisation of spiritual truths. The divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive object of worship is elaborately established, but the divinity of Caitanya, which is implicitly acknowledged in Namaskriyās and other devotional verses, is hardly ever discussed. It is said in one of the Bengali lives of Caitanya that these works themselves were not only inspired but were directly communicated to these disciples by Caitanya himself, but even then there is no direct acknowledgment of this fact by the Gosvāmins themselves, nor is there any devotional interpretation of the divinity of Caitanya or Caitanya-līlā, as there is of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-līlā. There cannot be any doubt that the devout life of Caitanya inspired these faithful disciples, but in the building up of their systems of theology and philosophy there is no reference to the life, personality or views of the Master himself. There is, on the other hand, an entire dependance upon a complicated system of text-interpretation, rather than upon any direct and vivid spiritual illumination. It must be admitted that in these treatises we reach a high level of the emotional Bhakti doctrine in the setting of a vital and practical system of religious beliefs, and the life and personality of Caitanya must have been to his devout followers a powerful exemplification of these beliefs and doctrines ; but we still move in an indefinite haze of mythology, sentiment and speculation, derived from Purāṇic tradition ; while the intellectual seriousness or the ethical nobility of the tenets is hardly propounded with the force of direct realisation, inasmuch as they are completely merged in a floating mass of uncertain myths, legends and traditional beliefs.

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Having regard to this peculiar method and standpoint of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, it will not be possible for us to refer in detail to the large mass of cited texts which are not always of general interest ; nor would it be profitable for us to enter into the more or less scholastic disquisition on words and phrases. All that we can do here is to give a rapid résumé of the main dogmas and doctrines, and indicate only generally the way in which these are sought to be established. As our object is chiefly historical, we shall as far as possible avoid criticism and discussion, and confine ourselves to a descriptive exposition of the essential features of its philosophical and theological ideas. Historically, however, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism derives a great deal, in an eclectic spirit, from previous Vaiṣṇava systems, especially from the doctrines of the Rāmānuja sect ; but with our limited object in view it will be necessary for us to avoid all comparative observations and maintain an attitude of descriptive objectivity. We shall also limit ourselves to an account of the subject chiefly derived from the theological and philosophical Sanskrit works of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, excluding its further development in Bengali devotional works and in the much later Sanskrit works (18th century) of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

The main theological presuppositions of the school are set forth in Sanātana's *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta*, and its supplement *Saṃkṣepa-* or *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* written by his brother Rūpa, but most of their implications find a place in the Saṃdarbhas of their nephew Jīva, more especially in the latter's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*. We have already given elsewhere[1] an account of some of the principal doctrines of the *Bhāgavatāmṛta* ; in this article we shall confine ourselves to a brief survey of the professedly philosophical six *Saṃdarbhas of* Jīva Gosvāmin.

## *The Saṃdarbhas of Jīva Gosvāmin*

These works give us the entire philosophy as well as theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in a systematic form. They consist of six Saṃdarbhas, viz., *Tattva-*, *Bhagavat-*, *Paramātma-*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa-*, *Bhakti-*, and *Prīti-*[2] ; there is also a supplementary work on the

[1] Contributed to the projected Kuppusvami Commemoration Volume.

[2] Our references are to the following editions of the texts : *Tattva*, *Bhagavat*, *Paramātma*, Radharaman Press edition, Murshidabad, B.S., 1317, 1324, 1335 respectively ; *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, edited by Prāṇagopāla Gosvāmin, Navadvīpa, B.S. 1332 ; *Bhakti*, edited by Śyāmalāla Govsāmin (along with the five other *Saṃdarbhas*), Calcutta, Śaka 1822 ; *Prīti*, edited by Prāṇagopāla Gosvāmin, published from Noakhali (no date) ; *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, edited by Rasika Mohana Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya

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first three Saṃdarbhas, called Anuvyākhyā and named *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, which contains explanatory comments on obscure points and dilates upon topics which have been imperfectly dealt with in the original texts. Jīva Gosvāmin also wrote a running commentary on the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, but since these Saṃdarbhas profess to give an exposition of the speculative ideas of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism chiefly by a direct explication of texts, skilfully selected and arranged from that work according to the philosophical design of the cult, they constitute in reality a sectarian commentary on a considerable portion of the *Bhāgavata*; and the general name of this collection of Saṃdarbhas is therefore appropriately given by its author as *Bhāgavata-saṃdarbha*. The word Saṃdarbha means a systematic stringing together or collection, and the work in question, though considerably original in its outlook and presentation, is deliberately designed to possess that characteristic. After acknowledging the inspiration of the work to Rūpa and Sanātana, the author informs us that a Bhaṭṭa friend of theirs belonging to the South (*dākṣiṇātya bhaṭṭa*), had already composed a work on the subject, compiling it from the treatises of old Vaiṣṇavas (*vṛddha vaiṣṇava*). This acknowledgment is repeated at the commencement of each of the six Saṃdarbhas; and we are told that from this original, the present Saṃdarbhas were composed on the same lines but in a more orderly form and sequence. Jīva Gosvāmin himself explains in his *Sarva-saṃvādinī* that the phrase *vṛddha vaiṣṇava* includes what is written by old Vaiṣṇava writers like Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya, Śrīdhara-svāmin and others, and that there is nothing in his work which is a figment of his own imagination. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa informs us that this Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Gosvāmins and associates of Rūpa and Sanātana. Rūpa and Sanātana, again, not only preceded Jīva in life and thought but were also his acknowledged preceptors in the Vaiṣṇava doctrine and practice. In spite of this customary appeal to old authorities and modest disclaimer of originality, the work, however, is not a mere compilation but betrays a systematic plan and execution, as well as originality in its ideas and methods, which in spite of considerable affinities cannot be regarded as belonging to the same schools of thought as those of Rāmānuja or Madhva. To Jīva Gosvāmin belonged the whole heritage of Vaiṣṇava philosophical thought, upon which, as a matter of fact, he freely draws, besides utilizing Śruti (chiefly Upaniṣadic) and Purāṇa texts; and no important

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Pariṣat, Calcutta, B.S. 1327=1920 A.D. The *Krama-saṃdarbha* has been printed along with the text (and the commentaries of Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha Cakravartin) by the Radharaman Press, B.S. 1310 (=1903 A.D.).

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proposition is laid down which is not supported by some such texts. But the system which he builds up on this foundation is essentially his own and deserves independent consideration. As the work, however, consists chiefly of a string of *Bhāgavata* quotations and of a system of interpretation of that authoritative text, it is in appearance at least a series of Saṃdarbhas or systematic collections.

The scope and object of the work are indicated by the author himself in the *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, which informs us that they are identical with those of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, of which his own work is merely an exposition. He states accordingly that the main Tattva or principle to which his work, like the *Bhāgavata*, is related (*saṃbandha*) is Kṛṣṇa-tattva, which is higher than any other Tattvas; that its subject-matter (*abhidheya*) is Bhakti or the devotional attitude by which alone that Tattva is attainable; and that its motive (*prayojana*) consists of Prīti, or love for Kṛṣṇa as a means of worship. The six Saṃdarbhas are consequently arranged on this Śāstric plan. The first four are devoted to the Saṃbandha-tattva, and are intended to establish Kṛṣṇa as the highest deity and the most exclusive object of worship; the *Bhakti-saṃdarbha* deals with the Abhideya-tattva which is Bhakti; while the last *Prīti-saṃdarbha* is concerned with the Prayojana-tattva which is Prīti considered as the best way of divine worship. In other words, Jīva Gosvāmin is concerned, in the first Saṃdarbha, with a theory of knowledge (Pramāṇa) which leads on, in the next three Saṃdarbhas, to a theory of ultimate reality (Tattva), while the last two Saṃdarbhas are devoted to a theory of *summum bonum* (Niḥśreyasa or Puruṣārtha) and the means of attaining it. In the survey we propose to make in the following pages we shall generally follow this order of treatment, and give a brief résumé of the successive works with a view to setting forth the main doctrines in their general outline; but for convenience and continuity of treatment we shall occasionally have to gather together and deal in one place our author's remarks on various topics which are sometimes scattered over the different books. The method which Jīva Gosvāmin follows of laying down principles by the explication of texts naturally involves a great deal of repetition and digression. We shall try to avoid them as far as possible, although in any faithful account of his works they are to a certain extent unavoidable.

### *The Tattva-saṃdarbha*

The *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, which is preliminary, deals chiefly with Pramāṇa or proof, and concludes with a general discussion of the Prameya or subject to be proved, this last topic being further elucidated and elaborated in the succeeding Saṃdarbhas.

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Jīva Gosvāmin's theory of Pramāṇa, which is widely accepted by the school, is very simple. He rejects without much ceremony the conventional six or eight Pramāṇas, viz., Perception (Pratyakṣa), Inference (Anumāna), Revelation (Śabda), Analogy (Upamā), Supposition from circumstances or implication (Arthāpatti), Non-recognition (Abhāva or Anupalabdhi), Equivalence (Saṃbhava) and Tradition (Aitihya), on the ground that they are all, with the exception of Śabda, defective and unreliable. In his *Sarva-saṃvādini*[1] he discusses the question at some length,[2] and takes pains to show the limitations of each of these Pramāṇas, except Śabda. Besides, the ordinary man is naturally liable to four kinds of error, viz., Bhrama (error due to wrong perception of one thing for another), Pramāda (error due to heedlessness), Vipralipsā (error due to the wish to deceive) and Karaṇāpāṭava (error due to the insufficiency of the senses). The Pramāṇas are also not capable of comprehending the incomprehensible and superphysical. His analysis easily leads him to the conclusion that the other Pramāṇas being defective and insufficient, Śabda or Revelation alone as a Pramāṇa is valid ; for, in his opinion, Śabda is free from these defects and is independent of the other Pramāṇas, which can never supersede it. Moreover, Śabda can touch things

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[1] Here he speaks of ten Pramāṇas, adding Ārṣa (i.e. knowledge derived from the sayings of gods and Ṛṣis) and Ceṣṭā (i.e. knowledge derived by physical effort, e.g. by lifting a thing) to the above eight ; but Ārṣa may be included in Śabda and Ceṣṭā in Pratyakṣa. The Ceṣṭā is accepted by Tāntric writers.

[2] Of the ten Pramāṇas with which Jīva Gosvāmin is concerned here, the Pratyakṣa or Perception is said to be of five kinds, based respectively upon the five senses, but to these is added Mānasa Pratyakṣa or internal perception, which is independent of the sense-organs. Apart from the fact that each of these six kinds of Pratyakṣa may be either *sa-vikalpa* or *nir-vikalpa*, the Pratyakṣa may also be either *vaiduṣa* or *avaiduṣa* according as it belongs to the learned or the non-learned. While the former is free from error and becomes the basis of Śabda itself when it is the Pratyakṣa of the great seers, the latter is liable to error and is thus very defective as a Pramāṇa. The so-called universal Pratyakṣa, which is supposed to consist of what is perceived by all, can never be discovered as the standard of truth, because it is not possible to bring together the whole of the perceiving world. The Pratyakṣa can be accepted as a Pramāṇa only when (as in the case of Vaiduṣa) it involves Śabda, and not otherwise. The Anumāna, again, is essentially syllogistic, but syllogistic inference does not always lead us to truth. The validity of the Anumāna depends on that of the Vyāpti, but Vyāpti is not invariable. The existence of fire cannot invariably be inferred from the existence of smoke, for smoke may also arise where the fire is just extinguished. The Vyāpti is only probable and never certain ; the Anumāna therefore is at best only a source of probable knowledge. The other Pramāṇas hardly require detailed consideration. They are not independent Pramāṇas at all but are valid in so far as they involve Pratyakṣa, Anumāna or Śabda, and can be accepted as Pramāṇas only to that extent. These minor Pramāṇas can never give us the knowledge of higher realities.

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which the other Pramāṇas cannot. It must, however, be noted that the other Pramāṇas are not absolutely rejected, but they are rejected only as *independent* sources of knowledge. They may be employed as Pramāṇas subsidiary to Śabda. Thus, Inference is not altogether rejected as a Pramāṇa, and the author himself largely employs argumentation. But Inference, according to the Vaiṣṇava theory, is not a Pramāṇa if it is independent of the scriptures. If it is based on the scriptures, the inferential process is a valuable aid to knowledge. It is clear, however, that even this attitude, by making the other Pramāṇas subordinate, exalts Śabda as the chief and infallible Pramāṇa.

It is concluded, therefore, that as a source of knowledge the only authentic and reliable Pramāṇa is Śabda, which is the source of all superphysical knowledge and which consists of revealed words (*aprākṛta-vacana-lakṣaṇa*). This position, in the opinion of our author, is supported by the Vedānta-sūtra-kāra by the Sūtras ii, 1, 11 (*tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt*), i, 1, 3 (*śāstra-yonitvāt*) and ii, 1, 27 (*śrutis tu śabda-mūlatvāt*), as well as by the Vaiṣṇava scriptures. This is indeed the general position of the Vedānta, but the earlier Vedāntists appear to have believed not in Śabda in general but in Śruti, which denoted pre-eminently the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. But in later sectarian schools the word Śabda came to be employed in an extended sense so as to indicate other kinds of scriptures, which the earlier philosophers regarded as Smṛti but which now came to be recognized as of equal value with the Śruti. It is argued that the Vedas in the present decadent age are difficult to master and understand, and the sages who interpret them do not agree. The scriptures which can rightly determine this obscure sense of the Vedas are the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which therefore constitute the only kind of Śabda that is practically more valuable to us, and, being of equal authority, the only authentic source of knowledge in the present age. The Purāṇas were brought into existence, for this specific purpose of rendering the unfathomable sense of the Vedas comprehensible to the ordinary mortal, by the great sage Vyāsa, who was himself the apportioner of the four Vedas and an incarnation of the supreme being for that purpose. The Purāṇa is so called because it completes or fulfils (*pūraṇa*) the sense of the Veda. It is argued that a complement cannot be different from that which it completes ; the defective parts of a gold bangle can be made good by gold alone and not by any baser metal. It is further stated that those topics of the Veda which are called Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāthā and Kalpa are elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇa ; and in this sense also the Purāṇa elucidates and amplifies what is vaguely or implicitly contained in the Vedas. Thus,

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those who know the four Vedas with the Upaniṣads and the Vedāṅgas, but do not know the Purāṇas cannot, in the opinion of our author, be regarded as truly learned men. The two sets of scriptures, the Veda and Purāṇa, are both revealed and are ultimately identical in purport, but they are sometimes regarded as different because of the use of accent (*svara*) and some peculiarities of arrangement (*krama-bheda*) in the earlier texts. But, apart from its greater intelligibility and accessibility, the Purāṇa is even superior to the Veda, because it can be studied not only by the twice-born male but also by women and Śūdras and does not suffer from the limitation of caste, sex or age. By this indication the denotation of the word Śabda as a Pramāṇa is not confined to the Śruti alone, but is extended to the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which must be regarded as a part (and in practice the most authentic part) of the Veda. This position is supported by a skilful compilation of texts, but as the texts are mostly selected from the Purāṇas, we have the curious method of establishing their authenticity chiefly on the strength of statements made by themselves.

Of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, again, the Purāṇa is to be preferred as a source of knowledge. But we are told that in the present age the individual Purāṇas are not all available in their completeness, and they celebrate different gods. Hence the average poor mortal is too puzzled by their diversity to understand their real sense. The doubt regarding the admissibility of some of them naturally arises from the fact that the different Purāṇas appeared at different periods of time, and that though they were suitable for the epoch for which they were composed, they are not all suitable for the present age. We find, therefore, the classification of Purāṇas into Sāttvika, Rājasika and Tāmasika groups. Verses from the *Matsya-purāṇa* are quoted to explain that the Sāttvika Purāṇas deal with the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, the Rājasika with that of Brahmā, and the Tāmasika with that of Śiva. There is a fourth miscellaneous kind (Saṃkīrṇa) which speaks of Sarasvatī, the Pitṛs and other deities or semi-divine beings.[1] In his *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* (p. 143) Jīva Gosvāmin points out that Purāṇas like *Skanda* are sometimes full of errors (*skandādau kvacid bhrāmakam asti*), and states that such Purāṇas as deal with the glory of Śiva and other gods should not be accepted by Vaiṣṇavas (*tathāvidhaṃ śivādi-pratipādakaṃ śāstraṃ ca na vaiṣṇavair grāhyam*). It is Sāttvika Purāṇas alone, which are devoted to Kṛṣṇa, that should be regarded as authentic. In other words, Jīva Gosvāmin

[1] The words ascribed to the Buddha are not regarded as valid Śabda-pramāṇas: for the scriptures which ascribe divinity to him also state his words were meant to delude the demons (*Sarva-saṃvādinī*, p. 5).

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would make us accept only those Purāṇas which are explicitly or implicitly Vaiṣṇava ; for, like most other sectarian apologists, he believes that the Purāṇas of his own school alone are capable of revealing the entire truth to be found in the Vedas, the other Purāṇas either failing to understand or misrepresenting the import of the Śruti.

Even among the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas the highest place of authority is assigned to the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which can on no account be superseded. It may be objected that since Vyāsa composed his *Brahma-sūtra* with the special view of determining the sense of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, why should the *Bhāgavata* be taken as authoritatively final ? In reply it is stated that the *Brahma-sūtra* has not been accepted by the followers of other sages who have composed other Sūtra works. Moreover, the Sūtras are brief and cryptic, and have been differently interpreted. Hence it is held more reasonable to accept one great available Purāṇa, which is revealed scripture, which gives us the essence of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa and which forms in reality Vyāsa's own commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Such a Purāṇa, it is maintained, is the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which is accepted as the one supreme authority and the greatest of all Pramāṇas (*sarva-pramāṇa-cakravartībhūtam*), although our author very conveniently forgets that the *Bhāgavata* also, like the *Brahma-sūtra*, is not acknowledged on all hands. Accio-7028

This exclusive authority of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* is maintained on the supposition that Vyāsa himself, after having composed the *Brahma-sūtra* and having brought the different Purāṇas into existence, was not completely satisfied ; he therefore composed the *Bhāgavata* which he obtained through Samādhi or spiritual meditation. In this final work he found a synthesis of all Śāstras, and it forms the only genuine commentary of his own Sūtras (*nija-sūtrāṇām akṛtrima-bhāṣya-bhūtam*). The work proceeds with an exposition of the Gāyatrī, which forms the essence of the Vedas ; but the chief reason of its authoritativeness is found in the fact recorded by itself that it was revealed to Vyāsa in his spiritual meditation. Because of this direct revelation by the Bhagavat (*sākṣād bhagavatodita*), it is the most Sāttvika of all the Purāṇas, dear to the Lord and desired by all his devotees. The theory of the school thus believes that the themes of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Bhāgavata* respectively are identical, for what appeared to Vyāsa's mind in a subtle form and was expressed by him in the form of brief Sūtras, is alleged to have been amplified in the *Bhāgavata* in the form of an extensive Bhāṣya on these Sūtras. To demonstrate the correctness of this belief Jīva Gosvāmin makes several attempts to show directly that some of the Bhāgavata verses have the same meaning as some

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of the Sūtras of Vyāsa; in his *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*, pp. 257f, for instance, he gives a detailed exposition of the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* as containing the entire gist of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the Gāyatrī. As the *Bhāgavata* is thus taken to be the only genuine and original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra* written by Vyāsa himself, the other commentaries written by later scholars according to their limited light, have to be rejected in its favour. It is for this reason that the *Bhāgavata* is studied with belief and devotion by those who desire to realize spiritual truths, for this work has undoubtedly attained the position of the lord of all scriptures (*sarva-śāstra-cakravarti-padam āptam*). The extensive popularity of the work, which has been widely accepted, praised and commented upon, also testifies to this position. A series of commentaries written by great scholars and devotees exists, and Jīva Gosvāmin gives a brief enumeration of those which he found most noteworthy, viz., Tantrabhāgavata (mentioned in the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra*), Hanumadbhāṣya, Vāsanā-bhāṣya, Saṃbandhokti, Bṛhat-Kāmadhenu, Tattvadīpikā, Bhāvārtha-dīpikā, Paramahaṃsa-priyā, and Śuka-hṛdaya; besides these, there are works on the *Bhāgavata* such as Muktāphala, Harilīlā and Bhakti-ratnāvalī, all of which are worthy of consideration.

One might ask in this connexion as to why the great Śaṃkara did not accept the *Bhāgavata* as the original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra*. This question is answered by a pious appeal to a mythical legend. We are assured that Śaṃkara did not entirely disregard the *Bhāgavata*, but for a special reason he only concealed his own predilection for the superior teaching of Bhakti and preached deliberately a doctrine of non-duality which tended to obscure it. This special reason is found in the pious legend recorded in the *Padma-purāṇa* that Śaṃkara was an Avatāra of Mahādeva, who in Vaiṣṇava scriptures is a devotee of the Bhagavat, and was entrusted with the mission of making men disbelievers in order that the progress of the world might be continued.[1] Śaṃkara, however, is taken to have given expression to his true personal views on the matter in such works of his as the *Govindāṣṭaka*, which is concerned with Kṛṣṇa-līlā as described in the *Bhāgavata*. He has thereby implicitly subscribed to doctrines to which he appears to be explicitly indifferent in his other works. Even if he did not comment on it, Śaṃkara thus recognized the value of the *Bhāgavata* by writing hymns

[1] The verse occurs in the *Padma-purāṇa*, Uttara-khaṇḍa, Ch. 62, 31 and is cited in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*. It purports to be an address of the Bhagavat to Śiva: *svāgamaiḥ kalpitais tvaṃ hi janān mad-vimukhān kuru/ māṃ ca gopāya yena syāt sṛṣṭir eṣottarottarā//*

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inculcating Bhāgavata ideas. Moreover, Madhvācārya, who was a direct pupil (*sākṣāc chiṣyatāṃ prāptaiḥ*[1]) of Śaṃkara, wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* in order to combat wrong views promulgated by such other pupils of Śaṃkara as Puṇyāraṇya, who advocated Śaṃkara's Advaita-vāda.

Having thus established the superiority of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the chief, original and unerring source of revelation and as the best of all Pramāṇas, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to state that in his own Saṃdarbhas he has only explained the drift of the *Bhāgavata* for determining the highest truth. This description is correct in so far as he proceeds to build up his doctrines on a system of interpretation chiefly of that religious text. It does not indeed mean that he has given us the true sense of the *Bhāgavata*. He may or may not have done so ; but it certainly means that his own elaborate system is entirely based upon a direct explication of the *Bhāgavata* in the light of the peculiar tenets of his school. Other schools have also attempted explanation of the *Bhāgavata*, but they have hardly gone to this extreme limit of basing their fundamental doctrines solely on the interpretation of that text. No doubt the Bengal school, by this method, has attempted to secure for itself the authority of one of the greatest and most universally revered religious works of mediæval times; but this gain has been counter-balanced by the fact that its doctrines stand or fall according as the *Bhāgavata* is accepted as possessing such exclusive authority or not. Indeed, the unquestioning acceptance of the *Bhāgavata* must be regarded as one of the fundamental postulates of the school ; and even if there may be other interpretations of that text, the peculiar doctrinal interpretations of its own theologians must also be unquestionably accepted. In this respect the commentary of Śrīdhara-svāmin is acknowledged by this school in so far as it relates the Bhakti-doctrines. Referring to this commentary, which attempts to reconcile the Advaita-vāda of Śaṃkara with the Bhakti-vāda of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sects, Jīva Gosvāmin explains, in

[1] These words are omitted in some editions of the text (e.g. in editions by Nityasvarūpa Brahmacarī and by Satyānanda Gosvāmī), possibly to avoid an historical error on Jīva Gosvāmin's part. The words, however, occur in the Berhampore edition, as well as in the manuscripts of the *Tattva-saṃdarbha* which we have consulted in the Dacca University collection. That the words must have occurred in the original is clear from the fact that otherwise the word *antara* in the immediately following sentence (*tac-chiṣyāntara-puṇyāraṇyādi-rītika-vyākhyā-praveśa-śāṅkayā*) would be meaningless. It appears that in Jīva's opinion Madhva in his commentary followed what Jīva considered to be the real teaching of Śaṃkara as embodied in such works as *Govindāṣṭaka* and thereby counteracted the evil effects of commentaries written by Śaṃkara's other disciples like Puṇyāraṇya, who followed the Śaṃkara-bhāṣya at Kṛṣṇa's bidding to serve a particular purpose of the deity.

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accordance with the belief of his school, that the real object of Śrīdhara was not to effect such a reconciliation but to teach the doctrine of Bhakti. If the great commentator diversified this teaching with Advaita-vāda it was done in order that the Bhakti-vāda might be acceptable to the Advaita-vādins. The exposition of Śrīdhara, who is called a Parama Vaiṣṇava, is therefore accepted by this school in so far as it follows the pure Vaiṣṇava tradition. The Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja in the same way is accepted with great respect as coming from the South, which was a great stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism, although it cannot be said that, in spite of occasional borrowings, the peculiar tenets of Rāmānuja and his sect have been accepted in their entirety. As to the Advaita theory of Śaṃkara, Jīva Gosvāmin does not think it necessary to refer to it in detail in his work, as it is fairly well known. We are also informed that all the Vedic and Purāṇic texts cited are given as he found them himself in the original works ; but some texts, which he himself had not seen, are derived from previous works of such Mādhva writers of Vijayadvaja, Brahmatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha, who have written commentaries respectively on the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Brahma-sūtra*.

Having stated his theory of Pramāṇa, his sources and his method, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to indicate briefly the chief Prameya or object to be proved in his work. In this connexion he states the Saṃbandha, Abhidheya and Prayojana of his work, which we have indicated above, and which, the author himself informs us, is identical with those of the *Bhāgavata*. They are respectively the Bhagavat-tattva or Kṛṣṇa-tattva, dealt with in the first four Saṃdarbhas, the Bhakti-tattva and the Prīti-tattva elaborated successively in the two succeeding Saṃdarbhas. In connexion with this statement of the scope and object of his work, Jīva Gosvāmin tells us about the origin of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which arose from the extra-ordinary illuminating Samādhi (or Īśvara-praṇidhāna, as the *Yoga-sūtra* puts it) of Vyāsa, in the course of which he obtained a complete revelation of the highest spiritual truths described in the work. Jīva Gosvāmin, by way of indicating the central themes, now discusses the character of that beatific vision and details some of the principal truths revealed to Vyāsa. This Samādhi is described in the *Bhāgavata* 1, 6, 4–11, which is now quoted and its chief implications considered. Vyāsa had a vision not only of the two partial aspects of the supreme being, viz., Brahma and Paramātman, but also of the Bhagavat who represents the most complete manifestation as the Perfect Person. This distinction, to be explained fully later on, forms one of the fundamental doctrines of the Bengal school, but the authority for this doctrine is found in the *Bhāgavata* itself, of which

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it is supposed to form the Saṃbandha-tattva. Vyāsa also realised the essential difference or duality as well as identity between the Jīva and the Parameśvara, which forms the very foundation of his inspired work; for, from Vyāsa's own words it appears that although the Jīva consists of pure consciousness (*cid-rūpa*) it is yet overpowered by the Māyā-śakti, which is the cause of Saṃsāra; while Māyā being an extraneous Śakti of the Bhagavat, the Bhagavat is superior to it and is untouched by its influence. Hence the Jīva and the Bhagavat are perceived as different in essence (Svarūpa) and capacity (Sāmarthya). In this connexion our author takes some pains to refute the view of the Advaita-vādins that the difference is not real but is due to a difference in attributes (Upādhi), by means of which the unconditioned Brahma conditions itself (Paricchedavāda) or ephemerally reflects itself (Pratibimba-vāda) as the Jīva. As the implications of these theories are discussed more fully later on, it is not necessary to linger over them here. Our author does not in the same way believe in the theory that the Brahma is the only one so-called Jīva (Eka-jīva-vāda). He maintains, on the authority of the *Bhāgavata*, that there is a plurality or Jīvas. Each of the individual Jīvas, as pure consciousness, forms a part of the highest being, but it is also an agent and enjoyer of its own action. This capacity for activity, however, does not make the Jīva independent of the Lord, for the Jīva, as a subordinate or servant, merely carries out the will of the Master. This relation of master (Sevya) and servant (Sevaka) of the Paramātman and the Jīvātman is a real eternal distinction, and it continues even when the bondage, which, due to the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, is removed and his grace is obtained. As Bhakti or devotion to the Lord is the highest good, Mokṣa or emancipation is indeed a small matter, and the Jīva in its duality continues as a separate worshipping entity even after emancipation. In this way is established the Abhidheya of the *Bhāgavata*, viz., the necessity of worshipping the Bhagavat (Bhagavad-bhajana or Bhakti).

From the same indications is also affirmed the necessity of divine love or Prīti as the Prayojana or motive of the *Bhāgavata*, for the removal of the fetters of Māyā is possible only by this means. The *Bhāgavata* was specially composed to induce and direct deluded Jīvas to such worship as lead them to Bhakti, which is the sole way of salvation. The means of worship, of course, relate to Sādhana-bhakti, i.e. Bhakti which arises from direct instruction of the Śāstra (*upadeśāpekṣa*), but Sādhana-bhakti is the first step to Prema-bhakti which arises only from the grace of the deity (*tat-prasādāpekṣa*). Even Jñāna or divine knowledge, such as the Advaita-vādins speak of, is not possible without Bhakti (*jñānādes tu bhakti-sāpekṣatvam*

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*eva*). Thus the Bhakti-tattva consists of the Upāsya (the deity to be worshipped), the Upāsaka (worshipper) and the Upāsanā (worship). The object of the *Bhāgavata* is to establish clearly that the only Upāsya is Kṛṣṇa, who is not an Avatāra but the Bhagavat or supreme deity himself. That the attainment of divine love (*bhagavat-prema*) is a higher bliss than the bliss of attaining Brahma (*brahmānanda*) or Mokṣa-nirvāṇa is also shown by the fact that Vyāsa composed the *Bhāgavata* with the express purpose of teaching it to Śuka, who had already attained Brahmānanda, and leading him further to Bhagavat-prema. The case of Śuka also indicates that it is possible to worship the Bhagavat even after the so-called emancipation on the attainment of Brahma.

Jīva Gosvāmin then proceeds to show from the *Bhāgavata* that the spiritual truths or Tattvas which Vyāsa attained in his Samādhi are such as have been accepted by all Tattvajñas or philosophers, for they are testified to by the experience of all emancipated devotees (*sarvātmārāmānubhavena sa-hetukam*). The highest of all these Tattvas, which forms the central theme of the *Bhāgavata*, is stated briefly in i, 1, 2, and i, 2, 11 to the elucidation of which, as a fundamental principle, Jīva Gosvāmin now turns his attention. In the first of these verses it is stated that the reality or Vāstava Vastu can be known only from the *Bhāgavata*, while the second verse describes what this Reality or ultimate principle is in the following terms :

vadanti tat tattvavidas tattvaṃ yaj jñānam advayam।
brahmeti paramātmeti bhagavān iti śabdyate॥

'The Tattva which the knowers of reality call *advaya jñāna* is expressed by the designations of Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat'.

This verse is said to sum up the concept of absolute reality as propounded by the *Bhāgavata*, of which it forms, as it were, the main Sūtra. At any rate, it is accepted as such by Jīva Gosvāmin who practically deduces his whole philosophy on its basis ; for the Advaya-jñāna-tattva, referred to in the first line of this verse, is now explained in the rest of his *Tattava-saṃdarbha*, while the three aspects of the divinity, embodied in the three concepts of Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat and mentioned in the second line of the verse, are dealt with in the three succeeding Saṃdarbhas. A preliminary analysis of the verse, therefore, is important from this point of view. In the first line of the verse the ultimate reality or Tattva is spoken of as Advaya-jñāna-tattva, while the second line designates three stadiums or gradations of the same reality as Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat. It will be necessary to understand at the outset what is signified by the main concept

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Advaya-jñāna, which is the pivot round which the Vaiṣṇava concept of absolute reality propounded by Jīva Gosvāmin revolves. The rest of the *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, therefore, is devoted to the elucidation of this fundamental Tattva, from which fact the Saṃdarbha itself receives its name.

The term Advaya-jñāna does not signify Nirguṇa Advaita-jñāna of the monistic idealists of the Advaita school, but a dualistic Saguṇa interpretation is given of the phrase. The term Jñāna is explained as consisting of pure consciousness (*cideka-rūpam*) which is self-luminous (*sva-prakāśa*) ; but the word Advaya does not mean ' sole ' or ' without a second ', but it signifies ' that like which there is no second Tattva or Reality '. The ultimate reality is called *advaya* because there is no other self-existent conscious or unconscious principle which is similar to it (*svayaṃsiddha-tādṛśātādṛśa-vastvāntar-ābhāvāt*). The Jīva is no doubt a conscious principle similar to it, but the Jīva is not self-existent inasmuch as it is subordinate to the Paramātman as the ultimate conscious principle. Nor is there any other self-existent unconscious, i.e. material, principle which is similar to it ; for such principles as the phenomenal world, time, space, etc. are not in their turn independent of the ultimate principle. Thus, there is nothing equal to it, as Jīva Gosvāmin further explains in his *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, in the same (*svajātīya-bheda*) or different (*vijātīya-bheda*) category. In itself also (*svagata-bheda*) the ultimate reality is *advaya*, because it is an indivisible substance in which there is no difference between the essence and the form, such as is found between the conscious principle and the organic body in a human being. It is also called *advaya* in the sense that its own infinite Śaktis or Energies are the only things which accompany it (*sva-śaktyeka-sahāyatvāt*), but which cannot exist without its ultimate existence (*tena vinā tāsām asiddhatvāt*). But the ultimate reality as the *advaya* is not mere consciousness ; it is a unity of consciousness, existence and bliss. In other words, the word *tattva* or essential principle indicating the highest good (*parama puruṣārtha*), implies by the qualification of *advaya* the unity of highest knowledge or consciousness (Jñāna) and the highest bliss (Parama Sukha), as well as of eternal reality (Nityatva). The Advaya-jñāna-tattva is finally identified with the Bhagavat as the highest and most perfect manifestation of the Absolute ; and as such it forms the essential theme of the *Bhāgavata*.

It is necessary to understand the true nature of the Jīva as a conscious principle in order to realize the nature of the Paramātman of which it is a part, and with which, as an eternal, pure and indivisible conscious principle, it is identical. But as this subject of the relation of the Jīva to the Paramātman is dealt with in more

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detail in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*, we shall advert to it later in that connexion. But since the Paramātman far transcends the Jīva and forms its ultimate support, it has been designated the Āśraya or the ground by the *Bhāgavata* (ii, 10, 1-2). In this connexion it is pointed out that the Purāṇa deals with ten topics, viz., Sarga, Visarga, Sthāna, Poṣaṇa, Ūti, Manvantara, Īśānukathā, Nirodha, Mukti and Āśraya. These terms are explained in the *Bhāgavata* ii, 10, 3–5; Jīva Gosvāmin discusses them but shows that of these the last is the most important. This theory of Āśraya, however, is established by the mystical conception of the three kinds of Puruṣa. It is shewn that the Ādhyātmika Puruṣa or Jīva is identical with the Ādhidaivika Puruṣa (e.g. Sūrya), while the Ādhibhautika Puruṣa is the visible body, the word *puruṣa* in the last case meaning only the Upādhi of the Jīva. None of these can be the ultimate ground or Āśraya, as they are dependent on each other. It is the Paramātman who is self-existent (*svayaṃ-siddha*) and independent of every other Āśraya (*ananyāśraya*); he alone can be the Āśraya of these as well as of everything else. If the Jīva is sometimes called Āśraya, it is only because the Jīva is a part (*aṃśa*) of the Paramātman. Throughout the *Bhāgavata*, especially in its tenth book, Śrīkṛṣṇa as the Paramātman is described as the sole Āśraya.

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# PISCHEL ON CHARACTERISTICS OF PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES*

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§1. Indian grammarians and rhetoricians include under the designation Prākṛta a number of literary languages, and they consider their derivation from Sanskrit as their common characteristic. Therefore they as a rule derive the word *prākṛta* from *prakṛti*: 'element,' 'basis,' and Sanskrit is considered to be this basis. Thus says Hemacandra 1, 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam, tatrabhavaṃ tata āgataṃ vā prākṛtam*: 'The basis is Sanskrit. That which has its origin in it, or is derived from it, is called Prākrit.' Similarly Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam, tatrabhavaṃ prākṛtam ucyate*; Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: *prakṛter āgataṃ prākṛtam*; Siṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 2: *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtād āgataṃ prākṛtam*; Prākṛtacandrikā in Peterson, Third Report 343, 7: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam, tatrabhavatvāt prākṛtaṃ smṛtam*. Cf. Narasiṃha, Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā, p. 1: *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtāyās tu vikṛtiḥ prākṛtī matā*, and Prākṛtasaṃjīvanī in Vāsudeva on Karpūramañjarī, ed. Bomb. 9, 11: *prākṛtasya tu sarvam eva saṃskṛtaṃ yoniḥ*. For other etymologies see §16.

§2. The Rasikasarvasva in Nārāyaṇa on Gītagovinda 5, 2 lays down: *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtam iṣṭam tato 'pabhraṃśabhāṣaṇam*: 'It is assumed that the Prākrit is derived from Sanskrit, and the Apabhraṃśa-language is derived from Prākrit.' A quotation by Śaṃkara on Śakuntalā 9, 10[1] makes it further specific: *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ tato 'pabhraṃśabhāṣaṇam*. Māhārāṣṭrī (§12) is considered to be the 'best Prākrit' according to Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa 1, 34: *Mahārāṣṭrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛṣṭaṃ prākṛtaṃ viduḥ*. This is explained by the fact that Māhārāṣṭrī was considered to be most closely related to Sanskrit. When the Indians speak of Prākrit in general, they understand by it almost always the Māhārāṣṭrī.[2] It is considered to be the language which lies at the root of the other Prākrit languages,[3] and in the works of the native grammarians it occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes to Māhārāṣṭrī 9 chapters with 424 rules, and to the three other languages dealt

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* Abbreviations as in Pischel.

[1] In Pischel, De gr. Pr., p. 1.

[2] Lassen, Inst., p. 7, 11f.; Muir, OST. 2², 43ff.

[3] Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 4. Somewhat differently Vararuci 10, 2; 11, 2; cf. however Muir l.c.

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with by him he devotes 14, 17, and 32 rules respectively, and declares at the end (12, 32) that all that has not been mentioned specifically should follow from Māhārāṣṭrī : *śeṣaṃ Māhārāṣṭrīvat.* The other grammarians proceed in the same way.

§3. Opinions of the Indians vary considerably as to what should be understood by Prākrit in the wider sense. Vr. considers as Prākrit the Māhārāṣṭrī, Paiśācī, Māgadhī, and Śaurasenī. He includes moreover the Ārṣa (§16), the Cūlikāpaiśācika and the Apabhraṃśa. Herein he is followed by Trivikrama, Siṃharāja, Narasiṃha, and Lakṣmīdhara, with the difference that Trivikrama excludes the Ārṣa, and Siṃharāja, Narasiṃha and Lakṣmīdhara do not mention it at all. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides the Prākrit into four classes : *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṃśa, paiśāca.* Among the *bhāṣāḥ* he includes : Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Avantī, and Māgadhī, and polemising against an unmentioned author [1] he excludes the Ardhamāgadhī, which is said to be only a Māgadhī not much different from Śaurasenī, the Dākṣiṇātyā, which has no particular distinguishing feature, and the Bāhlīkī, which belongs to the Māgadhī. As *vibhāṣāḥ* he mentions : Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīrikī, Śākkī, rejecting Oḍrī and the Drāviḍī from this category. He traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṃśa to 3, namely *nāgara, vrācaḍa* and *upanāgara*, and the 11 Paiśācī-dialects to the three *nāgaras :* Kaikeya, Śaurasena, and Pāñcāla.[2] Similarly teaches Rāmatarkavāgīśa.[3] Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paiśācī are considered to be Prākrit languages by all grammarians.

§4. Vr. does not mention the Apabhraṃśa at all (§3). It would be wrong however to infer from it like Lassen [4] that the language is later than Vr.[5] It would be equally unjustifiable to accuse Vr. of superficiality and inaccuracy as Bloch [6] has done. The reason is that along with others Vr. too does not consider the Apabhrṃśa to be Prākrit. As Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra, 2, 11, remarks, some authors postulated three languages, Prākrit, Sanskrit, and Apabhraṃśa : *yad uktaṃ kaiś cid yathā, prākṛtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ caitad apabhraṃśa iti tridhā.* To them belongs Daṇḍin, who in

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[1] This author is not Bharata, as can be inferred from the fact that the verse on the Vibhāṣāḥ is almost identical with Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17, 49. All other verses differ from Bharata. The quotation is found also in the Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita in Peterson, Third Report, p. 346f. Cf. also Rāmatarkavāgīśa in Lassen, Inst., p. 21.

[2] The text has been partly published by Aufrecht, Cat. Oxon., p. 181.

[3] Lassen, Inst., p. 19-23 ; cf. Kramadīśvara, 5, 99 and Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17, 48ff.

[4] IAlt. $2^2$, 1169. [5] Weber, IStr. 2, 57 ; Pischel, KB. 8, 145.

[6] Vararuci und Hemacandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14f.=KZ. 33, 332f.

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Kāvyādarśa 1, 32, differentiates between four kinds of literary works : those which are composed in Sanskrit or Prākrit or Apabhraṃśa, and those in which more than one of these languages have been used (*miśra*).[1] By Apabhraṃśa understands Daṇḍin according to 1, 36 the languages of the Ābhīras, etc. when they are used in artificial poetry (*kāvyeṣu*) ; in the manuals (*śāstreṣu*) everything that is different from Sanskrit is called Apabhraṃśa. Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 2, mentions in a quotation the language of the Abhīras among the *Vibhāṣāḥ* (§ 3) as well as among the Apabhraṃśa-languages, of which 26 more are mentioned, such as the Pāñcāla, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kālingya, Kārṇāṭaka, Drāviḍa, Gurjara, etc. According to this view therefore popular languages of Aryan or non-Aryan origin are called Apabhraṃśa. Rāmatarkavāgīśa remarks on the other hand that the *vibhāṣāḥ* should not be called Apabhraṃśa, when they are used in dramas, etc. Only the languages actually spoken by the people are Apabhraṃśa. Thus in his opinion Māgadhī as literary language is a *bhāṣā*, and an Apabhraṃśa as popular language.[2] Ravikara quoted by Bollensen on Vikr., p. 509, differentiates between two kinds of Apabhraṃśa. One is derived from Prākrit and differs but slightly from it in flexion, composition, and word-formation. The other however is the popular language (*deśabhāṣā*).[3] While Sanskrit and Prākrit follow the rules laid down about their form, the Apabhraṃśa is dominated by the usual speech of the people. The older Vāgbhaṭa too knows this definition of the Apabhraṃśa. In Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 1, he accepts four languages, Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūtabhāṣā, i.e. Paiśācī, and in 2, 3 he remarks that Apabhraṃśa is the pure language of the respective countries : *apabhraṃśas tu tac chuddhaṃ tattaddeśeṣu bhāṣitam.* The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alaṃkāratilaka 15, 3, distinguishes between Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Grāmyabhāṣā. In an inscription from Valabhī, it is said in praise of Guhasena that he was an adept in composing works which were written in three languages, Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa (IA, 10, 284). Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12, assumes six languages : Prākrit, Sanskrit, Māgadhabhāṣā, Piśācabhāṣā, Śūrasenī, and Apabhraṃśa, each of which according to the country concerned is further divided into numerous sub-varieties : *ṣaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṃśaḥ.* Amaracandra,

[1] He is followed by Kavicandra in the Kāvyacandrikā as quoted by Lassen, Inst., p. 32. The number is doubtful in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, 2, 7ff. p. 56.

[2] Lassen, Inst., p. 21f. ; cf. Muir, OST. 2², 46.

[3] Saṃskṛtam, Prākṛtam, and Deśabhāṣā are also for Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara, 6, 148, the *bhāṣātrayaṃ yan manuṣyeṣu saṃbhavet.* Cf. Kṣemendra, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 6, 47-52.

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Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti, p. 8, similarly teaches the sixfold variety of languages.

§5. We have accordingly to consider the popular dialects of India as Apabhraṃśa. Without doubt literary works of every kind were composed in them in times much earlier than that of the literary monuments preserved to us. This is proved in the case of dramas by the Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 66, inasmuch it allows the actors the use also of a provincial language besides the Śaurasenī, the proper language of the dramas: *śaurasenaṃ samāśritya bhāṣā kāryā tu nāṭake | atha vā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktibhiḥ.* In this connection we should not however think of the artificial dramas of the classical period, but rather of folk-theatres of the kind of Yātrā in Bengal,[1] the musical plays of Hindūstān,[2] of popular theatres of Almora,[3] and Nepal,[4] of which we possess a specimen in the Hariścandranṛtyam.[5] This Apabhraṃśa has never been called Prākrit but Apabhraṃśa, which, according to Daṇḍin, was used in artificial poetry, and was but slightly different from Prākrit (§4) according to Ravikara. For this reason it was also popularly considered to be derived from Prākrit (§2). We find it in the Apabhraṃśas dealt with by the Prākrit grammarians, in Piṅgala, and in other works (§29). By Prākrit languages the Indians always understand literary languages. Pṛthvīdhara in the introduction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. v, ed. Stenzler=p. 493 ed. Goḍabole [6] says expressly: *Māhārāṣṭryādayaḥ kāvya eva prayujyante.* Hc., 2, 174, p. 68, speaks of words which had not been used in Prākrit by ancient poets (*pūrvaiḥ kavibhiḥ*) and which therefore should be avoided. Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa, 1, 35, says that the Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭi, and other dialects of this kind were used in conversation under the designation Prākrit, and Rāmatarkavāgīśa forbids the practice of calling the *vibhāṣāḥ* Apabhraṃśa when they are used in theatres, etc. (§4). We have therefore to distinguish between a Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa, the old popular speech of Śūrasena, the continuation of which constitutes the modern Gujarātī or Mārwārī,[7] and a Śaurasenī-Prākrit, the artificial language, which is used as Śaurasenī

[1] Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, 2³, 412ff.; Nisikānta Chattopādhyāya, Indische Essays (Zürich 1883), p. 1ff.

[2] F. Rosen Die Indrasabhā des Amānat (Leipzig 1892), Introduction.

[3] See v. Oldenburg, Zapiski vostočnago otdělnija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obščestva, 5, 290ff.

[4] Klatt, De trecentis Cānakyae poetae Indici sententiis (Halle 1873), p. 1ff.; Pischel, Katalog der Bibliothek der DMG. (Leipzig 1881) 2, 5ff.

[5] Das Hariścandranṛtyam. Ein altnepalesisches Tanzspiel. Herausgegeben von A. Conrady (Leipzig 1891).

[6] Lalitadīkṣita's quotation in Goḍabole, p. 1, comes from there.

[7] Pischel, Academy 1873, p. 398; Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XXV.

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in the prose of the dramas and in all its characteristics resembles Sanskrit. The Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa however was used also in the lyric poems and was afterwards remodelled after the fashion of Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit of lyric poetry and artificial epics (Kunstepos), for song and recitation, although the chief characteristics of the dialect were left untouched. An example is given by Hc. 4, 446 : *kaṇṭhi pālambu kidu Radie*, which in Śaurasenī-Prākrit would have been *kaṇṭhe pālambaṃ kidaṃ Radīe*, becomes however *kaṇṭhe pālambaṃ kaaṃ Raīe* in Māhārāṣṭrī with the dropping of *d*. Hc. wrongly declares that the Apabhraṃśa as a rule follows the Śaurasenī (§28). Similarly there was a Mahārāṣṭra-Apabhraṃśa, of which the modern Marāṭhī is the continuation,[1] and a Mahārāṣṭra-Prākrit, the Māhārāṣṭrī of the grammarians ; a Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa (§4), which through the intermediary step of the Lāṭ-dialect continues to live up to the present day principally in the language of Bihār and of Western Bengal,[2] and a Māgadha-Prākrit, the Māgadhī of the grammarians.[3] For Paiśācī s. §27, for Ārṣa §16.

§6. The Prākrit languages are therefore literary languages (Kunstsprachen), in so far as they have been considerably changed by the poets for literary purposes. But they are not artificial languages, if thereby it is meant that they are pure inventions on the part of the poets.[4] It is just the same with them as with Sanskrit, which indeed is neither itself the general language of daily intercourse among the cultured classes in India, nor is even based upon the same,[5] but is certainly derived from a dialect spoken by the people, which was raised to the status of the general literary language on political or religious grounds.[6] The difference however

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[1] Garrez, JA. vi, 20, p. 203ff. (Paris 1872); wrongly Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XXII.

[2] Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XXIV. In Academy l.c. I have wrongly designated Pāli as Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa, against which E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pāligrammatik (Berlin 1875), p. 8. I corrected the mistake already in Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p. 316.

[3] The theory postulated by me in the Academy 1873, p. 379f., has been here improved upon on various points. Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XVIIff. is essentially in agreement with me. I differ from him however in numerous details, as is shown by the following paragraphs. Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit has confused Apabhraṃśa with Prākrit in Gaüḍavaho, p. LVff.

[4] Beames, Comp. Gr. 1, 201. 223 ; Sörensen, Om Sanskrits Stilling i den almindelige Sprogudvikling i Indien (Köbenhavn 1894), p. 220ff. Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 30ff. should be corrected accordingly.

[5] Franke, BB. 17, 71. I doubt whether there was ever *one* living language for all the cultured people of the whole of Āryāvarta. Cf. also Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. XLII, note 7.

[6] In GGA. 1884, p. 512 I gave out the suggestion that the Classical Sanskrit is based on the dialect of Brahmāvarta. Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. XXVI, note 11.

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lies therein that it is quite impossible to derive all the Prākrit languages from one and the same source. Least of all can they be all derived from Sanskrit, as the Indians mostly assume (§1), and with them Hoefer,[1] Lassen,[2] Bhāṇḍārkar[3] and Jacobi.[4] Every Prākrit dialect has a number of grammatical and lexical peculiarities in common with the Vedic, which distinguish it sharply from Sanskrit. Such points of contact are: the looser rules of Saṃdhi; the passage of intervocalic *ḍ, ḍh,* into *ḷ, ḷh*; the suffix *-ttaṇa*=Ved. *-tvana*[5]; the Svarabhakti; the gen. sg. of femin. in *-āe*=Ved. *-āyai*, the instr. pl. in *-ehiṃ*=Ved. *-ebhiḥ*; the imperative *hohi*=Ved. *bodhi*; *tā, jā, ĕttha*=Ved. *tāt, yāt, itthā*; *te, me* as accusative; *amhe*=Ved. *asme*; Prākrit *pāso* 'eye'=Ved. *paś*[6]; AMg. *vaggūhiṃ*=*vagnubhiḥ, saddhiṃ*=*sadhrīm*; A. *dive divĕ*=Ved. *divé dive*; JŚ. A. *kidha*, AMg. A. *kiha*=Ved. *kathā*; *māiṃ*=Ved. *mā́kim, ṇāiṃ*=Ved. *nakīm*; AMg. *viū*=*viduḥ*[7]; Mg. *-āho, -āhu*, A. *-ahŏ*=Ved. *-āsaḥ*; M. JM. A. *kuṇai*, JŚ. *kuṇadi*=*kṛṇoti*; AMg. JM. *sakkā*=Ved. *śakyāt*; A. *sāhu*=Ved. *śáśvat*; AMg. *ghiṃsu*=Ved. *ghraṁsa*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khambha*=Ved. *skambha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rukkha* (tree)=Ved. *rukṣa*; future *sŏcchaṃ* from Ved. *śruṣ*; the AMg. infinitives in *-ae, -ttae*=Ved. *-tavai*; the A. absolutives in *-ppi, -pi, -vi*=Ved. *-tvī*, in *-ppiṇu*=Ved. *-tvīnam* and others, which have been dealt with in this grammar in proper places. This alone is sufficient to render it impossible to consider Sanskrit to be the only source of Prākrit.[8]

§7. Not less close is the relation of the Prākrit languages with the Middle Indian and New Indian languages than with Vedic. The inscriptions of Aśoka give us information about at least four Middle Indian popular dialects. The inscriptions from second century B.C. to third century A.D., which are found in caves, on Stūpas and grants etc., prove that there was a popular language which was understood in widely distant parts of India. Senart has called the language of these monuments 'prākrit monumental'.[9] This designation is however misleading, for it suggests that the language was purely an artificial one. There is as little reason to accept this view as

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[1] De Prakrita dialecto §8.
[2] Inst. p. 25f.; I Alt. $2^2$, 1163, note 5. [3] JBoAS., 16, 315.
[4] KZ. 24, 614, where he says 'Pāli and Prākrit on the whole are only a later form of Sanskrit.'
[5] v. Bradke, ZDMG. 40, 673.
[6] Pischel and Geldner, Ved. Stud. 1, p. XXXI, note 2.
[7] Ved. -Stud. 2, 235f.
[8] Weber goes too far when he (IS. 2, 111) sees in the Prākrit languages nothing but degenerated Vedic dialects. Cf. 9.
[9] Les inscriptions de Piyadasi 2, 488. He is followed by Sörensen, l.c. p. 187.

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to agree with Kern [1] that Pāli is an artificial language, even though, like the Ārṣa (§16), both might have undergone various transformations as vehicles of literature. As most of these inscriptions are found in caves, I suggest that this dialect should be called Leṇa-dialect according to the word *leṇa*=Skt. *layana* 'cave', which often occurs in the inscriptions. The designation Lāṭa-dialect from *lāṭ*=Pkt. *laṭṭhi*=Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'pillar' furnishes a parallel to this. All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister-languages of same, and most of their peculiarities are met with again in the Prākrits. A few examples in connection with the first edict of Aśoka will be sufficient here. From *likh* we find in the first edict the participle of the causative Girnār *lekhāpitā*, Shāhbāzgarhī *likhapitu*, Jaugaḍa *likhāpitā*, Mansehra [*l*]*ikhapita*,—a form, which is shown also by the pillar inscriptions (Senart 2, 597). Similar forms from consonantal roots are seen in the Leṇa-dialect: *ba*(*ṃ*)*dhāpayati*, *kīḍāpayati*, *pīḍāpayati*, *va*[*ṃ*]*dāpayati* (Hāthigumphā Inscription, pp. 155, 158, 160, 163),[2] as well as in the Pāli *likhāpeti*, and these forms are of very frequent use in Prākrit (§552). Aśoka's *likhāpita* corresponds to JM. *lihāviya* (Erz. 63, 31), Aśoka's *likhāpayisaṃ* (Girnār 14, 3) to Mg. *lihāvaïśśaṃ* (Mṛcch. 136, 21).—Girnār *prajūhitavyaṃ* from *hu* (to sacrifice) with °*pra* [3] shows an extension of the present-stem, as is the usual practice in Pāli and Prākrit.—In Girnār *samājamhī* and *mahānasamhi* the pronominal locative ending has been used in the case of nouns; Shāhbāzgarhī and Khāslī have *mahanasasi*, *mahānasasi*, i.e. *mahānasaṃsi*,—a form which is found regularly in the pillar-edicts and the separate-edicts. In the Leṇa-dialect is found *Ja*[*ṃ*]*budipamhi* (Karle Inscription, No. 1),[4] *thuvamhi* =*stūpe*,[5] *Anugāmimhi* (Nāsik No. 6[a]),[6] *Tiraṇhumhi* (Nāsik No. 11[b]. 19),[7] as well as *Tiraṇhumi*, i.e. *Tiraṇhummi*.[8] To this corresponds in Prākrit the locative M. JM. JŚ. AMg. in *-mmi*, AMg. *-ṃsi*. Further to be noticed is the use of *asti* in plural, like Prākrit *atthi* (§498), and of *se* which is used exactly in the same way in AMg. From the Leṇa-dialect I shall further point out only the declination of *i*- and *u*-stems, of which the gen.-sg. ends in *-no* and *-sa*, i.e. *-ssa* as in Prākrit, just as the gen. -sg. also of *n*-stems ends in *-sa*. In all these points, as also in many others, the Prākrit

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[1] Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amsterdam 1873) p. 14f.
[2] Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leiden 1885) 3, 2.
[3] Pischel, GGA. 1881, 1323f.
[4] Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India. By Jas. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji (Bombay 1881), p. 28.
[5] Senart, l.c. 2, 472.
[6] Arch. Survey of Western India, 4, 101.
[7] Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 106. 114.
[8] Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 99.

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corresponds to the Middle Indian popular dialects, and nothing corresponding to them can be found in Sanskrit.

§8. On account of the analytical character of the New Indian languages the relationship of Prākrit with them cannot be proved from the flexional systems. But this relationship is all the more frappant in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of Middle Indian. Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya I, p. 5, 21f., says that of every word there are many incorrect forms (*apabhraṃśāḥ*), as, for instance, of the word *gauḥ* (cow), there are the Apabhraṃśāḥ *gāvī, goṇī, gotā, gopotālikā*.[1] Of these forms *gāvī* is very much in use in Prākrit; of JM. *goṇī* the masculine form is *goṇo* (§ 393). On Pāṇini, 1, 3, 1 (p. 259), Kātyāyana mentions *āṇapayati*, to which Patañjali adds *vaṭṭati* and *vaḍḍhati*. On Pāṇini, 3, 1, 91 (2, 74), Patañjali adds *supati*, and Kaiyaṭa expressly says that such verbs are *apabhraṃśa*.[2] *Ānapayati* is found in the inscriptions of Aśoka (Senart 2, 559) and the Leṇa-dialect (Arch. s. of W.I. 4, 104, 110), to which corresponds Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi* (§ 551), whereas the Pāli has *āṇāpeti*. Already Kielhorn has noticed that there are homonymous forms for *vaṭṭati, vaḍḍhati, supati* also in Pāli. In Prākrit they are M.AMg. JM. *vaṭṭaï*, JŚ. Ś. *vaṭṭadi*, M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhaï*, Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§289, 291), M. *suvaï, suaï*, JM. *suyaï* (§ 497).

Indian grammarians and writers on poetics divide the vocabulary of Prākrit into three classes: (1) *saṃskṛtasama* 'same as in Sanskrit' (C. 1, 1; Sr. in Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 40), usually *tatsama* 'like it (i.e. Sanskrit)' (Triv. in Pischel, l.c. p. 29; Mk. fol. 2; Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa 1, 32; Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60), as well as *tattulya* (Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 2) and *samānaśabda* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); (2) *saṃskṛtabhava* 'derived from Sanskrit' (Sr.), usually *tadbhava* (Triv.; Mk.; Daṇḍin; Dhanika), but also called *saṃskṛtayoni* (Hc. 1, 1; C.), *tajja* (Vāgbhaṭa) and *vibhraṣṭa* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); (3) *deśya* (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāgbhaṭa) or *deśī* (Deśīn. p. 1, 2; Daṇḍin; Dhanika), as well as *deśīprasiddha* (C.) and *deśīmata* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3).[3] The *tatsamas* are words which have the same form in Prākrit as in Sanskrit, e.g. *kara, komala, jala, soma*. The *tadbhavas* are divided into the classes of *sādhyamānasaṃskṛtabhavāḥ* and the *siddhasaṃskṛtabhavāḥ*. To the first category belong the Prākrit words which still presuppose the Sanskrit word, from which they are derived, in its unfinished form

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[1] Weber, IS. 13, 365.

[2] Kielhorn, ZDMG. 39, 327. Cf. Sörensen, l.c. p. 180f.

[3] Cf. also Beames, Comp. Gr. 1, 11ff.; Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 30f; BB. 3, 235; Hoernle, Comp, Gr. p. XXXVIIIff. Bhuvanapāla in Weber, IS. 16, 59 mentions as the fourth class the words which occur in the *sāmānyabhāṣā*.

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without affix and suffix. In this connection the flexional systems have to be particularly taken into consideration in which the word assumes its finished form according to the rules of grammar (*sādhyamāna*). Beames has fittingly called them 'early *tadbhavas*'.[1] They are the more independent part of Prākrit. The second category includes the Prākrit words which are derived from grammatically complete (*siddha*) Sanskrit forms, e.g. AMg. *vandittā*=Skt. *vanditvā*.[2] As a large portion of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words are found in all the New Indian languages, it is incorrect to assume that all such words might have their origin only in Sanskrit. For it does not even require to be proved to-day that all the New Indian languages are not based on Sanskrit.

§9. The Indians include within the class of *deśya* or *deśī* very heterogenous elements. They consider as such everything of which the form or meaning cannot be derived from Sanskrit. In proportion to their erudition in Sanskrit and their dexterity with etymology they declare a particular word to be *deśya* which is considered by others to be *tadbhava* or *tatsama*. Thus there are found among the *deśīs* words which, although clearly traceable to a Sanskrit root, have yet no exactly corresponding form in Sanskrit, such as *pāso* (eye; Triv. in BB. 6, 104) or *pāsaṃ* (Deśīn. 6, 75) from AMg. *pāsaï*=Skt. *paśyati*; or *sivvī* (needle; Deśīn. 8, 29; Triv. in BB. 3, 260) from Skt. *sīvyati*. Moreover compounds, the component parts of which are Skt., but the special meaning of which cannot be found in Skt., such as *acchivaḍaṇaṃ* (to close the eyes; Deśīn. 1, 39 with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13, 5)=*akṣi*+*patana*; or *sattāvīsaṃjoaṇo* ('moon'; Deśīn. 8, 22; C. 1, 1 p. 39=Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 2)=*saptāviṃśati*+*dyotana*.[3] Then also those words for which there is no root in Skt., such as *joḍaṃ* ('star'; Deśīn. 3, 49), *joḍo* (Triv. in BB. 13, 17f.); or *tuppo* ('anointed'; Pāiyal. 233; Deśīn. 5, 22; Hāla 22 v. l. 289, 520), which is connected with Marāṭhī *tūpa* ('clarified butter, ghee').[4] Finally, words in which somewhat unusual phonetic laws are in evidence, such as *gaharo* ('vulture'; Pāiyal. 126; Deśīn. 2, 84; Triv. in BB. 6, 93), which has been rightly connected with *gṛdhra* by Trivikrama; or *vihuṇḍuo* ('Rāhu'; Deśīn. 7, 65; Triv. in BB. 3, 252)=*vidhuṃtudaḥ*.[5] Very numerous among the Deśī words are the verbs which are designated Dhātvādeśa 'root substitute' and occupy a large portion of the Indian grammars (Vr. 8, 1ff.; Hc. 4, 1ff.; Kī. 4, 46ff.;

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[1] Comp. Gr. 1, 17.
[2] Pischel on Hc. 1, 1.
[3] Not=*yojana*. The 27 *nakṣatras* are meant.
[4] Weber, ZDMG. 28, 355.
[5] Cf. Deśīn. 1, 3; Bühler, Paiyalacchī, p. 11ff.; Sörensen l.c. 225ff.

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Mk. fol. 53ff.). Here more frequently than in any other part does Skt. fail to render adequate help, and agreement with the New Indian languages becomes most striking.[1] As the name suggests, we have to understand 'provincialisms' by Deśī. In Hc.'s *Raẏaṇāvalī* (§ 36), the greatest of the collections of Deśīs preserved to us, the Dhātvādeśas have not been mentioned in the text (Deśīn. 1, 3), and Hc. (1, 4) expressly excludes all provincialisms which have not been used in Prākrit. Many such Deśīs from Prākrit or Apabhraṃśa have been taken into the Sanskritic dictionaries[2] and Dhātupāṭhas.[3] It is possible that now and then non-Aryan words have crept into the Deśīs. The main body of them however is the age-old linguistic legacy of the Aryan races, for which we seek in vain in Sanskrit. Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12 gives an etymology of *prākṛta*, according to which the basis (*prakṛti*) of Prākrit and Sanskrit is the natural medium of intercourse of all men which is not supported merely on the rules of grammar, or Prākrit itself is this medium (§ 16). This is however wrong, as is shown above. Sanskrit answers for a large portion of the words in individual Prākrit dialects, particularly in the Māhārāṣṭrī of artificial poetry, as of Gaüḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, which are composed exactly after the model of the corresponding *genre* of poetry in Sanskrit. The number of Deśīs is therefore quite insignificant in them,[4] although in JM. they are very numerous. I am absolutely of Senart's[5] opinion, that all the Prākrits have their roots in popular speech, and all their essential elements were originally taken from living speech; but those dialects, which were raised to the status of literary language, just like Sanskrit, underwent various far-reaching changes.

§10. In the inscriptions there are preserved for us in Prākrit: donatory grants of the Pallava King Śivaskandavarman, those of the queen of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman,[6] the Ghaṭayāla-Inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva's

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[1] Many examples are to be found in the translation of Hc. and in Weber's notes on Hāla.

[2] Zachariae, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie (Berlin 1883), p. 53ff. Cf. also Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. LIff.

[3] Benfey, Vollständige Grammatik §140, 2; Pischel, BB. 3, 236. 264; 6, 84; Bühler, WZKM. 8, 17ff.; 122ff.; Franke, ibid. 321ff.

[4] Pischel, GGA. 1880, p. 326, where it was remarked that in the notes on the Rāvaṇavaho there is much valuable material. Shankar P. Pandit, Gaüḍavaho, p. LVI.

[5] L'épigraphie et l'histoire linguistique de l'Inde. Extrait des Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris 1886), p. 17ff.; Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi 2, 530ff. Senart has not however everywhere taken Prākrit in its strictly correct sense, as already pointed out in §7.

[6] Published by Fleet, IA. 9, 100ff. Hardly usable. Cf. Bühler, EI. 1, 2, note.

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Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka. The first has been edited by Bühler, EI. 1, 2ff.; a few corrections were suggested by Leumann, *ibid.*, 2, 483ff. and Pischel, GN. 1895, 210ff. (I shall use the abbreviation PG. for Pallava-grants). Bühler has pointed out that several peculiarities are met with in this inscription which otherwise are found almost only in literary Prākrit. Thus the change of *ya* into *ja* in *kāravĕjjā*, *vaṭṭeja*, *hoja*, *jo*, *saṃjutto*; the more frequent transformation of dental *na* into cerebral; appearance of sonants in the place of surds, such as *Kassava*, *aṇuvaṭṭhāveti*, *vi*, *bhaḍa*, *kaḍa*; reduplication of consonants in orthography, such as *aggiṭṭhoma*, *assamedha*, *dhamma*, *savattha*, *raṭṭhika*, etc.[1] All these peculiarities are found scattered in one or another inscription in the Leṇa-dialect.[2] But all of them together and in such large quantities occur in no other inscription, in so far as the language concerned can be at all regarded as Prākrit. But it is no pure Prākrit at all. At the side of *ja* there is *ya*; *na* is often retained; surds mostly remain unchanged; reduplicated consonants are also written single, as in *Sivakhaṃdavamo*, *gumike*, *vadhanike*, etc.[3] Gross irregularities for Prākrit are: *Kāṃcīpurā* (5, 1) for *Kaṃcīpurā*; *Āṭṭeya*° (6, 13) for *Aṭṭeya*°; *Vatsa*° (6, 22) for *Vaccha*°; *cāṭṭāri* (6, 39) for *cattāri*; unusual are *vitarāma* (5, 7) for *vitarāmo*; *dūdha* (6, 31) for *duddha*; °*dattaṃ* (6, 12) for °*diṇṇaṃ*, *datā* (7, 48) i.e. *dattā* for *diṇṇā*. It can be seen quite clearly that the language is an artificial one.[4] For the history of Prākrit the inscriptions are not without value and interest, and they have been therefore regularly used in this grammar throughout, whereas the Leṇa-dialect and the so-called Gāthā dialect[5] are beyond the compass of this grammar. The inscription of Kakkuka (KI.) has been published by Munsiff Debiprasād, JRAS, 1895, pp. 513ff. It is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 20).

§11. The fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka are to be found on two basalt-plates discovered in Ajmer. They have been published by Kielhorn, IA. 20, 201ff. and again GN. 1893, 552ff. In them occur three Prākrit-dialects: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, and Māgadhī. Konow[6] has shown, as I remarked immediately after the first look at the Prākrit,[7] that on the whole the Prākrit forms agree accurately with Hemacandra's rules. But

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[1] Bühler, l.c. p. 2ff.

[2] Senart, Piyadasi 2, 489ff. 518ff.

[3] Bühler, l.c. p. 2ff.

[4] To it applies even more accurately what Senart l.c. 2, 494 says of the Leṇa-dialect: cette langue n'est donc ni purement populaire ni entièrement réglée.

[5] Senart, l.c. 2, 469f., justly says that this designation is inaccurate. His suggestion, on the other hand, to call the language 'Sanskrit mixte' would however meet with little approval. Further literature in Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. XXXIXf.

[6] GGA. 1894, 478ff.

[7] IA. 20, 204.

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Hc. was hardly the authority according to which Somadeva directed his course. Hc. 4, 271, permits in Ś. the absol. in *Śdūṇa*, but Somadeva has *-ūṇa*, the Māhārāṣṭrī form. Hc. 4, 280, requires *yyeva*, but Somadeva has *jjeva*. Somadeva has *ś* in consonant groups of Māgadhī, where Hc. 4, 281 demands *s*. He has *śta* for *rtha*, instead of the *sta* of Hc. 4, 291, and *śka* for *ḥka*, *ska* of Hc. 4, 296, 297.[1] Of these the absol. in *-ūṇa* may be a mistake which was committed by Somadeva himself; *-dūṇa* too may be a mistake (§ 584); *śta* for *sta* may be again a mistake, for in 566, 9 we find *yahastaṃ* =*yathārtham*. But *śka* for *ḥka*, *ska* may be hardly regarded as a slip on the part of the mason, as Konow[2] thinks, for the examples are too numerous. Of course, it is not permissible to attach more value to the inscription than to a single manuscript. It is full of gross mistakes regarding the rules of the dialects concerned, like any manuscript of a drama. To the mistakes pointed out by Konow, l.c., p. 479, I add: Ś. *tujjha* (554, 4; see § 421); *jjeva* (554, 4; 555, 18) for *jeva* after anusvāra; *ṇīmmāya* (554, 13; see § 591); the passives *viloijjanti*, *pĕkkhijjanti* (554, 21. 22), *kijjadu* (562, 24), *jaṃpijjadi* (568, 6), which at all events are permitted by Hc., for *viloīanti*, *pĕkkhīanti*, *karīaḍu*, *jaṃpīadi* (§ 535); *kitti* (555, 4) for *kiṃ ti*; *rayaṇāiṃ* (555, 15), *raaṇa* (560, 19) for *radaṇāiṃ*, *radaṇa*; *gihīda* (560, 20) for *gahida*; *eārisaṃ* (563, 3) for *edārisaṃ*. The dialectical inaccuracies of Mg. are: *pĕśkiyyaṃdi* (565, 13) for *pĕśkīanti*, *pĕśkiyyasi* (565, 15) for *pĕśkīasi*; *yāṇiyyadi* (566, 1) for *yāṇīadi*; *pacakkhīkadaṃ* (566, 1) for *paccaśkī°*; *yahastaṃ* (566, 9) for *yadhastaṃ*; *nijjhala*, *yujjha* (566, 9. 11) for *ṇiyyhala*, *yuyyha* (cf. § 280. 284); *eva* (567, 1) for *yeva*. All these are mistakes which occur continually also in the manuscripts, just as *tamapasara* (555, 11), *pacakkhāiṃ* (555, 14), *śśalūvaṃ* (565, 9). Most of them would certainly have disappeared if we had still other manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. A few, such as the absolutives in *-ūṇa* and passives in Ś. *-ijja-*, Mg. *-iyya-*, may be due to mistakes on the part of the author, as also Rājaśekhara (§ 22) and later poets often mix up the dialects. The spelling with *n* instead of *ṇ* and the interpolation of *y*[3] indicate Jaina influence. A second fragment discovered in Ajmīr, that of Harakelināṭaka, is ascribed to Vigraharājadeva himself, and is dated in 22nd November, 1153[4]; Hemacandra's grammar 'would have been finished at the earliest towards the end of the Vikrama-year 1197',[5] that is to say, in 1140 A.D. Somadeva and Hc. were therefore contemporaries. In spite of all the mistakes, these frag-

[1] Konow, l.c. p. 481.
[2] l.c. p. 482.
[3] Konow, l.c. p. 480.
[4] Kielhorn, IA. 20, 201.
[5] Bühler, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra (Wien 1889), p. 18.

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ments are of the greatest importance for Māgadhī, which is handed down to us only here in a form which agrees with the rules of the grammarians (§ 23).

§12. The Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 2), which has derived its name from Mahārāṣṭra, the land of the Marāṭhās, is the language meant when one speaks of Prākrit in general, and it is also considered to be the best Prākrit. Garrez has shown (§ 5) that it has unmistakable points of contact with the language of the Marāṭhās.[1] No other dialect has been phonologically altered to such an extent for artificial purposes. The dropping of consonants has assumed such proportions as nowhere else, so that phonetically quite different words have often coincided with each other. Thus M. *kaa=kaca* and *kṛta ; kaï=kati, kapi, kavi, kṛti ; kāa=kāka, kāca, kāya ; gaā=gatā, gadā, gajāḥ ; maa=mata, mada, maya, mṛga, mṛta ; vaa=vacas. vayas, vrata, °pada ; sua=śuka, suta, śruta*, etc.[2] Beames has therefore not unreasonably called the M. ' emasculated stuff '.[3] As was perceived long ago, its phonetic structure was largely determined by the fact that the M. was above all used in muscial stanzas. Such stanzas are the Gāhās=Skt. *Gāthās*, which are collected in the Sattasaī of Hāla and the Vajjālagga of Jayavallabha,[4] and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics and are grafted also in the dramas. They are expressly designated as *Gāhā* ' poem ', ' musical stanza ' for instance in H. 3, 500, 600, 698, 708, 709, 815. Vajjālagga 3, 4, 9, 10 ; p. 326, 6. The stanza in Mudrār. 83, 2. 3, composed in the purest M., which is addressed to the minister Rākṣasa by Virādhagupta appearing as a snake-charmer and Prākrit-poet, is called by him *Gāthā*, and Viśvanātha, Sāhityadarpaṇa 432, says that women not of lowly origin should speak Śaurasenī in drama, but in their songs (*āsām eva tu gāthāsu*) they should use Māhārāṣṭrī. The stanza in Śakuntalā, 55, 15. 16, is called a *gīdaaṃ=gītakam* by Priyaṃvadā in 54, 8, and Śakuntalā in 55, 8, called it a *gīdiā=gītikā*. The verses of the spy in Mudrār. 34, 6ff. are *gīdāiṃ* according to 35, 1. The actress sings (*gāyati*) her stanzas in M., e.g. Śak. 2, 13 ; Mallikām. 19, 1 ; Kāleyak. 12, 6 (*vīṇāṃ vādayantī gāyati*) ; Unmattar. 2, 17 ; cf. Mukund. 4, 20ff. Of the stanzas which are sung behind the stage it is said

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[1] I do not agree with E. Kuhn (KZ. 33, 478) that the oldest form of Māhārāṣṭrī-Prākrit is to be found in Pāli.

[2] Some instances are given by Shankar P. Paṇḍit, Gaüḍavaho, p. LVI. LVIII.

[3] Comp. Gr. 1, 223.

[4] Bhāṇḍārkar, Report, 1883-84 (Bombay, 1887), p. 17. 324ff. The proper designation is *Vajjālagga* (3. 4. 5 ; p. 326, 9), from which *Vajjālaya* (p. 326, 5) is derived. The word consists of *vajjā=vrajyā* (B.-R. s.v. ; Weber, Hāla², p. XXXVIII ; Pischel, Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena (Göttingen 1893) p. 30f.) and *lagga* (sign ; symbol ; Deśin. 7, 17)=Skt. *lagna*. The translation *Padyālaya* is wrong.

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*nepathye gīyate*, e.g. Śak. 95, 17 ; Viddhaś. 6, 1 ; Kāleyak. 3, 6 ; Karṇas. 3, 4. This application of M. in lyrical poems destined for musical purposes is doubtless the oldest, and the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is primarily to be attributed to this cause.[1]

§13. For our knowledge of M. the most important work is the Sattasaī of Hāla. The first 370 stanzas were published by Weber already in 1870. Über das Saptaçatakam des Hāla. Leipzig, 1870.[2] Additions and corrections were given by Weber in ZDMG. 26, 735ff. ; 28, 345ff., which were followed by a complete edition with German translation and word-index : Das Saptaçatakam des Hāla ; Leipzig, 1881 ; Weber, IS. 16, 1ff. dealt with Bhuvanapāla's commentary 'Chekoktivicāralīlā'. Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab have moreover given us another edition which is indispensable on account of the complete commentary and many good readings : The Gāthāsaptaśatī of Sātavāhana ; with the commentary of Gangādharabhatta ; Bombay, 1889 (=Kāvyamālā 21). Weber dates the collection 'at the earliest in the third century A.D., at all events however earlier than the seventh century', and he has dealt at length on the six different recensions—that of Bhuvanapāla being the seventh—in the introduction to his complete edition (p. XXVIIff.). It is clear from the Sattasaī that there was a very rich literature in M. Originally the name of the particular composer was appended to every stanza (H. 709). Of these names however only a small portion has come down to us,—many of them moreover in corrupt form, and the tradition varies a great deal with regard to the assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgata mention 112 names ; Bhuvanapāla mentions 384, considering Sātavāhana (Śātavāhana, Śālivāhana, Sālāhaṇa) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, Harivṛddha (Hariuḍḍha) and Pŏṭṭisa are mentioned also by Rājaśekhara in Karp. 19, 2, where moreover are mentioned Nandiuḍḍha =Nandivṛddha and Hāla, and in the var. lec. Pālittaa, Campaarāa and Malaasehara.[3] Of these poets Pālittaa is mentioned by Bhuvanapāla as the composer of ten verses of this anthology. If, as Weber[4] suggests, Pālitta=Pādalipta, he would be identical with the Pādaliptācārya, who is referred to by Hc., Deśīn. 1, 2, as the author of a manual of Deśī (*deśīśāstra*). The actual name of the poet who has been mentioned last can now be inferred with certainty from the var.

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[1] Weber, IStr. 3, 159f. ; 279 ; Hāla², p. XX.
[2] Garrez published an important review of it in JA. VI, 20, 197ff.
[3] Pischel, GGA. 1891, 365 ; v.l. of Karp. 19, 2.
[4] IS. 16, 24, note 1.

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lec. Mallasehara in Konow's edition and Malayaśeṣara, i.e. °śekhara in Bhuvanapāla. The full name of Abhimāna, the composer of H. 518 according to Bhuvanapāla, is Abhimānacihna, who was perhaps, like Pādalipta, the author of a Deśīśāstra which contained a *vṛtti* on the *sūtras* in which Abhimāna gave his own examples (Deśin. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12. 17). The same is true of Devarāja, the composer of H. 220, 369 according to Bhuvanapāla, and a writer on Deśī according to Deśīn 6, 58, 72 ; 8, 17, as well as of Sātavāhana himself who is mentioned among the sources of Hemacandra on Deśī in Deśīn. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125. Aparājita, whom Bhuvanapāla mentions as the composer of H. 756, is different from the Aparājita who, according to Karp. 6. 1, wrote a Mṛgāṅkalekhākathā and was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara. Whether this younger Aparājita did not at all use Sanskrit cannot be decided with certainty, for Rājaśekhara might have translated the quoted stanza into Prākrit, and a Sanskrit strophe of him has been cited in the Subhāṣitāvalī 1024. Sarvasena, who is the author of the stanzas H. 217, 234 according to Bhuvanapāla, composed according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 148, 9 a work called Harivijaya, out of which one stanza is cited in 127, 7, which is quoted also by Hemacandra,[1] Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi fol. 7[b] (MS. Kielhorn, Report (Bombay, 1881), p. 102, Nr. 265). Of well-known poets Pravarasena is mentioned in both the lists, and Bhuvanapāla mentions also Vākpatirāja. None of the quoted stanzas can however be found in Rāvaṇavaho or Gaüḍavaho. As Vākpatirāja composed a second artificial poem,-*aa* the *Mahumahavia*[a], according to G. 69, and the *Madhumathanavijaya* according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 152, 2, Someśvara, Kāvyādarśa fol. 31 (MS. Kielhorn, Report p. 87, No. 66), Hemacandra, Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi fol. 7[b], the two stanzas ascribed to him might be derived from the latter. But the lists are often at variance with other and cannot be relied upon. Yet the fact remains untouched that the Sattasaī presupposes a very rich literature in Prākrit in the formation of which women too took active part. Whether or not some of the stanzas were scattered only occasionally in Sanskrit works, as in the dramas, can be decided only in future.[2]

§14. A rich literature in Prākrit is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjālagga of Jayavallabha (§12), a Jaina of the Śvetāmbara sect. According to Bhāṇḍārkar l.c. p. 17, it contains in 48 sections 704 stanzas, of which the authors unfor-

[1] Pischel, IDMG. 39, 316.

[2] The two editions of Weber have been distinguished as H[1] and H[2] where necessary. H. always designates the second edition.

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tunately have not been mentioned. Stanza 2=H. 2 ; of the stanzas 6–10 given on p. 325 none however can be found in H., and the immediate publication of the Vajjālagga is very much to be desired. In the Vikrama-year 1393=1336 A.D. Ratnadeva wrote a Chāyā on it. The actual name of the collection is moreover Jaavallaham according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. is further quoted by the writers on poetics. Of the 67 stanzas which Weber has collected in his supplements to H.[1] p. 202ff. out of Dhanika's commentary on Daśarūpa, Kāvyaprakāśa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa, 32 are found in the various recensions of the Sattasaī, so that Hāla[2] p. 509ff. leaves a remainder of 35. Of them 968 *de ā pasia* is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka 22, 2, Alaṃkārac. fol. $4^b$ and elsewhere ; 969 *aṇṇaṃ laḍahattaṇaaṃ* (so to read) in Ruyyaka, Alaṃkārasarvasva 67, 2 ; Alaṃkārac. fol. 37 etc. ; 970 in Jayaratha, Alaṃkāravimarśinī fol. $24^b$ (MS. Bühler, Detailed Report Nr. 230) ; 971 in Śobhākara, Alaṃkāraratnākara fol. 20 (MS. Bühler, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and in this way also the others by one writer on poetics or another. The stanzas 979 *jo* (so to read) *parihariuṃ*, 988 *taṃ tāṇa*, the oft-quoted 989 *tāta jāanti* and 999 *homi vahatthiareho* are derived from Ānandavardhana's *Viṣamabāṇalīlā*, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka 62, 3 ; 111, 4 ; 152, 3 ; 241, 12, 20, and which, according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of poets (*kavivyutpattaye*). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza 979 is given by Someśvara, Kāvyādarśa fol. 52 (MS. Kielhorn, Report, 1880-81, p. 87, No. 66) and Jayanta, Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā fol. 65 (MS. Bühler, Det. Rep. Nr. 244), both of whom designate the poem here as Pañcabāṇalīlā. Ānandavardhana himself quotes 988 and 989 in Dhvanyāloka, p. 111, 62[1] ; stanza 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text) ; that it is out of the Viṣamabāṇalīlā is remarked by Someśvara l.c. fol. 62 and Jayanta l.c. fol. 79. Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13 quotes out of it also the stanza *ṇa a tāṇa ghaḍaï*. The stanza 243, 20 [2] proves that he wrote poems also in Apabhraṃśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka, p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākrit stanza of his teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet for a long time.[3] Of all the works on poetics the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhojadeva contains the largest number of Prākrit stanzas,—according to

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[1] Stanza 989 is quoted also by Jayanta l.c. fol. 25 ; cf. Pischel, BB. 16, 172f.

[2] It has been very much mutilated in the Kāvyamālā edition. On the evidence of the MSS. it has perhaps to be read : *mahu mahu tti bhaṇantiaho vajjaï kālu jaṇassu | to vi ṇa deu Jaṇaddaṇaü goarihoi maṇassu.*

[3] Aufrecht, Cat. Cat. 1, 59 s.v. Indurāja Bhaṭṭa.

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Zachariæ [1] about 350, of which about 150, according to Jacob [2] 113, are derived from the Sattasaī, about 30 [3] out of the Rāvaṇavaho, and further stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara etc., and many from other sources which are as yet unknown. Borooah's [4] statement that among these unknown sources there was a particular poem called Satyabhāmāsaṃvāda 'or a similar poem on the same subject', is apparently based on the stanzas *kuviā ca Sacchāmā* 322, 15 and *surakusumehi kalusiaṃ* 327, 25, which are addressed to Rukmiṇī by Satyabhāmā according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9; 369, 21; 371, 8. According to all that we know at present, the stanzas may be derived also from Sarvasena's Harivijaya or Vākpatirāja's Madhumathanavijaya (§ 13). It has been already mentioned above that also the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

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[1] GGA. 1884, p. 309.
[2] JRAS. 1897, p. 304. Aufrecht in Weber, Hāla [2], p. XLIII, note 1 has identified no. 78.
[3] Zachariae l.c.
[4] In his edition (Calcutta 1883), Preface, p. IV f.

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# ASPECTS OF NIRVĀṆA

*By* B. C. Law

To contemplate the *dhamma* (doctrine) as propounded and promulgated by the Buddha is to contemplate *nibbāna*, while to contemplate the *dhamma* as propounded and promulgated by Aśoka is to contemplate svaga (svarga), rather *vipula* svaga (unmeasured heavenly joy)[1]. Nirvāṇa is the *ne pas ultra* of the dhamma expounded by the Buddha, the *summum bonum* (sabbadhammānaṁ uttamaṭṭhena varaṃ) of Buddhism,[2] the ultimate of all that a Buddha taught or would teach. Thus Buddhism is in essence a proclamation of the truth of nirvāṇa, a clear statement of the truth about nirvāṇa, a search for *nirvāṇa* (nibbāna-pariyesanā), and a tried path leading to nirvāṇa (nibbānagāminī paṭipadā).[3] The Netti-pakaraṇa, which as a Pāli work of exegesis and analysis is allowed by tradition to rank in both antiquity and authority with the very oldest of the Buddhist canonical texts, declares to the same effect :—

'Svakkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanāyiko paccattam veditabbo viññuhi, yad idam madanimmadano pipāsa-vinayo alayasamugghāto vattupacchedo suññato atidullabho taṇhākkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ.'[4]

'Well expounded by the Master is the doctrine which bears the desired fruit here and now, which has "Come and See" for its motto, which assuredly leads to the goal, the truth whereof is to be experienced by the wise, each individually for himself, namely, the one which consists essentially in subduing the haughty spirit, the perfect control of thirst, the upsetting of the very storage of creative energy, the arrest of the course of *saṁsāra* as regards the fate of an individual, the rare attainment of the state of the void, the waning out of desire, the dispassionate state, the cessation of all sense of discordance, the nibbāna.'

To the very same effect the Buddha is represented in the Ariya-pariyesana-sutta as saying :—

'Nibbānaṃ pariyesanaṃ ajātaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ ajjhagamaṃ ajaraṃ abyādhiṃ amataṃ asokaṃ asaṅ-

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[1] M.R.E., all copies.

[2] Khuddakapāṭha-commentary, p. 193.

[3] Khuddakapāṭha, Ratana-sutta, V. 12 : dhammavaram adesayi, nibbānagāmiṃ paramaṃhitāya.

[4] Netti, p. 55.

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kiliṭṭhaṃ .... Adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍita-vedanīyo.' [1]

' In seeking for " salvation " I reached in experience the *nibbāna* which is unborn, unrivalled, secure from attachment, undecaying, unailing, undying, unlamenting and unstained .... This condition is indeed reached by me which is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, beyond the reach of mere logic, subtle and to be realized only by the wise (each individually for himself).'

The Vevacana-hāra of the Netti which had served as a literary model for the Pāli lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā catalogues various words or terms, uncritically called synonyms, that bring out different aspects of nirvāṇa as conceived and described in early Buddhism.[2] The Netti-commentary explains these terms as follows :—

Nirvāṇa is called asaṅkhata (uncompounded, absolute) because it is not accounted for by any known causal factor (na kenaci paccayena saṅkhataṁ), *ananta* (endless, infinite) because it does not come to an end or knows no extermination (n'atthi etassa anto vināso), *anāsava* (stainless) because the influxes of sin have no hold on it (āsavānaṁ anārammaṇatō), *sacca* (true, real) because it is not of a nature to be other than what it is (aviparitasabhāvattā), *pāra* (the other shore) because it makes for the further shore of the ocean of existence through (*saṁsāra*, saṁsārassa paratīrabhāvato), *nipuṇa* (subtle) because it is accessible only to a subtle cognition as well as because it is in itself of a subtle nature (nipuṇañāṇa-visayattā sukhuma-sabhāvattā), *sududdasa* (very difficult to see) because it cannot be apprehended save and except by the instrument of a gradually matured knowledge (anupacitañāṇasambhārehi daṭṭhuṁ na sakkā), *ajajjara* (unimpaired) because it is not affected by any process of decay (uppādajarāhi anabyāhatattā), *dhuva* (immutable) because it is in itself for ever (cirabhāvena), *apalokita* (not vanishing) because it does not disappear on account of decay and death (jarāmaraṇehi apalujjanato), *anidassana* (invisible) because it is not perceptible to the eye, common or divine (maṁsacakkhunā dibbacakkhunā ca apassitabbattā), *nippapañca* (not subject to ramification) because of the absence of the ramifying action of passions (rāgādipapañcābhāvena), *santa* (tranquil) because of the total stoppage of the mischievous actions of sin (kilesābhisaṅkhārānaṁ vupasamahetutāya), *amata* (undying) because it is of an immortal nature and it is not liable to disruption (amatahetutāya bhaṅgābhāvena), *paṇīta* (excellent) because it is of a supreme kind and it is self-suffi-

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[1] Majjhima-Nikāya, I, 167.

[2] Netti, p. 55.

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cient (uttamaṭṭhena anappanatthena ca), *siva* (safe) because there is no effect on it of baneful consequences of sinful deeds (asivānaṁ kammakilesavipāka vaṭṭānaṁ abhāvena), khema (secure) because it is secure from the four fetters (catūhi yogehi anupaddavabhāvena), *taṇhakkhaya* (attenuation of desire) because desire is attenuated to nil therein (taṇhā khīyati ettha), *acchariya* (wonderful) because it is rarely to be seen even by those who are virtuous (katapuññehi pi kadācid eva passitabbattā), abbhuta (marvellous) because it is unprecedented (abhūtapubbattā), *anītika* (unimpeded) because there is no obstacle in its way (anantarāyattā), *anītikadhamma* (not risky) because it is not of a nature to run any risk (anantarāyabhāvahetuto), ajāta (unborn) because it is not subject to birth (anibbatti-sabhāvato), abhūta (not subject to becoming, uppādarahita), *anupaddava* (undisturbed) because it is not troubled by any disturbing factor (kenaci anupaddutattā), *akata* (uncreated) because it is manipulated by any known cause (na kenaci paccayena kataṁ), *asoka* (unlamenting) because there is no sorrow in it (n'atthi ettha soko), *visoka* (sorrowless) because there is no cause for sorrow (sokahetuvigamena), *anupasagga* (uncomplicated) because it is not complicated by any complication (kenaci anupasajjitabbattā), *anupasaggadhamma* (not of a nature to suffer from any complication), *gambhīra* (deep) because it is only within the reach of profound intuition (gambhīrañāṇa-gocarato), *duppassa* (difficult of perception) because it is difficult to perceive, difficult to obtain without the right path (sammāpaṭipattiṁ vinā passituṁ pattuṁ asakkuṇeyyattā), *uttara* (transcendental) because it lies beyond the whole of the mundane world (sabbalokaṁ uttaritvā ṭhitan ti), *anuttara* (unsurpassed) because there is nothing beyond it (n'atthi etassa uttaran ti), *asama* (unequalled) because there is nothing equal to it (samassa sadisassa abhāvena), *appaṭisama* (matchless) because there is no counterpart of it (paṭibhāgābhāvena), *seṭṭha* (*summum bonum*, uttamaṭṭhena), *jeṭṭha* (supreme) because it is the best thing for praise (pāsaṁsatamattā), *leṇa* (habitat) because it is the abode where persons afflicted by worldly sufferings can lie down (saṁsāradukkhaṭṭhitena letabbato), *tāna* (protection) because it protects from worldly sufferings (tato rakkhaṇato), *araṇa* (hitchless) because there is no hitch in it (raṇābhāvena), *anaṅgaṇa* (spotless) because of the absence of any spot (aṅganābhāvena), *akāma* (innocent, niddosatāya), *vimala* (unimpure) because all impurities due to passion and the rest are got rid of (rāgādimalāpagamena), *dīpa* (island) because it is not subject to inundation on account of the four kinds of flood of sin (catūhi oghehi anajjhottharaṇīyato), *sukha* (ease) because of the complete subsidence of the unease of *saṁsāra* (saṁsāravupasamasukhatāya), *appamāṇa* (unmeasured,

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immeasurable) because there is nothing else to measure its worth (pamāṇakoradhammābhāvato, pamāṇaṁ gahetuṁ etassa na sakkā ti), pattiṭṭhā (support) because it is the stand to prevent sinking into dangerous waters of *saṁsāra* (saṁsārasamudde anosidanaṭṭhānatāya), *akiñcana* (having nothing by way of attachment and possession, *rāgādikiñcanābhāvena pariggahābhāvena ca*).

The list of synonyms of nirvāṇa in the Abhidhānappadīpikā which is substantially the same as that in the Netti contains such new terms as follows :—

*mukha* (*mukhya*, supreme) ; *arūpa* (incorporeal) ; *amutta* (*amūrta*, formless, unformed) ; *saraṇa* (ultimate refuge) ; *akkhara* (imperishable) ; *abyāpajjha* (hitchless) ; *anālaya* (without any stay for desire) ; *vivaṭṭa* (end of the course of *saṁsāra*) ; *kevala* (kaivalya, a thing in itself, oneness, independence) ; *apavagga* (*apavarga*, abandonment of the things of the world) ; *virāga* (*vairāgya*, detachment) ; *accutapada* (immutable state) ; *mutti* (liberation) ; *visuddhi* (purity) ; *vimutti* (emancipation) ; *asaṅkhatadhātu* (element of the absolute) ; *suddhi* (holiness) ; *nibbuti* (*nirvṛti*, blessedness).

The multiplication of these so-called synonyms of nirvāṇa and the philological explanation of them which is, more or less, fancied and fantastic are of little help in appreciating the Buddhist conception of *nirvāṇa* or in distinguishing the same from the Jaina or the Brahmanical conception. The only sure and scientific way of attacking the problem of nirvāṇa would be to consider it from the different points of view. Our approaches to the subject should not only be logical and mystical,[1] but also historical, eschatological, poetical or popular psycho-ethical.

*Historical Aspect :*—The wide popularity of nirvāṇa as a distinct term of Indian religious thought is undoubtedly due to the greatest importance attached to it in early Buddhism, by the Buddha, his immediate disciples, and his later followers. It is somewhat astonishing that the term occurs nowhere in any of the Vedic or Brahmanical texts that may be definitely assigned to pre-Buddhistic dates. An exception is sought, of course, to be made in favour of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyi accounting grammatically or etymologically for the formation of the word *nirvāṇa* by the aphoristic rule : *Nirvāṇovāte* (8. 2. 50.) Pāṇini's date, if it is at all earlier, cannot be far removed from that of the rise of Buddhism. Secondly, it is yet to be ascertained if this particular aphorism belonged actually to Pāṇini's own organon.

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[1] It is mainly from the logical and mystical points of view that Dr. B. M. Barua has considered the question of nirvāṇa in his Bombay lecture ' Universal Aspect of Buddhism '.

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Even if it did belong, it is still to be seen whether with Pāṇini the word *nirvāṇa* was any more than a popular expression. In popular usage the word *nirvāṇa* was employed either in connection with a burning fire or in connection with a burning lamp, and in both cases it meant nothing but extinction: *pajjotass' eva nibbānaṁ* (Dīgha, II, p. 157) like the extinction of a burning fire or lamp; *nibbanti dhīrā yathāyaṁ padīpo* (Suttanipāta and Khuddakapāṭha, Ratana-sutta, V, 14), the wise pass away just in the same way as this burning lamp extinguishes; *nibbuto* gini (Suttanipāta, Dhaniya-sutta, V, 2), the fire has been extinguished, *nibbuto* standing in contrast to *āhito* meaning 'properly kept up'; *purato aggi nibbāyeyya, ayaṁ mi purato aggi nibbuto* (Majjhima, I, 487), if this fire before me were to extinguish, if this fire before me were extinguished.

As regards Jaina literature, the term Nirvāṇa is met with in the texts of the Āgama,—such authoritative texts as the Kalpa-sūtra, the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, the Uttaradhyāyana, and the rest. But the Jaina predilection, as may be gathered from the Jinakalpa section of the Kalpasūtra, is to employ the term *nirvāṇa* to denote the final liberation of human soul (mokṣa) from all kinds of bondage, which is not possible before the demise of a Tīrthaṅkara. In other words, with the Jainas, *nirvāṇa* is the same term as *parinirvāṇa*. The nine main terms (nava-tattva) of Jainism which became current and widely known as early as the time of the Buddha, include *nijjarā* and *mokkha*.[1] The Kalpa-sūtra describes Mahāvīra's demise in these terms: 'Mahāvīra died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age and death; became a siddha, a Buddha, a mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains' (Jaina Sūtra, S.B.E., Part I, p. 264).

It would be going against historical truth to suppose that *nirvāṇa* as a final term of Indian religious thought was altogether an innovation or invention on the part of the Buddha. The very first discourse in the Majjhima-nikāya, appropriately called *Sabbadhamma-mūlapariyāya*, clearly indicates that already at the time of the rise of Buddhism *nirvāṇa* came to be recognized as the final term or 'ultimate category' of Indian religious thought. In this most important discourse, the Buddha is recorded as distinguishing his own attitude towards nirvāṇa from that which had passed as

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[1] Devadaha-sutta, Majjhima-nikāya, II, p. 214:—

'purāṇānaṁ kammānaṁ tapasā vyantibhāvā, navānaṁ kammānaṁ akaraṇā āyatiṁ anavassavo, āyatiṁ anavassavā kammakkhayo, kammakkhayā dukkhakkhayo, dukkhakkhayā vedanākkhayo, vedanākkhayā sabbaṁ dukkhaṁ nijjiṇṇaṁ bhavissati.'

Here the term *nijjarā* occurs instead of *nijjiṇṇa*.

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the prevalent attitude. One may readily agree to think that 'this difference in the two attitudes or thought-positions implies a difference in two conceptions or notions: nirvāṇa from the cosmological or ontological point of view, and nirvāṇa from the logical or epistemological point of view, the difference being set forth in the original text as follows:—

(1) Idha bhikkhave assutavā puthujjano .... Nibbānaṃ nibbānato sañjānāti, nibbānaṃ nibbānato saññatvā nibbānaṃ maññati, nibbānasmiṃ maññati, nibbānato maññati, nibbānam me ti maññati, nibbānaṃ abhinandati; (M.N., I, p. 4).

(2) Tathāgato pi bhikkhave arahaṃ sammāsambuddho.... nibbānaṃ nibbānato abhijānāti, nibbānaṃ nibbānato abhiññāya nibbānaṃ na maññati, nibbānasmiṃ na maññati, nibbānato na maññati, nibbānam me ti na maññati, nibbānaṃ nābhinandati. (M.N., I, p. 6.)

This may be taken to suggest two different modes of thinking, one, the Brahmanist mode, by which was developed the idea of *Brahma-nirvāṇa*, and the other, the Buddha's mode, by which was developed the Buddhist idea of *nirvāṇa*. With the Brahmanist of all ages *nirvāṇa* is *Brahma-nirvāṇa*, whether Brahman is *saguṇa* or *nirguṇa*. That is to say, with the Brahmanist thinker, precisely as with the Jaina, the problem of *nirvāṇa* is approached from the point of view of *ātman*, whilst with the Buddha or Buddhist thinker the approach is from the view-point of *anātman*.[1]

*Eschatological Aspect*:—The belief already gained ground among the people of India at the time of the rise of Buddhism that true salvation of man cansists in evolving into an eternal personality exhausting all possibilities of rebirth,—of reappearing in the mother's womb as they would put it.[2] The whole chain of reasoning is: To be subject to birth is to be subject to decay and death. The world of life is so ordained that there is no escape from decay and death for one who has been brought into existence by the natural process of creation,—by the parental union in the case of all higher forms of earthly beings.[3] The very possibility of such an escape is denied by the daily experience of things or events happening

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[1] Vide Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra.

[2] Metta-sutta, Khuddakapāṭha and Sutta-nipāta: *na hi jātu gabbhaseyyaṃ punar eti*.

[3] Majjhima, I, p. 266: Idha mātāpitaro ca sannipatitā honti, mātā ca utunī hoti, gandhabbo ca paccupaṭṭhito hoti .... evaṃ tiṇṇaṃ sannipātā gabbhassāvakkanti hoti.

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around and at all times.[1] Even a Buddha or Tathāgata cannot escape it in spite of his universally admitted and unrivalled greatness and perfection.[2] And *Saṁsāra* for an individual is nothing in common parlance but the painful necessity of undergoing the repeated process of birth and death,—of passing through the cycles of birth and death, running in the course of transmigration of soul,[3] or finding somehow the concatenation of individual existence through the repeated natural process of birth and death.[4]

It is the consciousness of the ' contingent character ' of *saṃsāra*, the world of life and existence, and the bitter experience of its ' unpleasantness ' or ' unsatisfactory sequel ' that is at the back of the religious guest of a permanent ground of existence and experience,—a permanent feature or element of reality, some sort of an Absolute. So Buddha is represented as saying : ' Having been myself subject to the contingency of birth and experienced its unpleasantness, I sought for Nirvāṇa which is without such contingency,—which is unsurpassed and secure from all worldly yoke, and obtained it. Subject to the contingency of decay, the contingency of disease, death, sorrow, and sin, I sought for Nirvāṇa which is without such and such contingency,—which is unsurpassed and secure from all worldly yoke, and obtained it. The knowledge with the vision arose : ' Sure is my final emancipation, this is the last birth, there is no longer the ' possibility of rebirth '. Then this thought occurred to me : ' I have reached this element of things which is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, not within the access of mere logic, subtle and to be experienced only by the wise, each for himself. The multitudes find delight in the home, they are attached to the home ' and rejoice over it. It is difficult indeed for them to apprehend this position (of *saṃsāra*), namely, the casual determination of all occurrences in fact,—of all becoming,—to apprehend also this position (of

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[1] Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta, Dīgha, II, p. 158 : yaṃ taṃ-jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhataṃ palokadhammaṃ taṃ māpalujjiti n'etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati.

Cf. The Mohamudgara verse :—

Yāvaj jananaṃ tāvan maraṇaṃ,
tāvaj jananī-jaṭhare śayanaṃ.

[2] So Brahmā Sahampati declares (Dīgha, II, p. 157) :—

Sabb'eva nikkhipissanti bhūtā loke samussayaṃ
yathā etādiso Satthā loke appaṭipuggalo.

Even the Buddha himself is recorded as saying (Majjhima, I, p. 82) : *Ahaṃ kho pana etarahi jiṇṇo* vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo anuppatto, asītiko me vayo vattati.

[3] The idea is Brahmanical as well as Jaina.

[4] The Buddhistic way of expressing it.

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Nirvāṇa), namely, that it is the subsidence of all predisposition towards the form of creation, the relinquishment of all ideas of belongings, the extinction of desire, the dispassion, the cessation, the ultimate.[1]

The authoritative utterance or verbal testimony (aññā, ājñā) of all the Early Buddhist Brethren and Sisters is to this effect: 'I have lived the holy life, done all that I was to do, and am now free from all attachment. Completely destroyed is the cause of birth through cycles of existence, there is no longer the possibility of any rebirth'.[2]

But is this a genuine feeling felt in the innermost depth of one's being or self-consciousness, or an actuality? The question was raised by many an interested inquirer in Buddha's time, and it still remains: What happens to a Tathāgata (Perfect Man) after death? Does he continue to exist or does he cease to exist, Does he both exist and not exist, or does he neither exist nor not exist?[3]

Buddha felt constrained to remain silent whenever such an inquiry was pressed. He was always reluctant to commit himself to any statement in reply to any of the above four queries. The real reason is that he was not prepared to admit any of the questions, —to entertain the inquiry in that form. With the inquirers, however, those were the question of questions, the question that vitally concerned them.

In the Cūḷa-Māluṅkya-Sutta (Majjhima, I, p. 432), Māluṅkyāputta is advised by Buddha to treat his *abyākata* (point in regard to which he did not commit himself to any one-sided statement whatsoever) as abyākata, and his byākata as byākata. The inquiry referred to above is to be counted among Buddha's *abyākatas*. Seeing that another inquirer, Aggi-Vacchagotta, got rather puzzled than enlightened when he was told in all stages of inquiry, 'Vaccha,

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[1] Majjhima, I, p. 167: So kho ahaṃ attanā jātidhammo samāno jātidhamme ādīnavaṃ viditvā ajātaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesamāno ajātaṃ . . . ajaraṃ . . . abyādhiṃ . . amataṃ . . . asokaṃ . . asaṅkiliṭṭhaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ ajjhagamaṃ. Ñāṇañ can pana me dassanaṃ udapādi: akuppā me vimutti, ayam antimā jāti, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo ti. Tassa mayhaṃ etad ahosi: Adhigato kho me ayaṃ dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedanīyo . . . . . Ālayarāmāya kho pana pajāya ālayaratāya ālayasammuditāya duddasaṃ idaṃ ṭhānaṃ yadidaṃ idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo, idam pi kho ṭhānaṃ duddasaṃ yadidaṃ sabbasaṅkhārasamatho sabbūpadhipaṭinissaggo taṇhakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ.

[2] Theragathā and Therīgāthā: Vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, katakiccaṃ anāsavaṃ. Vikkhīṇo jāti-saṃsāro, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo.

[3] Majjhima, I, pp. 426 foll.: Kin nu kho hoti . . . na hoti . . . hoti ca na ca hoti, . . . n'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā?

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the inquiry in this form does not suit me, is not fitting (na upeti)', Buddha felt it necessary to explain his own position thus :—

' Just as it is not possible to know whither the fire is gone which was so long burning before a man after once for all it is extinguished on the exhaustion of all materials of burning,—the fuel, in the same way it is not possible to represent a Tathāgata after he has passed away on the complete exhaustion of all materials of bodily existence and of all prerequisites of representation of an individual as commonly known.' [1]

To say that Buddha attained *parinirvāṇa* (sambuddho parinibbuto) is the same as to say in ordinary language that he died (kālam akari muni).[2] In his own words, to attain *parinirvāṇa* is to see ' the fire of life extinguished in that elemental condition of extinction which allows no residuum of possibility for re-ignition ' (anupādisesa-yanibbānadhātuyā parinibbuto).[3] The manner in which Buddha attained *parinirvāṇa* is said to have been described by Thera Anuruddha in the following terms : ' There was then no process of respiration to be noticed in the organism of the great saint whose mind was then unshaken, steadily concentrated that it then was on its peacefulness, when he expired. With an unperturbed mind he did bear the pangs of death. Just as fire extinguishes on the exhaustion of all materials of burning, in the same way his consciousness became completely emancipated'.[4]

In the Ratana-Sutta, the Disciples of Buddha who experience or realize the bliss of *nirvāṇa* are praised as personages who ' expire like a burning lamp (on the exhaustion of oil and wick)'.[5] Whilst they live, they live enjoying the bliss of peace obtained without having to pay any price for it.[6]

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[1] Majjhima, I, pp. 487-488. The statement is summarized for the sake of brevity : Yena rūpena . . . yāya vedanāya . . . vāya saññāya . . . yehi saṅkhārehi . . . yena viññāṇena Tathāgataṁ paññāpayamāno paññāpeyya taṁ viññāṇaṁ Tathāgatassa pahīnaṁ ucchinnamūlaṁ tālāvatthukataṁ anabhāvakataṁ āyatiṁ anuppādadhammaṁ. . . . viññāṇasaṅkhāvimutto kho Vaccha Tathāgato gambhīro appameyyo duppariyogāho seyyathā pi mahāsamuddo, upapajjatī ti na upeti, na upapajjatīti na upeti . . . . .

[2] Dīgha, II, p. 140.

[3] Dīgha, II, p. 157.

[4] Dīgha, II, p. 157 :—

Nāhu assāsa-passāso ṭhitacittassa tādino,
anejo santim ārabbha yaṃ kālam akarī munī.
Asallīnena cittena vedanaṃ ajjhavāsayi :
Pajjotass' eva nibbāṇaṃ vimokho cetaso ahūti.

[5] Nibbanti dhīrā yathāyaṃ padīpo. (Khuddakapāṭha, p. 5.)

[6] Laddhā mudhā nibbutiṃ bhuñjamānā. (ibid., p. 4.)

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Such is, in short, the Buddhist description of *parinirvāṇa* which is the natural end of life of those gifted men who realize *nirvāṇa* in their present conscious existence (diṭṭh'eva dhamme).[1]

With the Jaina, too, parinirvāṇa is the last fruit or final consummation of the highest perfection attained by a man or attainable in human life.[2] But with him parinirvāṇa is the same term as *nirvāṇa*[3] or mokṣa meaning final liberation that comes to pass on the complete waning out or exhaustion of the accumulated strength or force of *karma*.

With the Jaina, however, *nirvāṇa* or mokṣa is not a dreadful or terrible term like the Buddhist *parinirvāṇa* which suggests at once an idea of the complete annihilation of individuality of a saint after death by the simile of the total extinction of a burning lamp on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick. So the point is discussed in the Jaina Mokṣasiddhi : 'Would you really think (with the Buddhist) that *nirvāṇa* is a process of extinction of human soul which is comparable to the process of extinction of a burning lamp (on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick) ?'[4] The hearer is advised not to think like that. For with the Jaina *nirvāṇa* is nothing but a highly special or transcendental condition of human soul, in which it remains eternally and absolutely, free from passion, hatred, birth, decay, disease, and the like, because of the complete waning out of all causes of *duhkha*.[5]

The Milindapañha definitely says that after the attainment of *parinirvāṇa* the Buddha is no longer in that condition in which he is able to receive any offering made in his honour, though the offering itself as an act of worship is not fruitless on that account, so far as the worshipper is concerned. Thus the Buddhist description of

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[1] Cf. Dīpo yathā nirvṛtimabhyupeto
naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarīkṣam,
diśaṃ na kāñcit vidiśaṃ na kāñcit
snehakṣayāt kevalameti śāntim.
Jivas tathā nirvṛtimabhyupeto
naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarīkṣam,
Diśaṃ na kāñcit vidiśaṃ na kāñcit
kleśakṣayāt kevalameti śāntim.

(Saundarananda Kāvya.)

[2] Kalpasūtra (Jacobi's edition), 120 : Tassa ṇaṃ anuttareṇaṃ nāṇeṇaṃ ... daṃseṇanaṃ ... caritteṇaṃ ... āhaenam ... vihāreṇaṃ ... viriеṇaṃ ... ajjaveṇaṃ ... maddaveṇaṃ ... lāghaveṇaṃ ... aṇuttarāe muttie guttie tuṭṭhie buddhie, aṇuttareṇaṃ saua-saṃjama-tavasucariyā sovaciya-phala-parinirvāṇa.

[3] Kalpasūtra, 189 : Tasmiṃ samae Mahāvīro nivvuo, *Nivvuo*=Pāli *parinibbuto*.

[4] Mannasi kiṃ dīvassa ca nāso nivvāṇaṃ assa jīvassa ? Quoted in the Abhidhāna-rājendra, *sub voce* Nibbāṇa.

[5] Sato vidyamānasya jīvasya viśiṣṭā kācid avasthā. Kathaṃbhūtā ? Rāga-dveṣa-janma-jarā-rogādi duḥkhakṣaya-rūpā.

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Buddha's parinirvāṇa leaves no room for the popular belief in the possibility of resurrection of the bodily form or even the spiritual form, of a saint.[1] Is it, nevertheless, a complete cessation of personality, even if that personality is made up of pure consciousness? According to the Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, there is then *lakṣaṇa-nirodha* (cessation of all signs of manifestation), but no *prabandha-nirodha* (cessation of process of *vijñāna* in its own pure or transcendental mode).[2]

In all stages of evolution of religious thought in India the description of the ultimate goal of the higher path of religious effort carried with it the dread of extinction of the individual after death. In the opinion of such ancient law-givers as Bodhāyana and Āpastamba, the *devayāna* leading the traveller by an onward journey to the pure realm of infinity beyond the solar region led really but to the funeral ground *śmaśāna*, and those who travel by that path 'alone', in disregard of pitṛyāna become ultimately 'dust and perish' (rajo bhūtvā dhvaṃsate).[3]

Ṛṣi Yājñavalkya's statement of the fate of the soul after man's death caused puzzlement to the simple-minded Maitreyī: 'Verily I say unto thee the soul is complete in itself, within and without. As a mass of intelligence (or consciousness), it emerges out of these (five) elements and loses its form of manifestation with their disintegration. There is no cognizance of it after man's death'.[4] He offered an explanation, the tenor of which went to establish that as the soul after man's death passes beyond all duality, it does not admit of any representation in the current terms of thought. It then becomes the whole or infinity, and the whole or infinity is its own description.[5]

Similarly Buddha's persistent reluctance to answer any of the four questions put to him regarding the fate of the Tathāgata after death caused puzzlement to his interlocutor, Aggi-Vacchagotta.[6]

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[1] Note the description of emergence of an effulgent miniature form of the sage Śarabhaṅga out of burning fire to which he offered himself as an oblation. *Vide* Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa.

[2] *Vide* Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra (Nanjio's edition).

[3] Barua, History of pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, pp. 247–249.

[4] Bṛhad Ār. Upa., Chap. II, Vs. 12 and 13: ātmānantaro bāhyaḥ kṛtsaḥ prajñānaghan (=vijñānaghana) evaitebhyo bhūtebhyaḥ samutthāya tānyevānuvinaśyati na pretya saṃjñāsttyare bravīmiti hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ. Sā hovāca: Atraiva mā Bhagavān mohāntam āpipipanna.

[5] Bṛhad Ār. Upa., Chap. II, V. 14: Yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati taditara itaram abhivadati . . . vijānāti yatra tvasya sarvam ātmaivābhūt tat kena kaṃ śṛṇuyāt . . . ?

[6] Majjhima, I, p. 487: Ettāhaṃ bho Gotama aññāṇam āpādiṃ, sammoham āpādiṃ.

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Buddha, too, offered an explanation, the purport of which was to indicate that the condition of Tathāgata after parinirvāṇa was incapable of description in all convenient terms of description: *rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhārā* and *viññāṇa*.

An illuminating description of the state or condition of existence reached by a person on the attainment of *parinirvāṇa* is met with in the Udāna, and it has been put into the mouth of Buddha himself. The same is quoted below in the original with its translation :—

'Yattha āpo ca paṭhavī tejo vāyo na gādhati, na tattha sukkā jotanti ādicco na ppakāsati, na tattha candimā bhāti tamo tattha na vijjati. Yadā ca attan āvedi muni monena brāhmaṇo atha rūpā arūpā ca sukhadukkhā pamuccatīti.'

'Where water, earth, heat and air do not find footing, there no light burns and the sun does not shine, the moon does not shed her radiant beams and darkness does not exist there. When a sage who is a brāhmaṇa has realized the truth by silent concentration, then he becomes free from form and formlessness, happiness and suffering.'

*Poetical Aspect :—Nirvāṇa* or *Parinirvāṇa* as an abstract idea, or as a transcendental sphere of man's existence, cannot have a true and lasting appeal to the popular mind which demands for its satisfaction the conception and description of something more positive and tangible. The process of poetry and myth becomes, therefore, active, to create that something more positive and tangible,—a paradise in its highest glory. The beginning of this process of poetry and myth can be clearly traced in a group of verses known by the name of Accharāgāthā (Saṃyutta, I, Sagāthavagga). In these verses Buddhism is described as the safest and fittest vehicle (yāna) carrying all men, women, recluses and householders, to Nirvāṇa which is the destination. The progress of the Buddhist aspirant towards this goal is poetically described in terms of a noiseless and fearless and steady procession or chariot-march by a straight road and with an unerring aim.[1]

The account of Buddha's Great Decease in the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta makes it evident that it was too much for average men to brook the idea that a great Buddha, too, failed to overcome death, in spite of his unrivalled greatness and enviable perfection. This fact was dreadful to them as it went to furnish them with the last proof of man's inability to overcome death, of which the whole of sentient creation is mortally afraid. To say that one cannot

[1] Ujuko nāma so maggo abhayā nāma sā disā, ratho akūjano nāma dhammacakkehi samyutto. Cf. Prākrit Dhammapada by Barua and Mitra, p. 18.

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possibly overcome death after being once in the grip of birth, but one can surely overcome the fear of death, is no answer to the real yearning of their heart. The belief gradually gained ground among certain Buddhists that the Buddhas as superhuman personalities exist in all quarters (Sabbā disā Buddhā tiṭṭhanti).[1]

The Milinda-pañha gives a realistic at the same time an exaggerated poetical description of Dhammanagara or ideal Buddhist city as it came to prevail within a few centuries after Buddha's demise.[2] Even in a somewhat earlier stage of Buddhist poetic fancy, one has in the Pāli Apadāna[3] a charming romantic description of Buddha-khetta (The Realm of Buddha) in which all Buddhas, all Disciples, and all followers and worshippers, find their place. No birth, no death. No sorrow, no lamentation. A ceaseless scene of peaceful worship and religious conversation in the midst of the very best of natural surroundings. A full heart and a serene mind in a world of plenty.

The same process of poetry and myth continued to produce at last the Sanskrit Sukhāvatī-vyūha, a Mahāyāna work giving a highly romantic or imaginative description of a Buddhist Paradise, the realm of Amitābha, Amitaprabha. The Sukhāvatī is the infinite world of light, brilliance and effulgence. The Amitābha, as it may be easily guessed, is no other than Buddha in his infinite glory after his demise,—the mahāparinibbāna.

A similar poetic imagery about nirvāṇa lingers in the metaphorical expression *nirvāṇa-nagara* or *nirvāṇapura* which is met with in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga and some of the later Jaina works.

*Logical Aspect*:—If it be assumed that *saṃsāra*, as commonly understood, is something which has the contingency of birth, development and death (jāta, bhūta, mata), the inquiry may pertinently arise if there is something else which has no such contingency (ajāta, abhūta, amata). This inquiry was once pressed by certain inquirers among Buddha's immediate disciples. When the issue was thus pressed, Buddha gave a reply, the tenor of which went to convince the inquirers that they simply begged the question in pressing such an inquiry. The argument indeed was: 'The very fact that you have been striving after that something else which is without such contingency is sufficient to prove that you have been tacitly all believers in its possibility and were you not tacitly

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[1] Kathāvatthu, II, 608.

[2] Milinda-pañha, pp. 332–345.

[3] Apadāna, I, pp. 1–6: 'Sāvakā buddhe pucchanti buddhā pucchanti sāvake, aññamaññañ ca pucchanti aññamaññañ byākaronti te. Buddhā Paccekabuddhā ca sāvakā paricārakā evaṁ ratīsu rammānā pāsāde'bhiramanti te.'

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believers in its possibility, you would not have cared to strive after it'.[1]

According to *Nāgārjuna*, *Saṃsāra* and *Nirvāṇa* are two relative ideas, and as such, there can be difference but no absolute distinction between the two (saṃsārasya ca nirvāṇasya nāsti kiñcit viśeṣatā). If the significance of one term is dependent on the significance of the other, both stand on the same footing in respect of each other. There cannot be any conception of a relation between the two even in apposition, if there be not a common point of reference which is without differentiation or characterization, and from which ultimately each derives its significance. By implication, this common point of reference is no other than *pratītyasamutpāda*, *dharmatā*, *tathatā*, or *śūnyatā*, which is introduced in the very opening verse of Nāgārjuna's Kārikā. The *pratītyasamutpāda*, viewed and interpreted as a law of sequence of causal antecedents and consequents, —as causally determined continuity (santati), explains the essential nature of *saṃsāra*. The same, viewed and interpreted as 'novelty' (uppādamatta[2], khaṇapaccuppanna[3]) without any idea of temporal or spatial relation associated with it, expresses the essential nature of *Nirvāṇa* or Infinity. In plain terms, the *pratītyasamutpāda* in its *samutpāda* aspect is *saṃsāra* and the same in its nirodha aspect is *Nirvāṇa*.[4] The Canonical authority to be cited in this connection is Buddha's statement in the Ariyapariyesana-sutta (Majjhima, I. p. 167).

By the dialectical process of reasoning employed in the Mūlapariyāya-Sutta (Majjhima), Buddha sought to show that *Nirvāṇa* cannot but be the final term or last category of thought. If the first sources of knowledge be perception or intuition (diṭṭha), tradition (suta) and inference (muta), all that is derived from these three sources may be comprehended and made significant by the term

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[1] Udāna, pp. 80-81.

[2] According to Buddhaghosa, *uppādamatta* cannot be a valid interpretation of *paṭiccasamuppāda*. (Visuddhimagga, II, p. 519.)

[3] For the term, see Atthasālinī, pp. 420-1 :—

Paccuppannaṃ nām'etaṃ tividhaṃ :
khaṇa-, santati-, addhā-, Santati-
paccuppannaṃ c'ettha aṭṭhakathāsu āgataṃ,
addhā-paccuppannaṃ sutte. Tattha keci
khaṇa-paccuppannaṃ cittaṃ cetopariyañāṇassa
ārammaṇaṃ hotī ti vadanti. Kiṃ kāraṇā ?
Yasmā iddhimassa parassa ca ekakkhaṇe
cittaṃ uppajjissatī ti idañ ca tesaṃ
opammaṃ.

[4] *Vide* my paper, Buddhist Conception of Dhamma, Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVIII, p. 13.

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*viññāta* (the known, i.e., knowledge). The first three terms cannot exhaust the meaning of *viññāta* which is something more than what is comprehended by them, jointly or severally. If *ekatta* (unity) be the next category to express the essential character of knowledge (viññāta, the known), yet another category—*nānatta* (plurality) is needed to cover the residual of meaning not covered by *ekatta*. To comprehend the meaning of both ekatta (unity) and nānatta (plurality), yet another category is called forth, namely, *sabba* (the all, universality) which is something more in meaning than what is comprehended by both *ekatta* and *nānatta*. Even *sabba* (the intellectual universality) is in itself inadequate to comprehend the whole of reality which is constituted not only of cognition, but also of volition and feeling, to comprehend all of which yet another category is required, and it is Nirvāṇa (the Ideal, Ideality). It is not an experience that one may identify oneself with it or think that either one is Nirvāṇa, or one is in Nirvāṇa, or one is from Nirvāṇa, or Nirvāṇa is one's own.[1]

*Psychical Aspect*:—Here psychical is just another term for mystical. The mystic, as distinguished from *saddhāvimutta* (devotee) or *paññāvimutta* (intellectualist), aspires to be a *Kāyasakkhi*[2] or personal witness to, to be face to face with, to have a direct perception of, to come in immediate contact with, in short, to realize *nirvāṇa* by himself and for himself. It is after such realization that he begins to utter the joy of self-expression (udānaṃ udāneti), to give an expression to self-mastery (aññā), and to teach the way of realizing *nirvāṇa* to others (abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti). With him *nirvāṇa* is at once a vision, an experience, a feeling, and a self-state,—the highest, the best, the most real of all that he knows of, thinks of, or speaks of. As an element of experience, it is inalienable, because the wise are to experience, each in himself by himself and for himself (paccattaṃ viññūhi veditabbaṃ); it cannot be communicated to others, because its nature, as experienced by each individual, is indescribable in words. The message or personal testimony must be worthy of trust, the individual bearing it must be in a perfectly sound condition of body, mind, intellect, and spirit. The vision of *nirvāṇa* dawns upon consciousness, the realization of *nirvāṇa* is possible in that stage of samādhi (trance, self-concentration) which is aptly called *saññā-vedayitanirodha*. According to Buddha's claim, this is the ninth stage of *samādhi* reached for the first time by him, one step ahead of eight *samāpattis*

[1] Majjhima, I, p. 6.
[2] See for the explanation of these terms, Barua's 'Faith in Buddhism' in B. C. Law's Buddhistic Studies, pp. 329–349.

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(attainments, first stages of *samādhi*) mastered by other contemplatives in India already before his advent.[1] The *Satipaṭṭhāna* is the well-tried grammar to be followed by the aspirant in assuredly reaching and mastering all the nine stages of *samādhi*, the ninth being truly called *nirvikalpa* (without any excogitation) and *nirābhāsa* (without any illusion or hallucination). Without going into details here it may suffice to quote the following short but intelligible description of the psychical mode :—

' In accordance with the mystical or psychical mode, the process of meditation is to proceed from one plane of experience or one level of consciousness to another. The highest state of trance.... reached by Buddha is called *saññā-vedayita-nirodha*. This is a state of trance when outwardly the man who reaches it is as good as dead,[2] there being nothing but warmth (*ussā*) as the sign of life.[3] In this state, a level of consciousness (*citta*) is reached where consciousness is ultimately thrown back on itself, completely void (suñña), being devoid of the subject-object relation (grāhya-grāhaka-bhāva-rahita).[4] In the same state, a plane of religious experience is reached where there is no longer any longing for this or that object of sense. This is the highest psychical state where consciousness appears to be face to face with reality.[5]

*Ethical Aspect:*—The ethical aspect of *nirvāṇa* is too well-known to need much elucidation here.[6] Let it suffice to say that the main ethical term to express the nature of Buddhist *nirvāṇa* (and *á posteriori*, that of Jaina)[7] is *Visuddhi* or Purity. From the ethical point of view, to realize *nirvāṇa* is to attain the highest purity of one's own self,—of one's own nature (visuddhim attane). Thus the method of realization of *nirvāṇa* necessarily involves a

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[1] Ariyapariyesana-Sutta, Majjhima, I, pp. 163–6.

[2] When on the eve of the Great Decease Buddha remained lost in the *samādhi* called *saññāvedayita-nirodha*, Ānanda thought he was already dead and gone. See Dīgha, II, p. 156 : ' Parinibbuto bhante Anuruddha Bhagavā ti ? Na āvuso Ānanda Bhagavā parinibbuto, saññā-vedayita-nirodham samāpanno ti.'

[3] Dr. N. Dutt (Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna, pp. 129 foll.), has attempted an elaborate description of the *jhāna* and *samādhi* stages, which is not, however, so illuminating and clear and psychological as that in Shwe Zan Aung's Introductory Essay, Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy.

[4] Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyaṭīkā of Sthiramati, Part I, p. 10 ; Sā ca (śūnyatā) grāhya-grāhaka-(bhāva)-rahitatā.

[5] Barua, Bombay Lecture, Universal Aspect of Buddhism.

[6] Childers, Art. on Nibbāna in Dict. of the Pāli Language ; Nibbāna in the Pāli-English Dict. by Rhys Davids ; Views of Dr. L. Vallee Poussin, Prof. Theodore Stcherbatsky, and Prof. Berriedale Keith about Nirvāṇa.

[7] Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I, 1, 2, 27 (Jaina Sūtras, Part II, p. 243) : ' by purity of the heart one reaches Nirvāṇa '.

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process of perfect self-examination, self-purification, self-restraint and self-culture. If the experience of *nirvāṇa* consists in the feeling of peacefulness, tranquility or harmony in the whole of one's being and in the whole of nature by which one is surrounded, it is not possible without the practice of self-alienation from all that is not one's own. Thus the process of a self-alienation involves a method of viewing things as they are (*yathābhūtaṃ, bhūtaṃ bhūtato, ṭhetaṃ ṭhetato*). From one point of view, the twofold ethical end of Buddhism is negative: (1) to keep off the hindrances (*nīvaraṇas*), and (2) to put away the fetters (*saṃyojanas*) or to destroy the *anusayas* (the sinfulness that lies deep in our nature). From another point of view, the end is positive, namely to attain a perfect healthy condition of self. The rough scheme of self-culture through purity is set forth in the Rathavinīta-sutta (Majjhima, I, pp. 147-8) and it includes the following main items for consideration :—

Sīla-visuddhi : Purity of conduct, purity of behaviour, purity of livelihood, purity of motive, purity of morals, purity of character.

Citta-visuddhi : Purity of mind, purity of all things, mental, purity of mental attitude, purity of mental vision, purity of mental development, etc.

Diṭṭhi-visuddhi : Purity of faith, purity of thought, purity of intellect.

Kaṅkhāvitaraṇa-Visuddhi : Purity of faith by the removal of doubt.

Maggāmaggañāṇadassana-visuddhi : Purity of the path by the true understanding of what is and what is not the path.

Paṭipadāñāṇadassana-visuddhi : Purity of the intellectual perception of the true path.

Ñāṇadassana-visuddhi : Purity of knowledge and insight.

The main items are really three : Sīlavisuddhi (Purity of morals), Cittavisuddhi (Purity of mind), and Paññāvisuddhi (Purity of knowledge).

The rough sketch of the Buddhist system of Purity was developed by Buddhadatta in his Abhidhammāvatāra, and more fully by Upatissa in his Vimuttimagga. The final development of the system took place in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. There is no other Buddhist work which bears comparison with Buddhaghosa's Path of Purity in respect of thoroughness and painstaking analysis.

*A General Buddhist View* :—Nirvāṇa means the annihilation of passion, hatred, and delusion. It is the waning out of all evils—

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*rāga, dosa,* and *moha,*—the diminishing of the vicious and the weak in the man which is the negative aspect of his positive advance in becoming (Mrs. Rhys Davids, The Minor Anthologies, I, p. xix). According to Childers, it means (1) the state of blissful sanctification called Arhatship, and (2) the annihilation of (worldly) existence in which Arhatship ends (Dict. of the Pāli Language, p. 266). In its negative aspect, it means the going out of greed, ill-will, and dulness, and also freedom from these ; it may be variously described as ' comfort, end to ill, end of becoming, or life, end of craving and the rest '. In its positive aspect, and as subjectively considered, it means ' mental illumination conceived as light, insight, state of feeling happiness, and cool and calm and content (sītibhāva, nibbuti, upasama), peace, safety, and self-mastery '. Objectively considered, it means ' truth, the highest good, a supreme opportunity, a regulated life, communion with the Best, and bringing congenial work '.[1]

According to the Khuddakapāṭha, Nirvāṇa is immortality (amata) and the bliss of emancipation (nibbuti). It is the tranquil state (santaṃ padaṃ).

According to the Dhammapada, Nirvāṇa is immortality, the opposite of which is death. The path of action is the path to immortality, and the way of indolence is the way to death (appamādo amatapadaṃ, pamādo maccuno padaṃ). It is secure from the worldly contact, and unsurpassed in its reach. The path that leads to gain is one, and the path that leads to Nirvāṇa, another (aññā hi lābhūpanisā, aññā nibbānagāminī). The Buddhas declare the Nirvāṇa as the highest condition (paramaṃ). It is the greatest happiness (paramaṃ sukhaṃ). With the vision of Nirvāṇa the sinful nature vanishes for ever (atthaṃ gacchanti āsavā). Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge ; he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvāṇa (yamhi jhānañ ca paññā ca, sa ve nibbāṇasantike).

It is distinctly stated in the Sutta-Nipāta, that Nirvāṇa is a matchless island which possesses nothing, grasps at nothing and which is the destroyer of decay and death (pp. 211-12). The world is bound by pleasure and by leaving desire Nirvāṇa can be attained (Ibid., pp. 214-215).

According to the Alīnacitta Jātaka (II, p. 17), one who possesses strong will, cherishes all good, takes to the Refuge and follows the path leading to Nirvāṇa, is capable of destroying all ties by slow degrees. The Mora Jātaka (II, p. 26) describes Nirvāṇa as the only everlasting thing, and says that all other things being composite

[1] The characterization is based on The Psalms of the Early Buddhist Brethren and Sisters.

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in their nature, are unsubstantial, transient, and subject to living and death. The Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka (V, p. 55) says that zeal is the way to Nirvāṇa.

According to the Visuddhimagga (Vol. II, p. 612) Nirvāṇa is the extinction of five Khandhas. The attributes of Nirvāṇa consist of absence of passion, destruction of pride, getting rid of thirst, freedom from attachment and destruction of all sensual pleasures. It is the cessation of all sufferings. It can be attained through meditation, wisdom, precept, steadfastness, and the rest.

According to the Atthasālinī (p. 409), Nirvāṇa means that from which the arrow of desire is gone away (taṇhā saṇkhātaṃ vānaṃ niggataṃ vā tasmā vānāti nibbānaṃ). It is freedom from all sins and final release from lower nature.

In the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (I, 217) Buddhaghosa says that a person obtains Nirvāṇa making himself free from the wilderness of misdeeds. It is described here as the state of bliss.

In the Kathāvatthupakaraṇa aṭṭhakathā (p. 178) Nirvāṇa is described as a void.

According to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, Nirvāṇa is so called because it is a departure from that craving which is called *vāṇa*, lusting or craving. It is to be realized through knowledge belonging to the four paths. It is the object of those paths and their fruition. It is supramundane or transcendental (lokuttara). It is excellent, uncreated, and free from lust.

According to Nāgasena's view in the Milinda, an Ariyasāvaka does not take pleasure in the senses and their objects. Inasmuch as he does not find delight in them, in him craving ceases, and by the cessation of craving (taṇhā) grasping (upādāna) ceases, and by the cessation of grasping, becoming (bhava) ceases, and when becoming has ceased, birth ceases, and with its cessation, birth, old age, and death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair cease to exist. In this sense cessation is Nirvāṇa.

Just as those whose hands and feet have not been cut off know how sad a thing it is to have them cut off, by hearing the sounds of the lamentation of those whose hands and feet have been cut off, even so, it is by hearing the pleasing words of those who have seen Nirvāṇa that they know how happy a state it is.

Nirvāṇa being uncaused, there is a cause that will bring about the realization of Nirvāṇa, but there is no cause that will bring about Nirvāṇa itself. A man by his ordinary power can go up from a certain place to the Himalayas, the king of mountains, but he cannot bring the Himalayas to his place. So is the case with Nirvāṇa. Further, Nirvāṇa is uncompounded, not made of anything, yet it

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exists. It is perceptible to the mind. By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from the obstacles, free from low cravings, the disciple of the Noble One can realize Nirvāṇa. Just as wind exists, though it cannot be shown by its colour, or its form, whether as thin or thick, or short or long, even so Nirvāṇa exists, though it cannot be shown in colour or in form.

The supposed purity of infant mind is no comparison for the purity of consciousness in Nirvāṇa. The mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak, mean, small, slight, obscure and dull, whereas the condition of Nirvāṇa is transcendental, important, weighty, wide-reaching and extensive. The infant with imperfect mind is unable to grasp an idea so great.

Nirvāṇa is all bliss though the process seeking after it is painful. It is bliss unalloyed. When it is suggested that Nirvāṇa is painful, it is simply meant that the process of seeking after Nirvāṇa is painful, while Nirvāṇa itself is bliss, pure and simple, and there is no pain mixed with it.

Just as it is impossible to tell the measure of the water in the sea or the number of creatures dwelling therein, though, after all, the sea exists, so it is impossible to tell the form or figure or duration or measure of Nirvāṇa, though, after all, it is a condition that does exist. These are some of its characteristics. It is untarnished by evil dispositions. It is cool and assuages the fever arising from all evil dispositions. It does allay the thirst of the craving after lusts, the craving after future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. It is the refuge of beings tormented with the poison of evil dispositions. It does put an end to grief. It is ambrosia. It is mighty and boundless, and fills not with all beings who enter into it. It is the abode of all 'good men'—the Arahats. It is all in blossom, as it were, with the innumerable and various and fine flowers of purity, of knowledge, and of emancipation. It is the support of life for it puts an end to old age and death. It does increase the power of *iddhi* or supernormal powers. It puts a stop in all beings to the suffering arising from evil disposition. It overcomes in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and every sort of pain. It is not born, neither does it grow old, it does not pass away, it has no rebirth, it is unconquerable, thieves cannot carry it, it is not attached to anything, it is the sphere in which *arahats* move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. It satisfies every desire. It causes delight. It is full of lustre. It is hard to attain to. It is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume. It is praised by all the Noble ones. It is beautiful in righteousness. It has the pleasant perfume of righteousness. It has a pleasant taste. It is very exalted. It is immoveable. It is inaccessible to

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sinners. It is a condition in which no evil dispositions can grow. It is free from desire to please and from resentment.

Nirvāṇa is neither past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not-produced, nor producible.

Lastly, Nirvāṇa is to be known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, peace, calm, bliss, happiness, delicacy, purity and freshness. He who orders his life aright realizes that nibbāna. He who gains the highest fruit of Arahatship, may be said to have seen Nirvāṇa, face to face.

A layman also can attain Nirvāṇa. A close study of the Guhaṭṭhaka-Sutta (p. 58) and the Jarā-Sutta (p. 129) of the Mahāniddesa together with their commentaries by Dhammapāla helps up to look for the *munis* both among the householders and the recluses. The *munis* are defined as persons who have attenuated their sins and have seen Nirvāṇa and as to householders, they are represented as persons who are over-burdened with all household duties. No other discrimination is sought to be made between the Āgāramunis and the Anāgāramunis than this, that while the former keep to household life, the latter do not. As for the attainment, both are held out as equally competent to win the highest state, which is Nirvāṇa.[1] In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, we find mention of 21 lay arahats.[2] Rhys Davids in his introduction to the Sāmañ-ñaphala Sutta, calls them laymen *arahats* (S.B.B., II, 63 fn.). In the Kathāvatthu (P.T.S., Bk. IV, p. 268), we find Kulaputta Yasa, householder Uttiya and young Brahman Setu attained arahatship in all the circumstances characterizing the life of the laity.[3] Referring to this point S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have inferred

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[1] Āgāraṁ majjhe vasantā āgāramunino pabbajjūpagatā anāgāramunino sattasekkhamunino arahantā asekkhamunino paccekabuddhā paccekamunino sammāsambuddhā munimunino. Āgāramunino—Āgārikā ti kasigorakkhādi āgārika-kamme nijuttā, diṭṭhapadāti diṭṭhanibbāṇā, viññāta sāsanāti viññātaṁ sikkhattayasāsanaṁ etesanti viññāta sāsaṇā. Anāgārā ti kasigorakkhādi āgāriyakammaṁ etesaṁ natthiti, pabbajjitā anāgārā ti vuccanti. (Commentary on the Mahāniddesa, Siamese Edition, p. 218, Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta and Jarā Sutta.)

[2] Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato Bhalliko gahapati . . . Sudatto gahapati Anāthapiṇḍiko . . . Citto gahapati Macchikāsaṇḍiko . . . Hatthako Ālavako . . . Mahānāmo Sakko . . . Uggo gahapati Vesāliko . . . Uggato gahapati . . . Sūro Ambaṭṭho . . . Jīvako Komārabhacco . . . Nakulapitā gahapati . . . Tavakaṇṇiko gahapati . . . Purāṇo gahapati . . . Isidatto gahapati . . . Sandhāno gahapati . . . Vijayo gahapati . . . Vajjiyamahito gahapati . . . Meṇḍako gahapati . . . Vāseṭṭho upāsako, Ariṭṭho upāsako, Sāraggo upāsako Tathāgate niṭṭhaṁ gato amataddaso amatam sacchikatvā iriyati. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 451 ; Cf. Vinaya, I, 17 ; Samyutta Nikāya, V, 94 ; The Questions of King Milinda, II, 57, 96, 245 ; Dhammapada Commentary, I, 308, etc.)

[3] Yaso kulaputto, Uttiyo gahapati, Setu mānavo gihissa byañjanena arahattaṁ pattā, tena vata re vattabbe ' Gihī ' ssa Arahā ti '.

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that a layman under exceptional circumstances may attain arahatship but to keep it he must give up the world (Points of Controversy, p. 158 fn.). Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids in Part III, p. 5 of the Dialogues of the Buddha (S.B.B., Vol. IV) have raised this question ; who in the oldest period could be an *arahat* ? The answer is : Anyone—men or women, old or young, lay or *religieux*. It is distinctly mentioned in the Milindapañha that whether he is a layman or a recluse, he who attains the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of *arhatship* :—

> 'Gihī pi mahārāja sammā-paṭipanno ārādhako hoti nāyaṁ dhammaṁ kusalaṁ, pabbajito pi mahārāja sammā-paṭipanno ārādhako hoti nāyam dhammaṁ kusalaṁ.'

It is clear from this that the householder if he leads a religious life, may attain to *arahatship* which is nirvāṇa. The Milindapañha further points out that whosoever has attained, as a layman, to *arahatship* one of the two courses is left to him and no other—either that very day he enters the order, or he dies, for beyond that day he cannot last (The Questions of King Milinda, II, p. 96).

All persons who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of senses, realize in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa—all of them had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them ; and so now even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of senses, they do realize in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa (Ibid., II, p. 253).

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# MISCELLANEA

## 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN KHALJĪ'S DECCAN EXPEDITIONS

Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has dealt in some detail with the history of the Muhammadan invasions of the Deccan.[1] His conclusions with regard to the invasions of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī may be briefly summarized, for he holds that these were little more than plundering raids.[2] Thus, during the reign of his uncle 'Alā-ud-dīn is said to have desired to 'carry himself to a higher position than that of a governor'. We are told that he invaded Devagiri only to procure money, 'the one essential required for the fulfilment of this' desire. The second expedition to Devagiri was intended, we are assured, to strengthen the Exchequer, in order that 'Alā-ud-dīn might create a big and efficient standing army capable of suppressing internal rebellions and resisting the continual aggressions of the Mughals. 'Alā-ud-dīn is said to have 'considered it bad policy to go on extending his empire by adding territory at great distances, which would only mean so many distant centres for disturbance and rebellion'. Again, the object of the expedition against Warangal is supposed to have been 'Alā-ud-dīn's desire to 'fairly fleece' the Hindu king 'of all his wealth and treasure, and even all the elephants'. The expedition against Dvārasamudra and the Pāndya kingdom was actuated, it is said, by Malik Kāfūr's desire to possess himself of the good elephants found on the coast of Ma'bar.

This narrow view of 'Alā-ud-dīn's policy is hardly justifiable. To place him in the same category with Sultān Māhmūd of Ghaznā, so far as his relations with the Hindu kingdoms in the Deccan are concerned, does not appear to be an adequate interpretation of the data at our disposal.

If 'Alā-ud-dīn 'considered it bad policy to go on extending his empire by adding territory at great distances',[3] how can we explain his annexation of Gujarāt? There is no doubt that the province as a whole was annexed to the empire of Delhi and governed by provincial satraps appointed by and responsible to the Sultāns.[4]

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[1] *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 74–6, 82–4, 86, 90–1, 123.

[3] *Cf.* similar remarks of Sir Wolseley Haig in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 114.

[4] Sir E. C. Bayley, *Gujarat*, p. 38; J. Bird, *Political and Statistical History of Gujarat*, pp. 160, 163; Briggs, *Rise of Muhammadan Power*, Vol. I, p. 328; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 205–7, 217.

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So far as the first expedition is concerned, 'Alā-ud-dīn's real motive is somewhat obscure. Baranī (who is particularly trustworthy in this respect, inasmuch as his uncle, 'Ala-ul-Mulk, was one of the most intimate followers of 'Alā-ud-dīn) says that Jalāl-ud-dīn thought that 'Alā-ud-dīn was so troubled by his wife and mother-in-law that he wanted to conquer some country wherein he might stay and never return home'.[1] Firishta says that his object was 'to establish an independent power'.[2] If this is true, 'Alā-ud-dīn must have later on changed his mind. He may have found it impossible, owing to political and military difficulties, to establish himself as an independent king in the Deccan; or, the enormous wealth which he obtained at Devagiri may have strengthened his self-confidence and induced him to try for the imperial throne itself. Be that as it may, that 'Alā-ud-dīn cared for something more than mere plunder is shown by the fact that he demanded the cession of Elichpur and its dependencies.[3]

The second expedition against Devagiri was rendered necessary by the neglect of the Hindu king to pay his tribute for three years.[4] This clearly proves that he owed allegiance as a tributary ruler to the Sultān of Delhi. He was taken as a prisoner to Delhi, where the Sultān treated him well. 'The Rāi was ever afterwards obedient, and sent his tribute regularly as long as he lived.'[5] Later on, when Malik Kāfūr was sent against Warangal, the king of Devagiri 'was as dutiful as any *raiyat* of Delhi'.[6] What more did Akbar receive from the Rajput princes who submitted to him?[7]

Baranī says that when Malik Kāfūr was sent against Warangal, he was instructed to capture the fort and to overthrow the king; but the king was not to be pressed too hard if he consented to surrender his wealth and become a tributary prince.[8] According to Prof. Aiyangar, 'Alā-ud-dīn ordered his general to be satisfied with gold because he was unwilling to annex the territory.[9] But Baranī makes it clear that 'Alā-ud-dīn was cautious because the king of Warangal might prove too strong to be vanquished, and

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[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 149. *Cf.* B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 145.
[2] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 304.
[3] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 310.
[4] Amīr Khusrav, *Tarikh-i-'Alāī* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 77); Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 200).
[5] Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 200-1).
[6] Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 201-2).
[7] *Cf.* the treaty concluded by Akbar with Rāo Surjan of Bundi. Tod's *Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, Vol. III, pp. 1482-3.
[8] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 201.
[9] *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 87.

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that he asked Kāfūr to do his best to overpower the king if he refused to come to an arrangement. 'Alā-ud-dīn's aim was to reduce Warangal to the position of a tributary kingdom,[1] and not merely to 'fleece' the king 'of all his wealth and treasure'. He succeeded. Both Baranī[2] and Firishta[3] say that the king promised to pay an annual tribute, and Amīr Khusrav says that he consented to send *jizyah* annually to Delhi.[4]

Prof. Aiyangar wants us to believe that Kāfūr's last expedition was intended merely to supply the royal stable with some of the good elephants of the extreme south. Amīr Khusrav says that the aim of the 'world-conquering king' was to 'spread the light of the Muhammadan religion' in 'that distant country'; and his eloquent description of the destruction of idols and temples and the slaughter of idolaters may appear to lend some support to this view.[5] But Baranī, who was by no means less orthodox than the celebrated poet, does not say that the Sultān was inspired by a crusading zeal, nor does he refer to the great general's desire to get hold of huge elephants.[6] Two things appear to be clear: one is that the king of Dvārasamudra was compelled to submit[7]; the other is that a fratricidal war in the Pāndya kingdom made it easy for Kāfūr to devastate Ma'bar.[8] Prof. Aiyangar himself tells us that a Muhammadan garrison continued to live in Madura.[9]

It appears to be clear, therefore, that 'Alā-ud-dīn's Deccan expeditions should not be regarded as mere plundering raids. His aim was to reduce the then existing Hindu kingdoms to the position of tributary states, and in this respect his success is undeniable.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE.

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[1] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 371.
[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 203.
[3] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 372.
[4] *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 84).
[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-6, 91.
[6] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 203-4.
[7] Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 203-4) and Firishta (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 373) say that he was defeated and taken prisoner. Amīr Khusrav (*Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 89) says that he agreed 'to swear allegiance to the mighty emperor' without resorting to war, and that he offered all his treasures.
[8] Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 204); Amīr Khusrav, *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 88); 'Abdullah, Wassāf, *Tazjiyatu-l Amsārwa Tajriyatu-l Āsār* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 49-50).
[9] *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 123. *Cf.* Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 116.

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# NOTES ON THE MĀLAVAS

Mr. Adrish Chandra Banerji and Dr. B. C. Law have written two interesting articles on the Mālavas in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXI, pp. 218-219, and *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, pp. 37–42, respectively. We shall give here some more information about them. Mr. Banerji's materials are mostly collected from the foreign writers, while ours are exclusively from the Sanskrit literatures.

For purposes of drama, dancing, painting, and astrology, the Hindus made minute studies of the movements, habits, features, dress, abode, etc. of all males and females. Their results are recorded in books like Bharata's *Nātya-Śāstra*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Part III),[1] *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (Chaps. 68 and 69),[2] Bhoja's *Samarāṅganasūtra*, *Śukranîtisāra*, etc. Mankind has been divided into two main groups, viz. Mahāpuruṣas (nobility) and Saṁkîrṇas (common people). All kings belong to the first and their subordinates to the second group. These two groups again are classified into five types each; i.e. the Mahāpuruṣas into Haṁsa, Śaśa, Rucaka, Bhadra, and Mālavya and the Saṁkîrṇas into Vāmana, Jaghanya, Kuvja, Maṇḍalaka, and Sāmî. We shall here confine ourselves to the main details of the Mālavyas only. For minute details the original books should be consulted.

The stretch (measurement of chest with outstretched arms, from tip to tip of middle fingers) of the Mālavya is 108 digits (*Bṛihat°*), 104 in terms of his own digits (*Vishṇu°*). The height is the same as the stretch. The arms of the Mālavya resemble the trunk of an elephant, reaching up to the knees. His joints are fleshy; body, smooth and beautiful; waist, slender; face, oblong; with height of 13 digits and breadth up to ear 3 digits less; eyes, radiant; cheeks, comely; teeth, white and evenly set and the lips, not too fleshy.

Having by his valour obtained wealth, he will, residing in the recesses of mount Pāriyātra, reign as a wise king over Mālava, Bharukaccha, Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Sindhu, and so forth. He will live 70 years.

The Mālavyas were served by the Jaghanya type of the Saṁkîrṇas. (*Brihat°*.)

For detailed measurements of the different parts of the body of males and females, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* may be consulted. Dr. Kramrisch has given them in a tabular form in her translation.

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[1] Vide Translation by Dr. Kramrisch, published by the Calcutta University.
[2] Ditto by Kern (J.R.A.S., Vol. III, 1875, pp. 93–97).

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'Kinnaras, Rākṣasas, Nāgas should be of the size of a Mālavya.' (*Viṣnu*°.)

'Women of good family should be made bashful and of the size of a Mālavya, wearing ornaments and not very showy dresses.' (*Ibid.*)

The colour of the Mālavya was *Syāma* like the *mudga* pulse (kidney bean). (*Ibid.*)

The Mālava women used to drink. Vāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* says: 'Then, with heat soft as a Mālava woman's wine-flushed cheek, the day faded itself up.' (Cowell's Translation, p. 77.)

The people of Avanti, Vidiśā, Surāṣṭra, Mālava, Sindhu, Sauvîra, Ānarta, Arbuda, Daśārṇa, and Mṛttika have got the same *pravṛtti*, i.e. dramatic tendencies as that of Avanti. (*Nāṭya*°.) This shows that these people had similarities in *deśa* (country), *veśa* (dress), *bhāṣā* (dialect), *āchāra* (custom), and *vārtā* (profession).

The maidens of Avanti and of Vaṅga used to wear ringlets of hair. (*Ibid.*)

Bharata prescribes Āvanti dialect for the rogues and gamblers (*ḍhūrta*).

Rājaśekhara says that the people of Avanti and Pāriyātra with Daśapura speak *Bhutabhāshā*. (*Kāvyamimāṁsā*, Chap. X, p. 51.)

Mālava is the name of a tribe, a country, a surname (Mālavya), and a mode of music (Mālavî).

We have seen that the original home of the Mālavya was Pāriyātra, which according to Baudhayana's *Dharmasūtra* formed the southern boundary of the Āryāvarta; their dialect *Bhutabhāṣā* (Paiśāchî ?); colour, brownish dark, and their size, like the Kinnaras and Nāgas. Their women used to drink. In the *Mahābhārata* we find this practice among the Madra women, who were Bāhikas. All these tend to show that they were other than the Aryans, probably Bāhikas.

Like the Mālavas, the Bhadras, another of the five types mentioned above, have given name to a tribe. The Uttamabhadras mentioned in the Nasik cave inscription of Uṣavadata (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44) were probably a section of the Bhadras. Bhadra is the name of three countries (*Bṛihat*°); a surname and also a type of buildings. We invite the attention of the Anthropologists to these descriptions. Let them see if this classification into types has anything to do with the ethnic grouping of men.

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## MAHĪPĀLA OF THE CHAṆḌAKAUŚIKAM

Scholars hold different views about the identification of king Mahīpāla mentioned in the *Chaṇḍakauśikam* by Ārya Kṣemīśvara. Some think that he was Mahīpāla I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, while the others say that king Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has been referred to. Let us see if we can find out any clue to the right solution of the problem.

Kṣemīśvara in the prelude to his drama makes the following mention of his patron :—

*' Yaḥ saṁśritya prakṛti=gahanām=ārya=Chāṇakya=nītim*
*Jitvā Nandān Kusumanagaram Chandragupto jigāya ।*
*Karṇāṭatvam dhrubam=upagatān=adya tān-eva hantum*
*Dordarp-āḍhya sa punar=abhavac=chrī-Mahīp āladevaḥ ॥'*

Here the poet says that Chandragupta, by having recourse to the policy of Chāṇakya, defeated the Nandas and conquered Kusumanagara, was born again as Mahīpāladeva to chastise the Nandas, who were born as Karṇāṭas.

To ensure the right identification of Mahīpāla, one very important point has to be noted here. Although the poet distinctly says that Chandragupta was born as Mahīpāla, and his adversaries, the Nandas, as the Karṇāṭas, he is silent about two other points, viz. the person who helped Mahīpāla and the name of the place, this king conquered by defeating the Karṇāṭas. Under the circumstances, would we be wrong in assuming that the names of Chāṇakya and Kusumanagara were common, both to Chandragupta and to Mahīpāla ? So this Mahīpāla must satisfy the points that he reoccupied Kusumanagara by driving away the Karṇāṭas with the help of his minister Chāṇakya.

Let us first see how far the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahīpāla I satisfies these conditions. There is no evidence in history that this king had a minister named Chāṇakya, or ever conquered Kusumanagara. So he cannot be the king referred to by the poet. On the other hand we find that the Pāla king Mahīpāla meets all the points. He was unquestionably the lord of Kusumanagara. It is also on record that his throne was usurped by the intruders, who had no right to it, but he regained it (*E.I.*, Vol. XIV, p. 326). Tāranātha supplies us with the information that this Mahīpāla had a minister named Chāṇaka or Chāṇakya. He says that when Mahīpāla's father died he was only 7 years old. His maternal uncle Chāṇaka administered the country for him for 29 years (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 366).

Now the only point remains to be found out is who these Karṇāṭas were. It is said that there was no Karṇāṭa invasion in

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the reign of Mahīpāla of Bengal. For Karṇāṭas we need not look for their invasion from outside Bengal. For there was no dearth of them in Bengal at that time. From the time of Dharmapāla down to the time of Vigrahapāla III most of the Pāla charters contain the mention of the Karṇāṭas as the *rāja-pād-opajīvinaḥ* or dependents (*E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304 ff. and Vol. XV, p. 297). The Sena kings of Bengal called themselves Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriyas (*Beng. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 113). Again, from the Naihāṭi grant of Vallālasena (*Ibid.*, p. 76) we learn that many Karṇāṭa princes were living in Rāḍha, in whose family was born Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena (1088–1158 A.D.).[1] Not only Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriya princes but Karṇāṭa-Brāhmaṇ princes also settled in Bengal. The well-known Vaiṣṇava saints Rūpa and Sanātana were descended from a Brāhmaṇ prince in Karṇāṭa (*Laghutoṣinī* by Jīvagosvāmī). These Karṇāṭas were probably soldiers of fortune. Some of whom might have taken the advantage of the weak government, in the early part of the reign of Mahīpāla, and invaded Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra) and drove him from there. There is reason to believe that the Karṇāṭas also lived in Vaṅgāla.[2] Tāranātha also speaks of the

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[1] The Bodh-Gayā inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscrs. of N. India*, No. 1668) also bears testimony to the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Karṇāṭakas existed in Bengal. King Nānyadeva of Mithilā appears to have been the brother of Kīrtirāja, the father of the Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka (*Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. I, p. 57).

[2] King Gopīchānd, the hero of the legends of Nāthism, is identified with King Govindachandra of Vangāla-deśa, mentioned in the Tirumalai rock-inscription (1025 A.D.) of Rājendra Chola (*E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 233). The Bengal version of the legends place Gopīchānd's home, kingdom and relations in Gauḍ-Vaṅgāl. But according to Punjabi version of the story, he was the king of Ujjain, but his home was in Gauḍ-Vaṅgāl (*Proc. Sixth Orient. Confer.*, p. 267). According to the same and the Hindusthani versions the sage king Bhartṛhari was his maternal uncle (*Ibid.*, pp. 267-8). Tāranātha also says the same thing, with the additional information that Bhartṛhari 'descended from the family of the ancient kings of Mālava' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 365). According to the Gujarati version, Gopīchānd, in company with his *guru* Jalandhari-pāda, visited his sister in the city of Dhārā (*Proc. Sixth Orient. Confer.*, p. 269). Again, according to Durllabhamallika's Bengali account Dhārichandra was the grandfather of Gopīchānd. This Dhārichandra is probably a corruption of Dhārāchandra (moon of Dhārā). So the traditions persistently connect Gopichand's and his mother's family with Mālava, Ujjain, and Dhārā. This leads us to think that they originally came from Mālava. If so, let us see when they possibly came to Bengal.

In about the beginning of the ninth century A.D., Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III made vast conquests, including Mālava, and appointed Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes to rule them. In this way Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Karṇāṭakas found their way to Mālava. Paramāra king Siyaka II by defeating Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khaṭṭika in 972 A.D. became independent in Mālava. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes in Mālava might have sided with Khaṭṭika and were consequently driven away by Siyaka. Next

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Vaṅgāla invasion of Magadha in the early part of Mahīpāla's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). The recently published Nālandā inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97–101) also lends support to this. We have dealt with it in a separate note.[1]

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## PĀṆINI AND THE YAVANAS

It is now unquestionably settled that Pâṇini, the grammarian, flourished before Alexander, and it is no use saying this day in many words that the theories of Böhtlingk, Weber, Hopkins, and others, who endeavoured to place the celebrated grammarian long after Alexander, have proved to be wholly ineffective. But who the people exactly were in the mind of Pâṇini, when he taught us the formation of the word 'Yavanânī' from 'Yavana' (IV. I. 19), still remains a moot point. There is, however, no doubt that the native of Sâlâtura, in Gândhâra, derived his knowledge of the Yavanas from some Yavana settlement near about Gândhâra. The valuable piece of evidence furnished by Arrian's work places it above all question that there was a Hellenic settlement in Nysa, on the Kabul river and near Jalâlâbâd, previous to the invasion of Alexander (Carmichael Lectures, 1921, D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 32; Hindu Polity, K. P. Jayaswal, Calcutta, 1924, part I, p. 33 and footnote). But the settlement appears, it should be noted, to have been one of the Thracians, for the deputies of the City State of Nysa waiting on Alexander told him that their city was founded by Dionysos, which means, and can only mean, that these people were worshippers of Dionysos, and Dionysos was after all a Thracian god. The numismatical researches of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar have also revealed that the Greeks *did* conquer some region near the N.W. Frontiers long before Alexander. But we cannot, we must admit, satisfactorily explain the term 'Yavana' as in Pâṇini's grammar, until we have the evidence of a genuine Ionian colony planted not far away from

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year saw the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in south in the hands of Chaulukya Tailapa (*Hist. of Dekkan*, p. 132, 3rd Edn.). So these princes probably took refuge in Bengal, where the Pālas, with whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had matrimonial connections, and eventually became their feudatories in Eastern and Northern Bengal. Gopichānd's and his maternal uncle's families were probably these Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Karṇāṭakas referred to by Kṣemīśvara.

[1] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 292.

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Gândhâra, for there is no proof whatever that before the coming of Alexander the term 'Yavana' had already been in India as general an epithet as to denote one and all that in subsequent times came under the denotation of the word 'Greek'.

Fortunately, however, the existence of such a colony of Ionians is not unknown, and they are the so-called 'Branchidæ'. 'These people', the account runs (Ind. Ant., IX, 1880, pp. 68-71, Rev. S. Beal), 'claimed to be a sacred gens, descended from Branchos, the mythic founder of the temple of Apollo, near miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasures of their temple to the Persian king, Xerxes, one hundred and fifty years before (the invasion of Alexander). Their surrender brought on them so much odium that when the dominion of Alexander was overthrown on the coast, they retired with him into the interior of Asia'. Xerxes 'transported them to a small town in Sogdiana, between Balkh and Samarkhand, where their descendants were found by Alexander. They were now a bilingual and partially dishellenized race, yet still attached to their traditions and origin.'

For the deed of their forefathers, these Ionians were all, not excluding women and children, cruelly massacred 'without arms or attempt at resistance' by the Macedonian hero; 'their walls were ordered to be levelled and their sacred groves cut down', etc. etc.

It is not unlikely that Pâṇini of Gândhâra obtained his knowledge about the *true* Yavanas from the Ionians of Sogdiana, in which case, however, his time falls between 479 B.C., the date of Xerxes' retreat from Greece, and 327 B.C., the date of Alexander's invasion.

Tradition as embodied in the Kathâ-sarit-sâgara of Somadêva, as also in the Kâvya-mîmâṁsâ of Râjaśêkhara, has it that Pâṇini had been a student of Pâṭaliputra. There is one further source of information to lend support to it, viz. Târanâtha, the Tibetan chronicler, who looks to have got the story from any other source than either of the above two (Ind. Ant., IV, 1875, pp. 102-3). Instead of rejecting the traditon off-hand because of its late character, we are, on the contrary, required to set a good value to it, because that explains best his knowledge of the eastern as also south-eastern tracts and cities of India. Particularly significant is his reference to 'Gauḍa-pura' (VI. 2. 100), being probably the earliest mention of it in Sanskrit, including Vedic literature. In the epics, there is, so far as my knowledge goes, no mention of 'Gauḍa', although 'gauḍî' (wine) is mentioned at least once in the Râmâyaṇa (Bâla-kânḍa, ch. 53), and a good many times in the Mahâbhârata, while, on the other hand, 'Gauḍa' is known to Kauṭilya (Arthaśâstra, 86).

Pâṭaliputra (Kusumapura) was founded by Udaya, the grandson of Ajâtaśatru, the contemporary of the Buddha, and the reign

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of Udaya has been fixed at 483-467 B.C., taking 544 B.C. as the year of the Buddha's *Mahā-parinirvāṇa* (J. B. O. R. S., 1915, pp. 114-16. The foundation of Pâṭaliputra by Kâlâśoka, alias Kâkavarṇa, does not arise at all into question). The newly founded city must have taken a long time, not less than half a century, to win an all-India fame as a seat of learning. This is apt to bring the date of Pâṇini in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., or later. Again, the mention of Gauḍa first in Pâṇini's *Aṣṭādhyâyî* and then in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra* also indicates that these two were not separated from each other by an interval of centuries. Pâṇini could thus very well refer to the Ionians of Sogdiana as the Yavanas in his grammar.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

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## KOLÃÑCHA, THE FATHERLAND OF THE RĀḌHĪ AND THE VĀRENDRA BRĀHMAṆAS

The earlier *kulaji* books of the Rāḍhī and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs say that the five forefathers of these Brāhmaṇs, of the *gotras* of Śāṇḍilya, Bhāradvāja, Kāsyapa, Vātsa, and Sāvarṇi, came to Gauḍa in Bengal at the invitation of king Ādiśūra from KOLÃÑCHA.[1] Nobody can say where this Kolãñcha is or was. Late MM. H. P. Śāstrī writing about it says: 'Its identification is not certain. Various theories have been put forward, none of which are trustworthy.' (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 405.) We shall in this note try to find out its locality.

It appears that these Kolãñcha Brāhmaṇs were well known in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Hitherto six charters have come to light from different provinces, viz., Bihar (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of the Inscription of Northern India*, No. 1555), Orissa (*Ibid.*, No. 1700, and Vinayak Misra's *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 52-56), Bengal (*Ibid.*, No. 1632), Assam, (*Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, p. 155), and Mālava (charter exhibited at the 150th anniversary of the Asiatic Society, Bengal), recording land-grants to the Brāhmaṇs from Kolãñcha. The time of these inscriptions ranges from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. In the Bengal grant the name Kolãñcha has been sanskritized into Kroḍãñchi, while in

[1] According to the current tradition they are said to have come from Kanauj. Strangely enough, there is still a village named Kanauj in the Rajshahi district in North Bengal.

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the Assam grant it has been made Kroḍāñja. The editor of the latter incorrectly read it 'Krosañja'. All other charters have got Kolāñcha.

The Assam plate supplies something more than the name Kolāñcha, which has given us a clue to find out its location. It writes:— *'grāmaḥ Kroḍāñja-nām-āsti Śrāvastyām'* i.e. there was a village named Kroḍāñja in Śrāvasti. Where could have been this Śrāvasti? We have already pointed out that this Śrāvasti of the Brāhmaṇs is different from Śrāvasti or modern Sahet Mahet, which was pre-eminently a place of the Buddhists and much earlier. (*I.A.*, Vol. LX., pp. 14-18). This Brāhman Śrāvasti of Bengal does not figure in epigraphy before the tenth century.

A corroborative evidence of our theory has recently been found. In the latest issue of the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XX.) has been published an inscription of the Gupta period by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak. It has been found in a village named Vai in the district of Dinajpur. The inscription contains the name of a village called Vāyī, which name also occurs in the Damodarpur copper-plate No. 3 of the same district. (*E.I.*, Vol. XV., p. 136.) There can be no doubt that this Vāyī and Vai are identical. The Vaigrama plate also contains the name of Pañchanagara. A village of the same name still exists in the Baṅgshihari police station of the Dinajpur district. Now the donee of another charter of Assam is stated to have come from the village of Vai in Śrāvasti (*Sāvathyām-asti Vai-nāma grāmo dhāma dvi-janmanām*). (*Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, p. 137). Now as the village of Vai is in Bengal, Śrāvasti must also have to be located there. Does not this conclusively prove that there was a Śrāvasti in Bengal? Similarly Śrāvasti and Tarkkārikā of the Silimpur inscription (Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1727) have also to be placed in Bengal. In many other plates we find mentions of Brāhmaṇs from villages in Śrāvasti. Some of these again can be traced in Northern Bengal. We hope, we can now confidently place the Brāhman village of Kolāñcha also in this Śrāvasti of Bengal. There is a village named Kularch or Kularchya in the Bogra district. We are indebted to Mr. K. N. Dikshit for pointing out this village in the map. This village is colloquially known as Kuloch. The same district also contains a village named Kālañja. One of these two villages may be the old Kolāñcha.

After this can we place any credence to the current tradition that the forefathers of the Rāḍhī and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs of Bengal came from the ancient province of Kānyakubja?

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## BENGALI POET LAKṢMĪDHARA AND BHOJADEVA

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharjee must be thanked for bringing to the notice of scholars the Bengali poet Lakṣmīdhara and his *mahākāvya* named the *Cakrapāṇivijaya* in the April number of this *Journal*. The poet speaks of his native village as *Gauḍeṣu Bhaṭṭāṅkita-Kośal-ākhya*. This Dr. Bhattacharjee translates as 'the village of Bhaṭṭa Kośala in Gauḍa'. We, however, think that the name of the village was Kośala, which was *aṅkita* i.e. marked or well-known by the residence of Bhaṭṭas or learned Brāhmaṇs. This may be the same as the modern village of Kushaila, in *thānā* Panchbibi of the district of Bogra (*Village Directory of Bogra*).

In the portion containing the accounts of the poet's family, the poet simply mentions Śrī-Bhojadeva without specifying the country. Dr. Bhattacharjee, naturally enough, has identified this Bhojadeva with the famous royal poet and patron of learning, Śrī-Bhojadeva of Dhārā. We, for reasons given below, wish to differ from him.

Poet Devadhara, the composer of the Baṭesvara stone inscription of the Chandella king Paramardīdeva of the Vikrama *Samvat* 1252 (1195 A.D.), gives the following account of his family :—

"गौडान्वयैकतिलकस्य गदाधराख्यो लक्ष्मीधरस्य तनयो कवि-चक्रवर्त्ती ।
विद्यावतां स परमः परमर्द्दिदेव संधान-विग्रह-महासचिवो बभूव ॥
तस्यात्मजो देवधरः कवीन्द्र प्रशस्तिमेताम् अतुलाञ्चकार ।
अस्यानुजो धर्म्मधरश्च धीरः कुतूहलात् बालकविर्ल्लिलेख ॥"

(*Ep. Ind.* vol. I. p. 207).

From the above, we learn that the poet Devadhara's grandfather was Lakṣmīdhara. His father *Kavicakravarti* Gadādhara was the prime minister of King Paramardideva. His younger brother *Bālakavi* Dharmadhara wrote the *praśasti*. They hailed from the country of Gauḍa. The date of the inscription is V.S. 1252= 1195 A.D. As both Devadhara and his father Gadādhara were contemporaries of Paramardideva (c.V.S. 1223–1258), Lakṣmīdhara's time may approximately be fixed as V.S. 1202–27. We want to identify this *Gauḍānvaya* Lakṣmīdhara with Lakṣmīdhara, the author of the *Cakrapāṇivijaya*, who also hailed from Gauḍa. If there is any truth in our identification, he cannot be a contemporary of the King Bhoja of Dhārā (c.V.S. 1067–1112).

If the Paramāra King Bhoja was not the patron of our Lakṣmīdhara, we shall have to look for a King Bhoja who reigned about V.S. 1202–27, i.e. about the second half of the twelfth century

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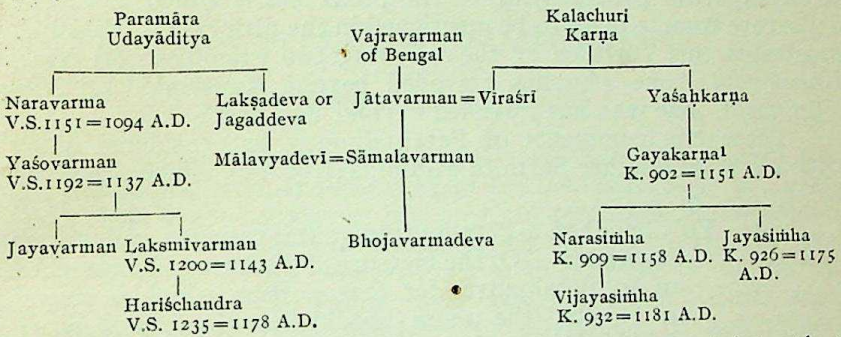
A.D. Such a King, we think, was the King Bhojavarmadeva of Bengal. We do not know the exact date of this king, but the matrimonial connections of the family will help us to arrive at it. From the Belāva plate of this King (*Beng. Inscrp.* Vol. III. pp. 14–24), we learn that his father Sāmalavarmadeva married Mālavyadevī, the daughter of the Paramāra King Jagaddeva. His grandfather Jātavarman married Vīraśrī, the daughter of the Kalachuri King Karṇa. A glance at the following genealogies will at once give an approximate idea of the time of King Bhojavarmadeva :—




From the above table, we can say with pretty certainty that Bhojavarmadeva lived sometime between 1137 A.D. to 1181 A.D. Thus the poet Lakṣmīdhara was his contemporary, whose time, we have already seen, was about V.S. 1202–27=1145–1170 A.D.

Another Bengali poet, who flourished about the same time as the poet Devadhara (V.S. 1252=1195 A.D.) was Rājaguru *Bālasarasvatī* Madana. He graced the courts of the Paramāra Kings Arjunavarman (c. 1199–1215 A.D.) and his successor Devapāla (c. 1215–1232 A.D.). He wrote a drama named *Pārijātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* and also some other works. His royal disciple Arjunavarman quoted verses from the latter in his commentary on the *Amaruśataka*. He also composed three inscriptions of King Arjunavarman (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. V. p. 378 and *J.Am.O.S.*, Vol. VII. pp. 25 and 33), and one of King Devapāla (*E.I.* Vol. IX. p. 103). In the *Pārijātamañjarī*, he describes himself as '*Gauḍānvaya-Gangā-pulina-rā(jahaṁ)sasya (Gaṅgādha)rāyaṇe(rMadanasya rā) ja-guroḥ* . . . .(*E.I.* Vol. VIII. pp. 101-2). For all these we are tempted to think that he also belonged to the same family as Devadhara.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

[1] Gayakarṇa married Alhaṇadevī, daughter's daughter of Paramāra Udayāditya (*E.I.* Vol. II. pp. 10ff).

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# FURTHER HISTORICAL DATA FROM PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Pāṇini's Sūtra, II. 2. 18, (Kugati-prādayaḥ), is the subject of interesting glosses by Patañjali. These glosses arise out of a Vārttika added by Kātyāyana. The implied meaning of this Vārttika, according to Patañjali, was elaborated in a series of other Vārttikas added by the Saunāgas. These supplementary Vārttikas have been cited by Patañjali. One of these is as follows ; 'Nirādayaḥ Krāntādyarthe pañchamyāḥ'—'the prefix *niḥ* is added to denote departure from a place to be mentioned in the fifth case.' Patañjali illustrates this Vārttika by the following two examples : (1) *Nish-Kauśāmbiḥ*, 'one who has travelled beyond Kauśāmbī' (2) *Nir-Vārāṇasiḥ*, 'one who has travelled beyond Vārāṇasī'.

These two comments of Patañjali may be considered along with those on another Sūtra of Pāṇini, III. 3, 136, which are given below :

1. Yo'yamadhvā ā-Pāṭaliputrād gantavyastasya yadavaraṁ Sāketāditi—'Of the measure of distance to be travelled up to Pāṭaliputra, for that portion which is nearer to Sāketa, the tense should be *sāmānya-bhavisya*, as in *bhokshyāmahe*.'
2. Yo'yamadhvā ā-Pāṭaliputrād gantavyastasya yatparaṁ Sāketāditi—'For the portion of the journey away from Sāketa but nearer to Pāṭaliputra the tense should be *anadyatana-bhavishya* as in the form *bhoktāsmahe*.'

A comparative consideration of all these comments of Patañjali will lead to the interesting conclusion that that part of India with which Patañjali was familiar was marked by an important trade-route or highway running from Sāketa to Pāṭaliputra and touching at two important intermediate stages or stations, the two cities of Kauśāmbī and Vārāṇasī. A traveller who has passed from Sāketa beyond Kauśāmbī would be a *Nish-Kauśāmbiḥ* and must use the form *bhokshyāmahe*. But, if he has proceeded farther, and beyond Vārāṇasī, and is definitely a *Nir-Vārāṇasiḥ*, on his way towards Pāṭaliputra, he is to use the other form, *bhoktāsmahe*.

It is also interesting to note that while Patañjali mentions Sāketa as one end of the journey and Pāṭaliputra the other end, the *Kāśikā*, retaining Paṭaliputra as the other end of the journey, mentions Kauśāmbī in place of Sāketa as its starting-point. There may be a personal and psychological reason involved in this difference between the two grammarians. Each was perhaps thinking of

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his own native city forming the centre of his geographical horizon. At any rate, India in which Patañjali had lived and moved, the Śuṅga empire of the second century B.C., had its four chief cities, Pāṭaliputra, Vārāṇasī, Sāketa, and Kauśāmbī, forming stations in frequented trade-routes of the times.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

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## INDRAMITRA AND BRAHMAMITRA

### A Reply to a Rejoinder

Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghatak has published a fresh note on Indramitra and Brahmamitra (*Indian Culture*, July, 1935, pp. 171–173). This is a rejoinder to my reply to his original note which appeared in a previous issue of this journal (January, 1935, pp. 506-507). Mr. Ghatak has been 'provoked to a reply' by a 'young friend' of his who, he thinks, 'still continues to be a member of the Archæological Department'. The actual age is not stated. But that is immaterial.

Mr. Ghatak considers my reply to be 'a deplorably weak defence of Dr. Raychaudhuri'. Apparently my defence of Prof. Rapson was not so weak. The query about Brahmamitra has also not been repeated. He maintains discreet silence on these points.

In regard to Dr. Raychaudhuri Mr. Ghatak, I am sorry to say, has tried to mislead the reader by wrong quotations. Thus the reference to Marshall to which I drew attention (*I.C.*, April, 1935, p. 696) *concerns* not pp. 271f. of Dr. Raychaudhuri's text (3rd edition), as I am wrongly represented by Mr. Ghatak as saying (*I.C.*, July, 1935, p. 172), but pp. 270f. Again the said reference is *found* on p. 442 of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book and not on p. 270 as I am again wrongly represented as suggesting. The passage in Dr. Raychaudhuri's book (p. 442) containing the reference in question is quoted below :—

'Marshall, Sir John, 39, 270f., 281, 290, 300f., 304f., 309, 314f., 318f., 320, 373'.

It is clear from this that the authority of Sir John Marshall is cited for pp. 270f. (and not pp. 271f.) of the text, and Mr. Ghatak himself knows that 'if any scholar turns to p. 270 of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book, he no doubt finds the statement that 'names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are

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found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh Gaya . . .'. I trust the substitution of pp. 271f. for 270f. was not made *deliberately* to convey a wrong impression to the reader, as may be suspected from a perusal of the sentence 'On p. 271 there is no mention of Brahmamitra and Indramitra by Dr. Raychaudhuri'.

Marshall is cited as an authority by Dr. Raychaudhuri (*on* p. 442) *for* pp. 270f. in the same way as Fleet, Smith, and Allan are mentioned (on p. 128) as well-known authorities for the Gupta period. The further fact that the names of these scholars are found repeated in the body of the book or in the foot-notes in connection with particular topics like the Besnagar Inscription, does not imply that cases where foot-notes etc. are not given on a particular page are not covered by the prefatory or supplementary references. No author is under an obligation to give every reference, however pedantic or unnecessary, only on a particular page of the text, and not in prefatory passages or bibliographical lists, for the benefit of *dilettante* readers. No publisher will view with unconcern any unnecessary increase in the bulk of a book. Few readers like an unnecessary multiplication of foot-notes.

Now as to the name Indramitra. Mr. Ghatak has not explained why he omitted to mention the name of Marshall while writing his original note (*I.C.*, January, 1935, pp. 506-07). Is it because Marshall is actually referred to by the author of the *Political History of Ancient India*? Having realized that Lüders' *list* is not the last word of wisdom in Indian Epigraphy, he now consoles himself with the conjecture that Sir John Marshall's *Indramitra* is a *misprint* for *Indrāgnimitra*. If it is a *misprint*, why is it repeated in two chapters of the *Cambridge History* published more than a decade after the *Report* for 1907-08? Further Mr. Ghatak is careful not to mention the fact that even Bloch, who is now his authority in place of Lüders, identifies the king on the Bodh Gaya *pillar* with Indramitra of the coins, thus admitting that the form *Indramitra* for the royal name is not excluded. Mr. Ghatak has failed to understand the true import of my statement, 'Bloch's reading of the name on the *pillar* as Indrāgnimitra is at least doubtful'. It is doubtful because the only legible letters in the name on the *pillar* are *Im . . . tra*, and the same scholar who identifies *Im . . . tra* with Indrāgnimitra of the Coping Stone, also identifies him with Indramitra of the coins. Students who are really conversant with ancient Indian history know that many royal names have variants, e.g. Harshavardhana and Harshadeva, Nāgabhaṭa and Nāgāvaloka, Devaśakti and Devarāja, Mahendrapāla and Mahendrāyudha etc. If Harshavardhana and Harshadeva can be referred to simply as Harsha, if Aśokavardhana can be mentioned as Aśoka, why cannot *Im . . . tra*

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of the *pillar* who is actually identified with Indramitra of the coins by Bloch as well as Marshall and Rapson, be referred to as Indramitra by Dr. Raychaudhuri? The latter never said that the name *Indramitra* is found on *Coping Stones*.

Mr. Ghatak speaks of my bad taste in referring to a certain editor of this journal, long connected with the Archæological Department, for his failure to point out the references in the *Archæological Survey Reports*. If 'B.M.B.' was acting on behalf of the whole editorial board why did he not mention the fact as he does on p. 153 of the July (1935) issue of this journal? It is not a little curious that no reference to Marshall and the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1907-8 occurs even in B.M.B.'s otherwise illuminating note.

As to the question of sincerity, relevancy and taste Mr. Ghatak shows admirable regard for all these virtues by dragging the name of a scholar who is no longer in the land of the living to defend himself. Blunders and other short-comings I believe, are not the monopoly of any one employee or ex-employee of certain well-known institutions, as a perusal of *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 123 (January), *Modern Review*, 1923, September, pp. 340 f., the preface to Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, p. vi, etc. will show.

The reference to the 'Patna Statues' is another instance of Mr. Ghatak's relevancy and good taste. Will he kindly quote the passage in the *Political History* where these statues are mentioned as '*being exhibited*' in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum? On pp. 145 and 149 Dr. Raychaudhuri examines certain opinions and statements of *another writer*. The reference is to the nomenclature and position of the statues in question at the time when those statements were made by *that writer and his critics*. The author may be pardoned if he refuses to bewilder the student who wants to follow that controversy by giving a history of the recent peregrinations of 'historic' and 'pre-historic' 'artifacts' in the different sections of the Indian Museum when such details are not relevant to the question at issue. These may be left to employees and ex-employees of the Museum and of the Archæological Department who are known experts in the subject, or to those who can easily acquire a special knowledge of the same.[1]

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE.

[1] With this reply from Mr. A. C. Banerji the controversy is closed.—B. C. L.

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# THE CUSTOM OF PRIVILEGED THEFT IN INDIA

Dr. Kleiweg has shown that the custom of privileged theft is wide-spread among various aboriginal peoples living apart from each other in distant countries like Africa, Tamor, Soemba and New Guinea. Reference has been made in this connection to the practice prevailing among these peoples of permitting boys and girls on the attainment of puberty (e.g., on the occasion of circumcision in the case of a boy and first menstruation in the case of a girl) to steal with impunity things belonging to their neighbours.[1] It is supposed that belief in taboos is at the bottom of this custom; for boys and girls who during the period of their puberty celebration are regarded as impure and untouchable, can do anything they like without being caught.

Dr. J. J. Modi[2] has drawn attention to some practices prevalent in India and bearing some resemblance to those described by Dr. Kleiweg. He has pointed out that on the occasion of a marriage ceremony among some classes of people in India, things belonging to the bride or the bridegroom are secretly removed by their close relatives to be returned, in cases, on receipt of some money or present. Affectionate theft (*prem cori*) is the name given to this form of theft. This is said to be committed to avert the evil influences of persons who are on the look out of doing harm to the couple by stealing things belonging to them.

It is proposed to bring here to the notice of scholars some more instances of privileged theft—ceremonial or otherwise—as prevalent among the people of India.

As regards acts of theft for the purpose of magic or charm mention may be made of the practice followed in some parts of Bengal of burying in the earth an article belonging to a neighbour, as a charm against excessive rain. This is specially done by the mother of the bride or bridegroom when the marriage ceremony of her child is drawing nigh to avert rain on the occasion of that celebration.

In some cases the act of stealing is permitted simply for the sake of amusement which of course occasionally entails a good deal of loss to the victim though valuable things are never allowed to be stolen on these occasions. Thus on the night of the *naṣṭa-candrā* day (the fourth day of either fortnight in the month of

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[1] Dr. J. J. Modi has described the custom in the *Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society* (Vol. XIII, pp. 34ff) on the basis of a paper by Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zuan in *Revue Anthropologique* (1923).

[2] *Op. cit.*

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Bhādra or August-September) youngsters in villages in Eastern Bengal have a merry time of it, as they are permitted to annoy their neighbours by stealing things, principally articles of food, from their houses and thus enjoy a good deal at their cost.[1] These youngsters run about from house to house, remove articles of food, take away fruits from trees belonging to the householder and manage to run away as soon as they are detected by the householders who try to keep a vigilant watch on these people during the whole night.

Wooden things of every form and description, including articles of furniture, door-posts, doors off their hinges, bullock-carts, etc. are stolen by youngsters in some parts of India and burnt in a big bonfire that forms part of the *Holi* festival.[2]

From these instances of playful thefts we may turn to cases of theft perpetrated for personal benefit and material gain. These though allowed in ancient times would no longer be tolerated by the people. It is noticed that some of the minor articles for the performance of religious rites (e.g., flowers for worship and wood for sacrificial fire) as well as grass for the maintenance of a cow were allowed to be stolen with impunity.[3] According to some, these could be taken away only from the forests, which were apparently unclaimed, where no one would be affected; while according to the *Mitākṣarā*, the celebrated commentary on the

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[1] The practice which was highly popular even 20–30 years back has almost gone out of use at the present day. Notice may be taken in this connection of similar practices in Europe. Perpetration of all sorts of mischievous deeds including thefts was allowed in England on particular days of the year, e.g. Paul Pitcher's Day (January 24th), Guy Fawke's Day (November 5th) and Eve of May-Day (May 1st) otherwise known as 'Mischief Night' (*Calcutta Review*, October, 1932, p. 61-2).

[2] R. Manohar Lall—*Among the Hindus*, Minerva Press, The Mall, Cawnpore, 1933, pp. 46-7.

[3] 'देवाद्यर्थन्तु कुसुममस्तेयं मनुरब्रवीत्'
(*Manusaṃhitā* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma under puṣpa.*)

'द्विजस्तृणेधःपुष्पाणि सर्व्वतः खवदाहरेत्' (*Yājñavalkyasaṃhitā* in *loc. cit.*)

तृणं काष्ठं फलं पुष्पं प्रकाशं वै हरेद्बुधः।
धर्मार्थं केवलं विप्रा ह्यन्यथा पतितो भवेत्॥
(*Kūrmapurāṇa, Uparibhāga* Section, XVI. 9.)

वानस्पत्यं मूलफलं दार्वग्र्यार्थं तथैव च।
तृणञ्च गोभ्यो ग्रासार्थमस्तेयं मनुरब्रवीत्॥ (*Manusaṃhitā*—VIII. 339.)

गोऽग्र्यार्थं तृणमेधान् वीरुद्वनस्पतीनाञ्च पुष्पाणि खवदाददीत फलानि चापरिदृष्टानाम्।
(*Gautamadharmasūtra*—II. 3. 25.)

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*Yājñavalkyasaṃhitā*, these could be taken even from lands known to be belonging to others.[1] There were some law-givers, however, who vehemently opposed the practice and prescribed the mutilation of the hand as a punishment for stealing even grass, wood, flower or fruit.[2]

Small amounts of articles of food were allowed to be stolen for one's own maintenance under extreme circumstances when no other means of livelihood was available and when for want of food there was the risk of losing one's life.[3] Thus a member of the 'twice-born caste' on travel when he had exhausted his stock of provisions was allowed to steal two pieces of sugarcane, two radishes, a handful of pea, rice, wheat and so forth[4] without incurring any punishment. But he is thereby in no way relieved of his moral obligation and has to undergo religious penances for his offence.[5] This shows that the act was not favourably looked upon or encouraged but was treated with the contempt it so richly deserved.

In this connection a reference may be made to the Bāgaris[6] who were thieves by profession—a profession that, they asserted, was assigned to them by the goddess Durgā whose cows these people

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[1] *Daṇḍaviveka* of Vardhamāna (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), pp. 41-2.

[2] तृणं वा यदि वा काष्ठं पुष्पं वा यदि वा फलम् ।
अनाश्च्य हि गृह्णानो दस्वच्छेदनमर्हति ॥ (Quoted in *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 42.)

[3] *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 40 : चौर्यादौ निश्चितेऽपि तत्कारणं यदि यथोक्तः प्राणात्ययहेतुरवधार्य्यते तदा तस्य न दोषः, आत्मानं गोपायीत' इति विधिदर्शनात् नित्यस्यास्य विधेरतिक्रमायोगात् ।

[4] द्विजोऽध्वगः क्षीणवृत्तिर्दार्विक्षु द्वे च मूलके ।
आददानः परक्षेत्राद् दण्डं दातुमर्हति ॥ (*Manusaṃhitā*—VIII. 341.)
त्रपुषीर्वार्षके द्वे द्वे तावन्माषं फलेषु च ।
शाकं श्लोकप्रमाणेन गृह्णानो नैव दुष्यति ॥
(*Matsyapurāṇa* as quoted in the *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 40.)
तिलमुद्गयवादीनां मुष्टिग्राह्या पथिस्थितैः ।
क्षुधार्त्तैर्नान्यथा विप्र विधिवद्भिरिति स्थितिः ॥—
*Kūrmapurāṇa, Uparibhāga* Section, XVI. 10.

[5] चौर्याधिकारे ब्राह्मणमुपक्रम्य गौतमवचनम्—'क्षुत्तो प्रायश्चित्तो स' इति ..... । तथाहि तदयमर्थः—अन्येन प्रकारेण जीवनानुपपत्तौ ब्राह्मणो न दण्ड्यः किन्तु प्रायश्चित्तं कार्य्यमिति । (*Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 40.)

[6] An account of these people, as also a reference to the steps taken for civilizing them, are given in the old Bengali newspaper, *Samācāradarpaṇa*, May 11, 1822. (Quoted in Brajendra Nath Banerji's *Saṃvādpatre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. III, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Series No. 82, p. 181.)

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are stated to have tended. The original habitation of the Bāgaris was Marwar whence they migrated to Malwa and Bhopal.

The present note may be concluded by making a reference also to what may be called privileged lying. It is stated in the *Gautamadharmasūtra* (III. 5. 29) and the *Mahābhārata* (as quoted in the *Vācaspatya* under *anṛta*) that uttering a falsehood was not objectionable for the sake of a Brahmin and on occasions like marriage, sexual intercourse and under extreme difficulties.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

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# REVIEWS

**BADLĀPUR-ĀMCAGĀM,** by Nārāyaṇa Govinda Cāpekar. 8½×5. iv+506+iv+xxvi+2 maps+illustrations+tables. Printed at the Āryasaṃskṛiti Mudraṇālaya, Poona, Śaka 1855 (A.D. 1933). Price Rs. 6. Calico bound.

Our rural centres have generally nothing attractive about them. Irksome roads, dilapidated houses, humanity that is physically hungry and mentally famished, and nature that looks apparently niggardly—these greet us everywhere evoking our sympathy and succour. But few have either the time or the inclination to bestow them on our country-side.

Among these few is Mr. Cāpekar who, with singular skill, deep insight into human nature, and extraordinary patience, has raised a spot in the rural area into an object of interest and study. The object of his investigations is a tiny village—Badlāpur—forty-two miles from Bombay on the Bombay-Poona railway line. Historically it is barren of interest save for a skirmish which took place between the English and the Marāṭhās in A.D. 1779, a few details of which are given on pp. 369ff. But with a humane touch the entire locality rises out with its congress of communities, every one of which comes in for its share of treatment at the hands of the learned author.

A detailed description of these social sections makes up one part of the work; the other being devoted to such topics like cultivation (pp. 283ff), birth and death rate (pp. 295ff), vices (p. 309), village gods (p. 319), bazar (p. 322), forest (p. 326), diseases (p. 335), literacy (p. 342), and reptiles (p. 347). Then comes a chapter on some historical details (pp. 351ff) followed by another one on various social questions like dowry system, widow remarriage, etc. (pp. 436ff). Two sections—one on the fields (p. 497) and another on the water works (p. 503)—bring this assiduous study to a close.

Throughout the narrative there runs an enlightened vein: it is that of a patient enquirer who asks the question: We are only 2,300 men in all; what for do we live? (p. 9). An answer to this query transforms this book from a mere catalogue of sociological data compiled from the official gazetteers into a fascinating survey of rural humanity in all its manifold aspects. That is the opinion one forms whether one follows the author down the fields (p. 16), or listens to the bridal songs of the Bōyis, (pp. 51ff), the Vāṇis (pp. 113-4), and of the Mahars (p. 170), or witnesses the Kātakari dance (p. 133), or stands by the holy man among the Śindhes (p. 59), or hears the story of the Bādshah and Birbal (p. 261), or watches the charm-experts among the Mussulmans—whose curious customs are given in some details on pp. 258ff—using the spells (p. 349), or notes the method by which liquor is distilled (p. 309).

Well-informed the author certainly is, here and there he has given expression to views which are rather inadmissible. For instance, he identifies the Guravas with the Liṅgāyats (p. 221). The present-day practice by which the Guravas wear *liṅgas* is insufficient to identify them—who were known to ancient Indian history as *Goravaru*—with the Liṅgāyats.

While describing the importance of the word *māmā* or uncle in his highly interesting chapter entitled *Sāmājika*, the industrious author remarks that the words *māmā* and *māmī* are to be found in the Tamil language; that *māmā* is the only word that is used in the Tamil for mother's brother; and, that, therefore, the word *māmā* is to be traced to a Tamil origin (p. 452). But in the very next sentence the author confesses that *māmī*, according to prākṛit grammarians, is a *dēśi* word! If the Prākṛit

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grammarians trace the word *māmī*—and with it *māmā* as well, we may persume—to a *dēśi* origin, we have to look for the *dēśa* where Marāṭhi was born and nurtured. And that was the Karṇāṭaka, and not the Tamil land. In Kannaḍa too *māmā* means uncle. Karṇāṭaka has profoundly influenced not only the Marāṭhi language but Marāṭha culture as well. This fact is either ignored by or unknown to scholars.

Notwithstanding these minor discrepancies, we acknowledge with pleasure the patient industry of Mr. Cāpekar and the remarkable success which has crowned his efforts.

B. A. SALETORE.

**HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT: Vol. I, BENGAL** (From Rammohun to Dayānanda 1821–84), by Bimanbehari Majumdar, M.A., Professor of Economics and Lecturer in History, B. N. College, Patna. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1934. xii+509 pages.

In this volume the author claims to have 'made an attempt to discover the original contribution of the Bengali thinkers to the political thought of the world.' A list of the chapter heads will give an idea of the contents of the book: (I) Political Thought of Raja Rammohun Roy; (II) The Philosophical Radicals; (III) Political disciples of Raja Rammohun; (IV) The Liberal School of Political Thought; (V) Critics of the Liberal Thought; (VI) Political thought of Sisir Kumar Ghosh; (VII) Muslim School of Political Thought; (VIII) Political Thought of Bankim Chandra; with two appendices.

This book, certainly a very laudable attempt, is frankly the first of its kind, and is a notable example what patient and careful historical research is capable of achieving towards the making of a history of Bengal in the nineteenth century. A glance at the long bibliography detailing a classified list of sources utilized will show the laborious search the book has entailed, and the variety of topics and subjects the author had to cover. But the book lacks a background. His account begins suddenly with Rammohun and proceeds to evaluate the contribution of our political leaders of the 19th century, one by one. Personally, the reviewer feels that our nineteenth century political ideas and ideals have not evolved directly out of our own store of thought and experience in this particular sphere of life; they are more or less echoes of English or western political thought.

NIHARRANJAN RAY.

**ḌHOLĀ-MĀRŪ-RA-DŪHĀ**—an old Rajasthani Love-ballad, critically edited with different readings, notes, glossary, appendices and introduction by Thakur Ram Singh, Surya Karan Pareek and Narottamdas Swami with Forewords by M. M. Rai Bahadur Gouri Sankar Ojha, etc.; Published by the Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Benares. Demy 8vo, pp. 16-214–664 with 3 plates. Price Rs. 4.

It is really a matter of credit for Hindi that its literary wealth is steadily progressing and its scholars are fully awakened to the needs of the age. It is a happy augury that the western standards of literary advancement have their imperceptible effect on our men of literature resulting in a complete and scientific treatment of the work in hand.

The Nagri Pracharini Sabha of Benares, the premier institution of research and publication in Hindi, has just published this volume under review, of old Rajasthani poetry the Ḍholā-Mārū-ra-Dūhā. This collection of an old love-ballad is of more

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than passing interest to scholars of the Indian languages, antiquity, poetry and culture. It is a big volume of about nine hundred pages with three coloured blocks of the old Rajput School of painting and the commentators who have already attained good reputation in the art and scholarship of editing old MSS. according to the modern method, should be congratulated for such an up-to-date production.

The love-story of Ḍholā, the brave and loving prince of Narwara and the princess of Pūgala Māravaṇī—the ideal of beauty, is a popular romance of Rajputana. Its tradition echoed from the harp-strings of the remote itinerant songsters or many a times orally related by the wandering ministrels or the prose chroniclers, is a household word. The story primarily aims at the realization of the union of love, after a difficult ordeal of pangs of separation and of self-abnegation. This romantic poem has travelled in its various provincial forms down to the present age. Later corrupt versions of the story are still available in the Punjab, Sind, Malwa, Gujarat and Central India. The epithets Ḍhōlā and Māravaṇ even to-day are commonly understood by the public in Rajputana as symbols of ideal hero and heroine in love.

The original poem was composed in the Dūhā metre—the most popular metre of the Apabhraṃsha period. As is generally the case with other folk-literature, this poem had to pass through many stages in the course of which a good number of additions and alterations crept into it. Finally many of the original dūhās were forgotten and the thread of the story was broken. This necessitated a well-meaning venture on the part of a poet Kusala-lābha, a Jain monk of the time, to fill up the gaps by *choupāis* of his composition about V.S. 1617, which preserved in tact the sustained narrative of the story through later centuries.

Kusala-lābha says :—

दूहा घणा पुराणा अछइ

चउपइ बंध कियउ मंइ पछइ

i.e. the dūhās are very old and I have composed the choupāis afterwards.

Even at a modest reckoning we find that the original dūhā version must have been at least a century older than Kusala-lābha's time as vouchsafed by him. Thus we can safely place the ballad in the 14th century A.D., if not earlier.

The poem in its present MS. form is found in various versions, the important of them are the following :—

(1) The original Dūhā Version,
(2) Dūhā and Choupāi version of Kusala-lābha,
(3) Dūhās intermixed with prose narrative, and
(4) Dūhās intermixed with choupāis and prose.

As stated above the original Dūhā version was gradually lost in the memory of the people but fortunately it was not totally lost and its manuscripts are found in several Bhandars of Rajputana. Five of them exist in the manuscript library of the Bikaner state and the editors have taken great pains to secure more manuscripts from other places the details of which are given in the Appendix.

The editors have been carrying on research work in the field of Rajasthani language and literature for many years and they have not spared any pains to make the present volume worthy of their reputation. Different readings, literal translation in simple Hindi useful to the students and scholars alike, glossary of Dingal words, philological, historical and explanatory notes are important features of the work. The introduction deals with historical background of the story as well as the discussions of the date and the author.

Besides, this beautiful old national ballad of Rajasthan is an interesting reminiscence of the social customs, life and rich imagery of Rajputana in the early

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mediæval times. The main characters of the poem are said to be historical personages who lived about 10th century A.D. and the original ballad was probably composed by some contemporary bard or poet. The learned editors have compared the language of the poem with that of Kavira and have tried to show that the latter is predominantly Rajasthani in form. They hold that about the time of Kavira there existed in Northern India, a language which with slight variations was the literary language of the whole country from Sourashtra to Kashi and that was the language from which the modern vernaculars, e.g. Guzrati, Vrajabhaś, Rajasthani and to some extent Panjabi were derived.

It may be noted here that even after the late Pandit Chandradhar Guleri, very little effort has been made by scholars to trace a detailed and a clear development of the origin and progress of Hindi language from its early sources. The sad neglect in this direction was responsible for missing this rich heritage and the present editors are, therefore, entitled to the esteem of Hindi scholars for setting up a strong link between the glorious past and bright future of Hindi.

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.

**A BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY** compiled by A. C. March, Editor, Buddhism in England, Published by the Buddhist Lodge, London, 37, South Eaton Place, pp. 1–257, 1935.

Mr. March is to be congratulated upon the production of such an useful book. The book under review contains two alphabetical lists of authors and an alphabetical subject index. It is evident that the author had to labour much to compile this very useful Bibliography with great skill and ability. No doubt we have the ' Bibliographie Bouddhique ', but Mr. March's Bibliography is an equally good book, if not superior. The author assures us to keep this Bibliography up to date by annual supplements. We strongly commend this book to any one interested in Buddhism.

B. C. LAW.

**EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES**—A Selection, translated and edited by Dr. E. J. Thomas and published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Tubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1935, pp. xi–xxv, 1–232.

This book is undoubtedly a good selection ' drawn up with the intention of presenting the main doctrines as impartially as possible, as they were understood by the compilers of the Canon '. It is no doubt a good companion to a history of Buddhism. The book opens with an introduction in which a brief survey of the Tripiṭaka has been given. Dr. Thomas has not only selected pieces from Pāli literature but from such books of the Sarvāstivāda School as Lalitavistara, Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśaṭaka, etc. He has arranged the pieces under different heads : (1) Biographical, (2) The disciple's career, (3) Nirvāṇa, (4) Special doctrines, (5) Buddhology, (6) Discourses to laymen, (7) Other Schools and (8) the Monastic organization. The pieces selected are very important and in order to understand Buddhism, all these pieces should be properly studied. Dr. Thomas has very ably translated the pieces with notes wherever necessary, and he has given an useful index at the end for the convenience of readers. We strongly recommend this book to every student of Buddhism.

B. C. LAW.

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**THE WILD TRIBES IN INDIAN HISTORY,** by Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona, Published by Motilal Banarsi Das, Lahore, 1935, pp. 1–163.

The book consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with the policy of the Hindu rulers towards the wild tribes. The second, third, fourth and fifth chapters deal with the Kirātas, the Śabaras, Beḍars, and the miscellaneous tribes including the Pulindas, Niṣādas, Daśārṇas, Mātaṅgas, Puṇḍras, Lambakarṇas, Karṇapravarṇas and the Ekapādas. The Yakṣas and the Kinnaras are also well treated in this book. The treatment is, on the whole, satisfactory, and the author has shown much industry and scholarship in giving us a connected history of these tribes. The style in which the book is written is simple and quite suitable for historical books. An useful index has been given at the end. References collected here are full and exhaustive. Unfortunately we notice some mistakes, e.g., *Boddisatta* (pp. 128, 129, 130, 131, 134, etc.); *Dhammādhamma Putta Cariyama* (p. 130). *Bodhisatta* is the right word in Pāli, which means 'One who is destined to become a Buddha,' and *Dhammādhammadeva-putta-cariya* is the right title. Surely these minor inaccuracies do not detract from the book its intrinsic value and we can strongly recommend this book to students and scholars interested in the history of ancient Indian tribes. Are the Yakṣas and Kinnaras counted as tribes?

B. C. Law.

**DIRECTIONAL ASTROLOGY OF THE HINDUS AS PROPOUNDED IN VIMSHOTTARI DASA,** by Dr. V. G. Rele, L.M. & S., F.C.P.S., Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, Second Edition, 128 pages, Price Rs. 3.

The book contains two parts termed 'Theoretical' and 'Practical'.

*Part I.*—This consists of a learned thesis 'An exposition of directional Astrology of the Hindus as propounded in Vimshottari Dasa'. In this the author has made great efforts to trace the origin and fix the date of 'Vimshottari Dasa' system. So far as application of rationalistic principles is concerned, he has succeeded to a large extent and his conclusions are as intelligent as they are accurate. But evidently his western education, which resolves all knowledge to observations by the five senses, has stood in his way to further progress. He has himself stated at p. 37 'Perhaps there may be some other and better way of explaining the mystery of Vimshottari Dasa. If this exposition of mine incite some one to provide a better exposition, he will be proving the *scientific* basis of the Directional Astrology of the Hindus'. We are afraid no one will be able to prove the 'Scientific' basis of Directional Astrology of the Hindus if by the word 'Scientific' is meant the basic principle of knowledge of western civilization. The solution of mystery lies elsewhere. The ancient Rishis did not depend upon knowledge through five senses. They knew full well the limitations of such knowledge and so by a process of culture (Yoga) they developed their inner senses (Antarendriyas) to a superhuman pitch and acquired what is known as 'Dibya Dristi' or Divine vision. Their knowledge was more or less revealed. Even a cursory student of Hindu Shastra or even literature cannot but be struck by the stupendous knowledge acquired by those ancient sages and must at any rate take them to be superhuman beings. Even the 'Pāṇini' grammar cannot fail to inspire awe in the minds of the readers as to the gigantic conception and all-embracing genius of the author. The explanation of the mystery surrounding Vimshottari Dasa as well as the entire science of Directional Astrology lies in the acceptance of theory of revealed knowledge to some supermen who attained unthinkable powers of observation and judgment by process of culture now well-nigh forgotten.

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It appears that the author intends his book for study mainly by Westerners as he has omitted the Hindu names of planets, Rishis, etc., almost in entirety. In spite of his belief in the Hindu system, his mind cannot obliterate the effects of his western education. He has omitted to allot a house to Rahu (Dragon's Head) following the western method, although the Hindus had long before invested Rahu with the dignity of a full-fledged planet उच्चं नृयुग्मं घटभं त्रिकोणं कन्यागृहं etc. His observations on the application of Vimshottari Dasa to Sayana horoscope are very learned and intelligent and solve a long standing controversy in a very simple way. The two charts in this part are very useful.

*Part II.*—This part opens with a very simple method of converting a 'sayana' horoscope to Nirayana (Ayanamsa) and is very clear and lucid. The rest of the book deals with the periods of the planets in Vimshottari Dasa, their subperiods and interperiods and gives results in some details. This part is illustrated with charts where necessary and follows the Hindu System very closely. The exposition is very full, accurate and intelligent but here again under the heading 'Casting of Horoscope' he has again betrayed the great hold that the western system has upon him. In p. 55 he says 'That ancient colossal work Bhrigu-Samhita—written by a sage named Bhrigu makes no mention of it (Bhaba Chalita Chart) and yet we can form personal experience to testify to the accuracy of predications given in it from the simple original chart of birth'. As a matter of fact Bhrigu did take into consideration the Bhaba Chakra in making the predictions although it is not stated in the readings. The ancient sage could probably foresee that a decadent race would be following and it would not be possible for them to follow the reasonings, etc., that was why only the results were given. Bhrigu Samhita, whether you believe it or not, claims to give the results not of a particular chart but of an individual whose birth chart it was as would be found from the reference in every reading of the previous incarnation of the person in question. When we come across आलौ लग्नोदये जन्मस्तथाङ्गे च दिवाकरः विप्रवंशे भवोद्वासः सर्व्वलक्षणसुन्दरः etc., it does not mean that in birth charts where a man is born in Vrischeek Lagna with the sun in the sign, he will have the result given; but it gives the results of a particular man born in a particular degree of the Lagna. For in the next (Kundalai) it states 'चित्रगुप्त-कुले जातः etc.' This shows that the prediction is made after consideration of the position of the Lagna and the planets in it as also in other houses. Similarly 'निधने सूर्य्यशुनुश्च पूर्णाय वेदशास्त्रज्ञ' does not mean that in the birth chart in which Saturn happens to be in the 8th house, the maximum age the man will attain is 64 but that in that particular chart the result is such. Instances may be multiplied.

Any way the book is a very learned exposition of the Vimshottari Dasa and its defence and the author deserves our congratulations for creating interest in this dying branch of human knowledge.

We would be glad if he goes into the subject further and let us have a similar exposition of Astottari Dasa also as that system is more in vogue in Bengal and will greatly benefit eager students. On a close study he will find that although the two great systems apparently differ so widely, the results when calculated to Pratyantar dasa do not materially differ—there is real unity underlying the apparent diversity.

We strongly recommend the book to the students of Directional Astrology.

P. C. RAY.

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**THE KAṬHA UPANIṢAD**: An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God and of Human Destiny, by Prof. J. N. Rawson, Serampore College.

This admirable edition of the Kaṭhopaniṣad, belonging to the special genus of Hindu sacred books indicated by the name Upaniṣad, discloses a thoroughly honest and diligent attempt of a capable scholar to interpret with considerable lucidity the religious conceptions of those sages of old who were defenders of faith in God and in Eternal Life. The Introduction to the work which runs over 53 pages is by itself an interesting essay, very informing in character.

The sub-title of the work under review clearly indicates the ambitious design of the learned editor to ascertain or determine the 'Hindu Doctrine of God', and the present work with its discussions and dissertations is but a step in aid of the execution of that object. It will be no doubt quite premature to make reflections on this declared object of Prof. Rawson, taking merely his first step into consideration, but as the 'Hindu Doctrine of God' of the sub-title signifies, in the singular number, one well-defined general doctrine of the Hindus or rather of the old Indian Aryans who were not unbelievers or agnostics, a word relating to the object of the editor seems called for. It is certainly not known, or rather it cannot at this stage be known, whether the capable scholar will to attain his object pursue an anthropological study on the materials provided by the Upaniṣads, or by bringing into focus the philosophical or metaphysical speculations of old days, but it is exceedingly doubtful if by pursuing any method one doctrine relating to God can be formulated for all God-believing Hindus of old, seemingly united in one faith.

It has to be noted in the first place that not to acquire social opprobrium or not to be socially ostracised, the Hindus of old days had only to eat correct food and to marry correctly; they were, however, quite free unlike many other peoples of the world to speculate independently and to express their non-orthodox views publicly relating to the nature of God or to the origin and destiny of life. Such a large number as sixty-three eschatological theories propounded by the ritual-bound Hindus have been discussed by Buddha as recorded in the Nikâyas. Again, metaphysical speculations of various sorts are met with in some noted works which are regarded as so many systems; the learned pundits may favour or may be wedded to this or that system, but the Hindus in general did not, and do not, form their notions by referring to any sort of learned speculation of the philosophers.

What has been said above will be abundantly clear, if a bit of anthropological study be made of the various religious notions that have been preserved in the Upaniṣads. Elaborate discussion on the point is both irrelevant and unsuitable here; only one fact of much prominence in the Upaniṣads is referred to below to suggest what difficulties are in the way of the learned editor. What the anthropologists have tentatively set down as primitive notions relating to life and its Destiny by studying the religious beliefs of various peoples of lower culture, are found significantly intertwined with many highly evolved ideas in the Upaniṣads. It will be noticed what high value has been assigned to *dreams* in realizing the conception of God, which dreams once played an important part in coming to the notion of the immortal 'double' or soul of man. That the soul of spiritual substance is but the replica of the material body, has been taught by some Ṛiṣis of the Upaniṣads by making the disciples look at their reflected images; again, that the man-like form reflected on the retina of the eyes to be the real *puruṣa* inhabiting the body is another idea; the immaterial soul of the size of a thumb residing in the cavity of the heart has been spoken of to give another idea of the soul. These are different primitive notions of various existing tribes and they are all found as living notions in the Upaniṣads of higher culture. It need hardly be pointed out that notions relating to God depend for their growth very much upon the notions formed of

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life. A suggestion merely is thrown out here : how difficult it is, if not impossible, to get at one unified doctrine of God if even the research be confined to the Upaniṣads alone.

It is hoped Prof. Rawson will excuse the reviewer for his pointing out that in his learned reflections and dissertations he has not as yet explained (as is very desirable to do to ascertain the special characteristics of the Upaniṣads) why the name Upaniṣad in the Hindu world has been a name to conjure with, though in this class of literature we get only authoritative statements or declarations of truth without there being any attempt at any rational explanation of them. There are in many Upaniṣads very fanciful explanations of some such forms as Sâma, Udgîtha and so forth, disclosing bad grammar and worse idiom and yet the grammarians who did not accept them as correct, did not say anything about them. Again, the later philosophers in propounding their own systems by resorting to reasons have quoted some utterances of the Upaniṣads, each putting his own interpretation upon them in making his philosophy acceptable. This peculiar attitude of reverence for the Upaniṣads has to be ascertained and stated, and the reviewer hopes that the learned editor will do this before long to help the readers to understand the Hindu moods of mind of the old days.

The criticism just set forth in no way detracts from the book its value, which, on the whole, is a most thoughtful and meritorious production.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

**A PAGEANT OF ASIA**: A Study of Three Civilizations, by Kenneth Saunders, published by the Oxford University Press, London, pages 452, price 21 shillings net, 1934.

Dr. Kenneth Saunders, who had hitherto been known to us as an eminent student of Buddhist religion and culture only, has now imposed upon himself here in this book, the ambitious task of presenting to the lay world at large, the magnificent story of the superb and colossal civilizations of India, China and Japan. These three of the most important regions of Asia, where cultures of profound interest and beauty blossomed forth in very early times, have played a glorious role in the history of humanity. Early transcending all limits of insularity, the civilizations that flourished in these regions, spread far and wide,—penetrating far afield even to flavour and colour the cultures of Judæa and Greece. Tremendously interesting therefore, is the story of the achievements of the children of these three 'soils' of Asia, unfolded here by a sympathetic student of Asiatic cultures like Dr. Kenneth Saunders. Well-read in the literature of these regions, and widely travelled there to gain first hand knowledge of the cultural and secular lives of these peoples, Dr. Kenneth Saunders may be justly considered as one peculiarly qualified to give us a panoramic survey of the achievements of these peoples ; and rightly, indeed, he evaluates these achievements not so much in terms of politics, as in those of art, religion, literature, philosophy and culture. But politics he does not eschew altogether. He, indeed, describes political conditions,—but only when they are necessary to present a perspective against which to conjure up the story of the cultural developments of a particular period. He not only lays open the philosophy and humanity of the cultures depicted, but brings out very clearly their individual personality as well. A writer of beautiful prose, he describes the similarities and differences among these cultures, sometimes with the sublime touch of a master artist. For instance, how in a nutshell says he : 'If India is mystical and metaphysical, China is rationalist and humanist, Japan is at once utilitarian and poetical.

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All have elements of Mysticism and of a deep æsthetic and poetic genius, and all have produced men of action as well as men of vision. Yet it remains true that the Indian ideal is the Rishi—the Yogi—the Mahatma—men of transcendental vision : the Chinese ideal is the man of affairs who is also a scholar, and the Japanese ideal is the Samurai, or loyal servant of the Emperor and overlord, faithful to death, stoic in endurance, touched to finer issues by a sad sense of the transiency of the world and its joys and sorrows. And in all Buddhism has quickened the native æstheticism, and taught ideals of compassion and contemplation.'

Organized into three parts, devoted respectively to India, China and Japan, Dr. Saunders has attempted here a veritable cavalcade of the glorious and glamorous civilizations of Eastern Asia, from the earliest times down to the coming of the European in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With his uncanny power of describing things in picturesque manner, the author presents us here in this book a richly colourful interpretation of the spirit of ancient Asia as expressed through the achievements of the men and women who designed and wove the civilizations of these three divinely chosen regions of the world. The first part on India opens with a brief description of the wonderful civilization recently unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Then come for treatment the Aryans in the Panjab. We have here vivid glimpses not only of their nature cults, but also of the Vedic society in its glad moments of work and play and at the solemn hours of death. Steadily the naive naturalism of the Ṛg Veda is superseded by the religiosity of the Brāhmaṇas and then again by the mystic teachings and the grand intuitions of the Upaniṣads. Then we find ourselves amidst the secular civilizations of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. Then suddenly out of the dark jungle and the weird mists of the early Indian history, and towering head and shoulder above the great rishis of her first religious visions, the stupendous figure of the greatest of India's sons, Gautama Buddha, soars serene, clear-cut and majestic. What he sowed, we reap in the time of the Maurya Aśoka. Then follows a period of history somewhat chaotic and obscure, which lasts till the coming of the Guptas who herald another Golden Age of India, manifesting the spirit and genius of the age in diverse fields of human accomplishments ranging from exquisite music, painting, poetry and drama to astronomy, mathematics and the military arts. Then come for record the achievements of the Southern Kingdoms, followed (of course with a quick jump) by the fascinating story of Akbar and the Great Moguls. And here leaves the author his Indian trail.

Then commences the story of China, which unlike India begins her traditional history with great men of affairs, idealized as symbols of a golden age—the three August Ones, and the Five Sovereigns, who represent the Five Elementary Virtues radiating Peace and Harmony. We see how out of the fusion of Shang and Chou evolves the Classical Chinese civilization, the foundation of all culture and beauty, the mighty prototype throughout the ages. Then the master minds of China, representing many types—from Kunge Fu-tse, moralist and preserver of tradition to Chuang-tse, rebel and mystic, and from Mo-tse the theist to the atheist Chen Tuan, make their processional appearance on the stage of history. Very soon we have a Chinese parallelism to Indian history. Like Chandragupta Maurya, there comes to usurp the decadent House of Chou, a man of uncertain parentage named Chin-shih Huang-Ti, helped like the Indian Chanakya, by his unscrupulous minister Li Sze. He was a man of immense energy and brilliant gifts—a strong and purposeful iconoclast, who believed that the feudal system and its literature hung together and must go together. China owes to him the realization of her ideal of unified statehood. His successors owe him a magnificent lead, for he heralded what is known in Chinese history as the Han Era. After having here a detailed acquaintance with the achievements of the Han Era and its after-math, we pass on to the splendour of

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the Tang period. The cultural achievements of Tang are such as almost to blind us to the corruption and superstition of the Court and the sufferings of the masses, who groaned under heavy taxation in land and salt, and under forced labour. Cultures of Tang China stand on a par with that of Guptan India and that of Europe of Charlemagne. Indeed, its indebtedness to Guptan India was not inconsiderable. Coomaraswamy has rightly observed : ' Almost all that belongs to the common spiritual consciousness of Asia, the ambient in which its diversities are reconciliable, is of Indian origin in the Guptan period '. The Buddhists of the Age brought a new artistic and spiritual impetus. While the dreaded Turks poured into Europe and battered upon the gates of India, and while Christians equally resolute, sought by force to win a pagan world, forgetting their Greek heritage in their zeal for their Semitic one, Buddhists bowed to the storm of persecution and became missionaries of the cross-fertilization of cultures. The contemporary literature, philosophy and art of China reveal how greatly Indian culture had stimulated the Chinese. But the House of Tang collapsed as all royal houses do with the turn of the wheel of destiny, and half a century of chaos and disorder following the same, China passed on to the hands of a virile series of kings beginning with Tai-Tsu, with whom there inaugurated another great era, the Augustan Age of Chinese literature and philosophy—an age of experiment and freedom, of revolt against the trammels of tradition, of romanticism rather than classicism, but also of scientific materialism and naturalism. In this period as well we find unmistakable influence of India on Chinese culture. The thread of Chinese history in the book under review breaks with the Mongol conquest of China under Kublai Khan.

The last part of the book deals with Japan. Here we are given glimpses not only of the royal personalities, but also of the revered scholars and artists of Japan. The story of cultural fusion and adaptation is very ably delineated to show how if Japan had imitated she had done it well, and had adapted what she had borrowed with amazing skill and tenacity.

It is obvious that in an ambitious work like this there would be sins of omission and commission. Excepting one or two typical ones, it is of course difficult on account of limited space at the reviewer's disposal to cite them all here. For instance, on page 9, it is stated that Atharva Veda is a mere compilation from the Rg Veda. Again, ' Vedic ' has been given as the name of a script.

Apart from these imperfections, the book under review forms on the whole an excellent introduction to the study of Indian, Chinese and Japanese cultures. Here indeed we have history infused with the life-spirit of the imaginative intellect, and not reduced to the mere skeleton of a chronicle of events.

ATUL K. SUR.

**THE HILL BHUIYAS OF ORISSA,** by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A. Published by ' Man in India ' Office, Ranchi. Pages 360, with some illustrations and a Map of the Bonai, Pallahara and Keonjhar States, 1935. Price Rs. 8.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi, to whom we owe so much for detailed knowledge of the aboriginal tribes of the Central Hill Belt of India, puts us once more under a deep debt of gratitude and obligation by furnishing us with an excellent monograph on the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa. He is one of the very few Indians, who have made a close study of the primitive peoples of this country *in situ*. Indeed, the last twenty-five years of his life he has devoted mainly to the study of the primitive peoples of the Central Hill Belt of India, and we have the results of the same incorporated for our use and benefit, in some five invaluable monographs including the present one.

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The Bhuiyas, who form the subject-matter of study of the volume under review, are an interesting people, having regional distribution covering over half a dozen provinces of India. They represent every grade and form of culture, ranging from the more or less primitivity of those who live on the hills to the regular Hinduised cultures of those Zeminder families who live in the plains and now lay claim to the pretension of having a Rajput or Kshatriya descent. In the book under review, as is obvious from the title, the Rai Bahadur studies that branch of the Bhuiyas who dwell on the hills of Orissa. But as well he takes care to refer now and then to sundry points of difference in the customs and beliefs of the Hill Bhuiyas, not only with their kinsmen, the Hinduised Bhuiyas of the plains, but also with some of the Munda tribes of the Central Hills.

The book is divided into some twelve chapters in each of which by turn the author discusses with his characteristic erudition, the racial and cultural affinities of the Bhuiyas, their habitat, physical and mental characteristics, economic life and social organization, kinship usages, marriage and inheritance rules, birth, childhood, puberty and funeral customs, religious and magical beliefs and practices, folklore, omens and superstitions. The book is appended with (1) a statistical analysis of one hundred adult Pauri Bhuiyas, and (2) local accounts of the Plains Bhuiyas of the Orissan State of Gangpur.

The work is of considerable interest and value to all those interested in Indian anthropology. Coming as it does from such a lifelong and devoted student of anthropology as the Rai Bahadur is, the book leaves hardly anything to be desired so far as the treatment of the subject is concerned. It is well-got up and properly indexed.

ATUL K. SUR.

**THE BṚIHADĀRANYAKA UPANIṢAD,** by Swami Madhavananda, published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas, pages 960.

Swami Madhavananda of Ramkrishna Math, Belur, has done a genuine service to the learned world by removing the long-felt want of a reliable and complete English translation of Śaṅkara's commentary on the Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad. Many eminent scholars had attempted the same task previously, but none could bring it to a finish. Swami Madhavananda gives in the book under review a list of such unsuccessful previous attempts, which undoubtedly indicate how much we really owe him for bringing out this complete edition of the work. The present translation is meant for those students of Vedānta, whose knowledge of the Sanskrit language is not so perfect as to enable them to follow the original. Swamiji observes that 'some passages of both text and commentary have been omitted in the translation to suit the exigencies of modern taste'. But we do not think that to be a right method. The true follower of the Upaniṣads has to remodel or to rectify his taste by reading the book. Let the reader follow the book, and the book should not follow the reader.

The introduction to the book which is from the pen of a revered scholar of great reputation, Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri, gives a good deal of information of inesteemable value for the students of Vedānta Philosophy. Besides, there is a short note in which an account of the Vedas is given. But we believe that a few words were necessary also as to why the Vedas and Upaniṣads should be regarded as the only infallible proof for the unknown and the unknowable, without which conception the study of Upaniṣads is fruitless in the eyes of a Hindu scholar.

The translation portion of the book no doubt commands admiration. The style is simple and lucid and also accurate. The philosophical intricacies of the

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Commentary have been reduced to a minimum—an aspect which is very rare even in the works of highly eminent writers on the Nyāya system of Indian thought. If, however, any criticism is to be made, then we are to point out that in the next edition of the book the author should exercise a little more care in translating such words as *agre* which he renders by 'in the beginning' (on page 15), instead of simply 'before' or 'previously'. If *agre* is rendered 'in the beginning', then one would be inclined to think that the creation has a beginning, though according to the doctrine inculcated in the commentary—the creation has no beginning. If the phrase 'in the beginning' is urged, then it would have been better to say 'in the beginning of this cycle of creation'. In the same page, the force of *eva* is overlooked. *Mṛtyunā eva idam-āvṛtam-āsīt* is translated by 'it was covered by Death (hiraṇyagarbha) or Hunger'. Would it not have been better, if it was said 'it was covered by Death (hiraṇayagarbha) above Hunger'. We are afraid 'or' here is ambiguous.

By dividing the dialectical portions into groups, under the heads: 'objection' and 'reply', the subject-matter of discussion has been charmingly simplified. We are of opinion that there are places where auxiliary notes were necessary. But the author has failed to furnish us with such notes. Then another point of improvement, we are tempted to suggest for the future edition of the book, is to put the analytical headings of the discussions of philosophical truths along with contents of the same. We further wish to see the historical portions of Śaṅkara's philosophy from the quotations made by him.

We hope and feel sure that the book will be highly appreciated by all students of Indian philosophy.

RAJENDRA NATH GHOSH.

**THE PADYĀVALĪ OF RŪPA GOSVĀMĪ,** edited by Prof. Sushil Kumar De, Dacca University Publication, pp. 296+cxliv.

Prof. De is to be sincerely congratulated for his critical edition of the *Padyāvalī*, an anthology of Sanskrit verses by the celebrated Vaiṣṇava poet-philosopher Rūpa Gosvāmī, which is based upon no less than sixteen different manuscripts. He has enhanced the value of the edition by appending notes on the authors cited in the text so far as they can be traced. The critical apparatus with which the work has been edited is calculated to be of undoubted value to scholars.

The *Padyāvalī* is a collection of Vaiṣṇava verses in Sanskrit, some of which take us back to a date which is much older than the age of Chaitanya. It is, therefore, needless to say that the study of these verses is likely to throw light on the growth and development of Vaiṣṇavism as a widespread creed. Rūpa Gosvāmī compiled 386 verses from over 125 poets (according to Dr. De's reckoning) with a view to illustrating the principles of the creed which he along with his elder brother and nephew was among the first to develop and expound. With this object in view, Rūpa introduced some minor changes into the verses in order to bring them into line with his creed, while keeping their sense, poetry and rhythm intact.

Prof. De in his learned introduction has very properly undertaken an enquiry into the essentials of the new theory of *Rasa* which seeks to identify religious feeling entirely with the sentiment of love which is pre-eminently a human passion. We owe this new theory together with all its corollaries which were subsequently developed in the Vaiṣṇava school to the inspiration of Chaitanya and to the untiring zeal of his immediate disciples. The general attitude of Prof. De towards Chaitanya and his movement is one of appreciation and sympathy. But there are certain statements that either need correction or remain open to criticism, not to say, objection.

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One may take exception, for instance, to his statement that Mukunda was the father of Rūpa and Sanātana (p. xlv). Here the name of the grandfather has been substituted for that of the father. Mukunda was not the father but the grandfather of Rūpa and Sanātana according to the *Vaiṣṇava toshaṇī*. Mukunda's son Kumāra was the father of the scholarly brothers.

Secondly, on p. xviii: 'His (Chaitanya's) studies, however, appear to have been chiefly confined to Sanskrit grammar, especially *Kalāpa Grammar* and possibly to some literature and rhetoric to which allusion is made'. According to the Charitâmṛta, he was well-versed in various branches of learning and defeated Vêdântins, Sāṁkhyavâdins, and Buddhists in discussion. According to Jayânanda, Chaitanya obtained mastery over all the sciences.

Thirdly on p. lxxvii: 'The six Gosvāmīns at any rate do not *countenance* the *Parakīyā-Vāda* which developed at a later period in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism'. If Prof. De had said that they did not openly profess it, the statement would have been nearer the mark. For the conception of love which we find in the philosophy and poetry of these Vaiṣṇava saints is certainly not that of post-nuptial love.

Rūpa Gosvāmī in his *Ujjvala Nīlamaṇi*, distinctly mentions पारतन्त्र्यादियुक्तयोः which means that the lovers are separated by reason of their being under the influence of others. They are not independent; possibly they are prevented by others from meeting each other. Of course, Srī Jīva Gosvāmīn supported the *Svakiyā-vāda* and tried to explain the phrase पारतन्त्र्यादियुक्तयोः according to his own favourite doctrine in his Locana-rocanī, a commentary on the *Ujjvala Nīlamaṇi*.

The theory of *Parakiyā-Rasa* was no doubt developed later by Srīnivāsa Âchārya and Narottama Ṭhākur, the former, a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, one of the six Gosvāmīns, and the latter, a disciple of Lokanātha Gosvāmī, and both of them receiving their education direct from Srī Jīva Gosvāmī. (See Prēm Vilāsa.)

Fourthly, according to Prof. De, Chaitanya 'absorbed in his ecstasies, hardly ever sought to build up a cult or a sect'. 'A man of his great emotional capacity was hardly ever fit for serious or sustained intellectual effort.' 'The death of his first wife had something to do with his sannyāsa'.

Lastly, Prof. De characterizes Vaiṣṇava view of devotional sentiment as 'erotic mysticism'. In Europe, a theory like this was developed which found expression in the conception of 'the bride of Christ'. But with the Vaiṣṇavas, it is a vicarious enjoyment, the ideal of which is to serve God purely from a spirit of disinterested love. The doctrine of love as conceived by the Vaiṣṇavas requires it that every devotee, irrespective of sex, should regard himself or herself as the handmaid of love which is personified as Rādhā. The proximity of the handmaids to Rādhā is determined by his or her capacity for love and the corresponding *Sādhanā*. This is no secret cult nor is there any secret form of worship attached to it as in the ancient Orphic mysteries of the Greeks or in some of the Sahajiyā forms of worship prevalent in Bengal down to the modern times.

KHAGENDRA NATH MITTER.

## A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

Vol. VII, Kāvya Manuscripts, by M.M. Haraprasāda Shāstrī, C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt., F.A.S.B. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1934, Pages 653.

The present volume was prepared by M.M. Haraprasāda Shāstrī and he saw the whole of it in proof in various stages of progress. He died suddenly in November, 1931, and in March, 1933, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti was entrusted with the

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task of seeing through the press the remaining portions of the present volume. This Catalogue of Sanskrit Poems has been prepared on the same method as was followed in the previous volumes. We find notices of poems by such eminent poets and scholars as Kālidāsa, Bharttṛhari, Bhāravi, Bharata Mallika, Brajasundara, Jayadeva, Halāyudha, Sanātana Gosvāmī, Rūpa Gosvāmī, Raghunāthadāsa, Daṇḍin, Jagannātha Paṇḍita, Nīlakaṇṭha, etc. Further we find notices of MSS. under dramatic literature written by Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Bhavabhūti, Āryakṣemiśvara, Kāvi Rājaśekhara, Amareśvara, Rūpa Gosvāmī, Jagadīśvara and Anantadeva did not escape the attention of the author.

Under prose romances the author has collected such pieces as Pañcatantropākhyāna, Daśakumāracarita, Vāsavadattā, Kādambari, Damayantikathā, Bṛhatkathā, Kathāsaritsāgara, Hitopadeśa, Mādhavānalakathā, Ānandavṛndāvanacampuh, Gopāla-campuh, Saṁgrahakathā, etc.

Under Anthologies the author has mentioned the manuscripts of Kavīndravacana-samuccaya, Subhāṣitāvalī, Padyasaṁgraha, Padyāvalī, etc.

Under Nīti, such works as Śukranīti, Cāṇakya-śloka, Cāṇakya-śatakaṁ, Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra and some other works of anonymous writers are mentioned. The author has also given an account of manuscripts on riddles, e.g., Vidagdhāmukha-maṇḍanaṃ, Prahelikā-sāra, Samasyārṇava.

Under short religious poems, the author has collected such works as Śāntiśatakaṁ, Stava-mālā, Stavāvalī, Padyapuṣpāñjali, Gaṅgāmāhātmya, Triveṇīstotraṁ, Śrī-rāma-stotraṁ, Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāmāvalī, etc.

The author has spared no pains to mention miscellaneous hymns, such as Navaratnamālikā, Maṅgalastotraṁ. He concludes his catalogue with notices of some of the Prakrit Kāvyas, such as Gāthāsaptasati, Vimalagāhākoṣa. Mr. Chakravarti has added a concise introduction in which a list of some of the more important of the works described in the volume has been given. Besides, he has given a list of rulers and Zemindars who are mentioned as patrons and authors of works described in it. It is a laudable work, extremely informative and exceedingly illuminating, prepared by one of the greatest scholars of India, a scholar of worldwide reputation who is no more in this world. Mr. Chakravarti has done an immense service to the literary world by completing the task left unfinished by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya.

This Catalogue will prove very useful to scholars and students interested in the Kāvya literature of India. The indexes drawn up by Mr. Chakravarti, one of titles and one of authors, will be very much appreciated by those interested in the subject.

KALIRANJAN MUKHERJEE.

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# Obituary Notice

The Indian Research Institute has lost its Founder-President Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., O.B.E., M.A., B.L. (Calcutta), LL.D. (Aberdeen), LL.D. (St. Andrews), Suri-Ratna, Vidyaratnakar, Vidyasudhakar, Bangaratna, Jnan-Sindhu, Advocate and Solicitor. Sir Deva Prasad's was an eventful life of multifarious activities. He was born in 1860 in the village of Maju, Hooghly District. He was educated at the Howrah and Hare Schools, Sanskrit College and Presidency College. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, and Delhi Universities. He served Calcutta University as its Vice-Chancellor for two terms. He was a member of the Council of State, Indian Legislative Assembly and Bengal Legislative Council, Corporation of Calcutta and of other bodies. He was also a member of the Lytton Committee (London) and Paddison Committee (South Africa). He once represented the Government of India at the League of Nations (Geneva), and twice represented the University of Calcutta at the Congress of the Universities of Empire held in England. He was also the President and Member of the Sanskrit College and Bengal Sanskrit Association, the President of the Incorporated Society of Law for several years, Calcutta University Institute, and Vice-President of the Indian Association and National Council of Education, Asiatic Society of Bengal, etc. He was also closely connected with many philanthrophic and charitable institutions. During the last days of his life he used to take keen interest particularly for two institutions—the Indian Research Institute and the Refuge. He made his mark in all the different spheres of activities. He was also a devout Vaishnava, and was the author of a few publications—'Notes and Extracts', 'Three months in Europe', 'Prabash Patra', 'Travels in South Africa', etc.

In his death Bengal has lost one of her distinguished sons. May his soul rest in peace.

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# IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July*, 1935.

1. Some Ethical Ideals of the *Tso-chuan* by Arthur Morley.
2. Recent Finds near An-Yang by W. Perceval Yetts.

   Here the author has attempted to give a general survey of archæological events since 1899 at An-Yang in the north of Ho-nan province.

3. The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari by K. A. Nilakantha Śastrī.

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. VII, pt.* 4, 1935.

1. Die Stellung der Munda-Sprachen by P. W. Schmidt.
2. Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades by H. A. R. Gibb.
3. Iranian Words in the Khoroṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, II by T. Burrow.
4. Modern Maltese Literature by C. L. Dessoulavy.
5. Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection by Lionel Giles.

   These articles are all useful and contain many new and interesting matters.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol.* 55, *No.* 2, *June*, 1935

1. Political Theology in Early Islam by Julian Obermann.

   It is an interesting paper dealing with Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī's treatise on Qadar who was more a legendary figure than a historical personality, born in the year 21 A.H.

2. Is the Boomerang Oriental? by D. S. Davidson.

*Le Monde Oriental, Vol. XXVI–XXVII*, 1932, 1933.

Beiträge zur indischen Wortkunde by Jarl Charpentier.

This is a very thoughtful, useful, and informative paper. Many important terms have been well treated in it.

*Indologica Pragensia*, 1929.

1. Ānvīkṣikī und Ātmavidyā by M. Winternitz.
2. Ein Yoga-Prahasana by O. Stein.

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*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1935.

A well-known Rajput miniature by O. C. Ganguly.

In this paper the author has analysed the Quasi-Moghul illustration of the Kakubhā rāgiṇī in the Collection of Professor F. Sarre. The author has also considered a very old piece of example very familiar to students of Indian painting.

*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series), Vol. II, Nos. 1-2, 1935.*

1. Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature by P. V. Kane.

It is a very interesting paper. The author has discussed the original meaning of the term 'pravara', which was closely connected with domestic matters such as marriage, etc. He has shown that *ārṣeya* and *pravara* are used in the same sense in which the sūtras employ them.

2. Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography : 1920-1934 by Asaf A. A. Fyzee.

*Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIV, pt. I, April*, 1935.

Yavana and Pārasīka by Dines Chandra Sircar.

In this paper Mr. Sircar discusses as to the real meanings of *Yavana and Pārasīka*. *Yavanas* have been distinguished from the *Pārasīkas* as pointed out in this paper on the authority of Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa.

*Review of Philosophy and Religion, Vol. V, No. 2, March–Sept.*, 1934.

1. Some Fundamental Problems in the Upanishads and Pāli Ballads by S. M. Katre.
2. The Development of the Doctrine of Anekāntavāda in Jainism by Jagadish Chandra Jain.

It is a very useful paper on Jain Philosophy so far as the fundamental doctrine of Anekāntavāda or many-sidedness is concerned. On this doctrine depend the other doctrines of the Jainas. The development of this doctrine finds an important place in the Jain literature. This doctrine leads us to understand the truth comprehensively and at the same time shows the liberal and all-compromising spirit of Jainism.

*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, March*, 1935.

The Revenue Administration of Mir Qasim in Bihar and Bengal (1760-63) by Nandalal Chatterjee.

It is a very informative paper dealing with Mir Qasim's revenue administration which forms the background for the revenue administration of the East India Company in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.

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*Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. IV, No.* 1, *January,* 1935.

War in Ancient India by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.

*Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. III, No.* 2, *July* 1935.

1. Some Ancient Relics found in North Lakhimpur by Sarveswar Barua.

   This paper contains an account of some old relics of historical interest in different parts of North Lakhimpur Sub-division.

2. Stemming of the Tide of Muslim Conquest in Eastern India by K. L. Barua.

*Karnatak Historical Review, Vol. II, No.* 11, *January,* 1933.

Socio-Political Compacts in Vijayanagara by B. A. Saletore.

*Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol.* 10, *No.* 1, *April,* 1935.

A Study of Place Names in the Anantapur District by Chilakur Narayana Rao.

This is an interesting paper giving a cursory treatment mainly confined to the Anantapur District.

*Prabuddha Bhārata, Vol. LXXXIX, No.* 6, *June,* 1934.

Original Buddhism as a Philosophy of Life by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

In it the learned authoress has discussed such topics as Bhava, Bhūforms, Dharma, etc.

*Vedanta Kesari, Vol. XXI, No.* 9, *January,* 1935.

The Goal in Early Buddhism by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

It is a very useful paper containing many important dissertations on Nirvāṇa, attha, etc.

*Asiatic Review (New Series), Vol. XXXI, No.* 107, *July,* 1935.

1. The Story of the Indian Lion by R. I. Pocock.

   It is an interesting paper especially to naturalists and sportsmen. The Indian lion has always been an object of special interest. This topic has been very ably treated with reference to the manes, size, colour, and pattern of cubs with a beautiful illustration of an Indian lion cub. The sections on hunting Indian lions and the cause of extermination of lions teach us many new lessons.

2. Rural Economics in India and South Africa: A Comparison by Sir Alan Pim.

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3. The Course of Indian Evolution by Stanley Rice.
4. The Rubber Plantation Industry: A Survey by J. G. Hay.

*Science and Culture, Vol. I, No. 3, August,* 1935.

1. The March towards Absolute Zero by M. N. Saha.

   This is really an interesting and thoughtful paper written in a popular style.

2. A Century of Progress in Scientific Thought by J. C. Ghosh.
3. On Storage and Use of Radium in Radio-therapy by D. M. Bose.

*Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 2, June, 1935.*

1. The Harmikā and the Origin of Buddhist Stūpas by J. Przyluski.

   In this paper the author has tried to show that the tomb of the early converted laics was probably similar to the pre-Buddhistic tombs and that at the time when the northern influence began to exert itself the stūpa developed into its real form. According to the author the big stūpas built prior to the advent of the Christian Era appear as hybrid monuments revealing different influences.

2. Kingship and Nobility in the 13th Century by Anil Chandra Banerjee.
3. Mir Quasim's Army by Nandalal Chatterjee.
4. The Smṛti Chapters of the Kūrma Purāṇa by Rajendra Chandra Hazra.
5. The Birthplace of Bhavabhūti by V. V. Mirashi.

*Jaina Antiquary, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1935.*

1. Ancient South Indian Jainism by B. Seshagiri Rao.

   The paper deals with ritualism, a practical religion and discipline. The author gives an outlook of Jaina Siddhāntācāryas and shows the influence of Jainism on Jinas or conquerors.

2. Nāyakumāracariu by Hira Lal Jain.

   According to the author this is an Apabhraṁśa work of the 10th century, first discovered in the year 1924. The author of this work is Pupphayanta or Puṣpadanta. It relates the story of Nāyakumāra who had to spend the period of exile, full of adventures.

*Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, Part VI, May, 1935.*

1. Hymns to Indra by the Viśvāmitras (R.V. III. 30–53)—translated into English and briefly annotated by H. D. Velankar.

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2. Sauraseni Prākrit by A. M. Ghatage.

The linguistic nature of the various Prākrit dialects is a point of much confusion and uncertainty. In this paper the author views the whole problem from a historical point of view and attempts to decide the linguistic nature of Sauraseni with the help that can be derived both from the grammarians and the existing literature found in it.

3. Aśvins as Historical Figures by G. L. Chandavarkar.

The author has made an attempt to investigate data in the Ṛgveda, if there be any, that point to germs of history in the myths connected with the Aśvins. He has tried to arrive at the truest possible interpretation of the mythological existence of the twin gods. He says that among the gods of the Ṛgveda the Aśvins possess a unique character. Not only do they, like some other deities, betray traits which would point to a historical germ in the origin of their conception as deities, but in many places they appear as possessed with powers and functions which do not rise above the powers and functions of the finite human being.

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# THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF WESTERN INDIA

*By* A. S. Altekar

The Śilāhāra history is one of the little known and less studied periods of ancient Indian history. The Śilāhāra rulers were, with rare exceptions, all of them feudatories. The territories over which they ruled were not extensive. They do not appear to have taken a frequent part in the politics and wars of their imperial overlords in the capacity of their feudatory assistants. They do not therefore figure in the narrative of the political history of ancient India, where, as a rule and naturally enough, only prominent dynasties are treated.

There were three Śilāhāra houses ruling in western India. The oldest of them was ruling over south Konkan from *c.* 770 A.D. to *c.* 1020 A.D. The Śilāhāras ruling over northern Konkan rose a little later, at about 800 A.D., and ruled over their kingdom for about four centuries and a half, probably with a few interruptions. The third Śilāḥāra house was ruling over the territories now comprised mostly in Satara and Belgaum districts and Kolhapur State. It rose into prominence towards the end of the 10th century. The career of this house extended over a little more than two centuries. With one or two exceptions, the rulers of these families never aspired for the imperial position. They were all along feudatories in status, professing allegiance first to the Rāshṭrakūṭas and then to the Chālukyas, Kadambas and Yādavas.

Whether these three Śilāhāra houses were branches of one and the same family is a question that cannot be yet satisfactorily answered. There are some facts lending support to the view that these Śilāhāra houses were branches of one and the same original family. The rulers of all the three houses claim that they are the descendants of mythical Jīmūtavāhana.[1] The Śilāhāras of Thana[2] and Kolhapur[3] describe themselves as *Tagarapurādhīśvara*, suggesting thereby that they originally hailed from one and the same locality; they have further the common Garuḍa *lāñchhana*.[4] The Kharepatan

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 299, for the south Konkan house; *ibid.*, p. 267, for the Thana house; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 2, for the Kolhapur branch.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 267.

[3] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 3.

[4] *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 267 and p. 292, for the seals of Thana Śilāhāras; about the Kolhapur house cf. सुवर्णगरुडध्वजांकितलोलाध्वजो, *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

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plates of Anantadeva refer to a *dāyādavairivyasana*[1]; this probably contains a reference to his hostilities with the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur, who in that case will have to be considered to be related with the Śilāhāras of northern Konkan. The help rendered by king Vijayāditya of Kolhapur to the Śilāhāra king Aparārka I of northern Konkan, when hard pressed by the Kadambas of Goa, seems to have been prompted by family considerations.[2]

The above reasons however are not conclusive to establish a family connection between the three houses. As against them it has to be pointed out that the genealogies of these three houses do not show a common origin or points of mutual contact, as we find, for example, between the genealogies of the main Rāshṭrakūṭa house and its branch ruling in Gujarat, or between the main Chālukya house and its branches ruling in Gujarat and Āndhradeśa. The names of the rulers of branch houses are very often taken from those of the rulers of the main lines, as we find, for example, in the case of the rulers of the Gujarat Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa branches. Genealogies of the three Śilāhāra houses show no common names. Only the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur and Thana claim to be connected with the town of Tagara; the Śilāhāras of southern Konkan aver that they were connected with the kings of Siṁhala. Under the present circumstances, the question of the relationship between these three families will therefore have to be left as an open one.

A Kolhapur inscription describes the Śilāhāras of that place as Kshattriyas. Probably the other two houses also were of the same caste.[3]

What was the place of origin of the Śilāhāras is the next question to be considered. The Śilāhāras of southern Konkan claim to be connected with the kings of Siṁhala, while the remaining two houses profess to be originally hailing from the city of Tagara. Both these places are well known to the readers of ancient Indian history, but their identification is by no means certain. Siṁhala naturally suggests the island of Ceylon. But Goa also seems to have been known by that name, for an inscription from Degaṁve describes the conquest of Goa by the Kadambas as the conquest of Laṅkā.[4] The kings of Siṁhala with whom the Śilāhāras of south Konkan

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[1] *I.A.*, IX, p. 33. The expression may also indicate a war between contending claimants belonging to the Thana family; see pp. 29 and 38.

[2] *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, III, p. 415, quoted in *B.G.*, ii, p. 548, n. 7.

[3] *E.I.*, III, p. 209.

[4] न सेतुबंधो न च दुर्गरोधो न वानरानीकपतिप्रयासः।
नो वा सुभिचाल्लजसंक्षमोऽभूल्लंकापतिस्तस्य तदापि वक्ष्यः॥ *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 266.

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claim to be connected were more probably the rulers of Goa than those of Ceylon. This assumption would also explain how their sway was conterminous with southern Konkan.

The mystery connected with Tagara has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The place is mentioned by as early a writer as Ptolemy who locates it to the north-east of Paithan.[1] The author of the *Periplus* places the city to the east, and not north-east, of Paithan, and adds that it was about 100 miles from it.[2] He further states that Paithan and Tagara were the two chief market towns of the Dekkan and that from the latter place was transported to Broach much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally along the coast. Some of the records of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur describe them not as *tagara-nagara-vinirgata* but as *tagara-nagara-bhūpālaka*,[3] suggesting that Kolhapur itself may have been Tagara.

No town has been so far found, situated about 100 miles east or north-east of Paithan, bearing a name resembling Tagara, and which could have been a centre of the export of articles mentioned in the *Periplus*. Scholars therefore have made a number of conjectures. Most probable among these seems to be the latest view of Fleet that ancient Tagara is the same as the town Ter, about 95 miles *south-east* of Paithan.[4] This identification presents no philological difficulties; Tagara can become Ter, through the intermediate stage Tayara. In ancient times the roads from important towns on the eastern coasts converged towards Ter, and so it could well have been a depot for goods brought along the coast. Being in the centre of cotton growing districts, it must have been a centre of weaving industry and may have exported to Broach cotton cloth of various types. Its distance from Paithan is about 95 miles, and so it was at a distance of 10 days' journey from that place in the first century A.D. The only serious flaw in this theory is that Ter is not to the north or north-east of Paithan as the Greek writers have stated, but to its south-east. It is quite possible that both Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* may have erred in giving the precise direction of Ter from Paithan. The expression *Tagara-nagara-bhūpālaka* used of Mārasimha of the Kolhapur Śilāhāra[5] family need not go against this theory; in the majority of Śilāhāra records the expression used is *Tagara-pura-vinirgata*. Tagara therefore need not be necessarily in Śilāhāra dominions. Yādavas called themselves

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1 *I.A.*, XIII, p. 366.
2 Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 43.
3 *J.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 281.
4 *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 537ff.
5 *J.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 281.

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*Dvāravatī-puravarādhīśas* though their sway never extended to Dvārakā.[1]

That Tagara was the home of the Śilāhāras is further proved by the *Karakaṇḍa-chariu* of Kanakāmaramuni, recently published by Prof. Hiralal Jain.[2] This work, probably written in the 11th century A.D., refers to a tradition to the effect that the caves near Dhārāśiva, about 10 miles north-east of Tagara or Ter, were excavated by two Vidyādhara brothers, Nīla and Mahānīla. The Śilāhāras, we have seen, claim to be descended from Vidyādharas. They rose into political prominence in western India towards the end of the 8th century A.D. The Dhārāśiva caves probably belong to the middle of the 7th century A.D.[3] It would therefore appear that for about a century and half before their rise in western India, the Śilāhāras were wielding some political influence in the territory round Ter. Some descendants of the family later left their home at Tagara to carve out principalities for themselves in western India. They are therefore naturally described as *Tagara-puravinirgata* or *Tagara-nagara-bhūpālaka*. The statement in the *Karakaṇḍa-chariu* that the Vidyādhara brothers, Nīla and Mahānīla, originally hailed from the southern slopes of the Himalayas seems to be more legendary than historical. Prof. Jain's attempt[4] to connect the emigration of these brothers with the defeat of Vidyādharas by Naravāhanadatta, a Vatsa king of the 7th century B.C.,

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[1] Other identifications proposed are the following. Bhagwanlal's view was that Tagara was a simplified form of Trigiri and he identified the place with Junnar in Poona district, situated on a plateau between three mountain peaks. Junnar like ancient Tagara was a great commercial centre and is situated 100 miles to the west, though not to the east or north-east of Paithan. Bhagwanlal assumed that the direction as given by the Greek authorities was wrong (*I.A.*, XIII, p. 366). Kalyan however is the natural port for Junnar and it is not likely that any goods could have been exported to Broach from this place in ancient times. There is also no evidence to show that it bore the epithet of Trigiri. R. G. Bhandarkar's view was that Tagara is to be identified with Dharur, 25 miles east of Paithan, while Yule held that it may have been Gulburga, 175 miles south-west of Paithan (*I.A.*, XIII, p. 366). Fleet's earlier view was that Tagara was to be identified with Kolhapur, one of the Śilāhāra capitals. The earlier name of Kolhapur was Karavīra, which denotes a flower variety, very much similar to the one indicated by the word Tagara. The titulary deity of the Śilāhāras belonged to the same city, and one of their records describes them as *Tagara-pura-bhūpālas*. Kolhapur like ancient Tagara was an important trade centre (*B.G.*, I, ii, p. 540 note). As against this identification it may be pointed out that phonetic resemblance is absent, both the distance and direction of Kolhapur from Paithan are at variance with those given by the Greek authorities and that goods could never have been sent to distant Broach for export from Kolhapur, so many convenient ports being much nearer.

[2] See also Prof. Jain's article in *A.B.O.R.I.*, XVI, pp. 1–11.

[3] Fergusson and Burgess: *Cave Temples of India*, p. 504.

[4] *A.B.O.R.I.*, XVI, pp. 5-6.

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described in the fourteenth *lambaka* of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is hardly convincing.

Karnatak seems to have been the home province of the Śilāhāras. Goa and Ter which seem to have been their original places are situated in Karnatak. In our period south Konkan and the territories ruled over by the Śilāhāras were under the influence of the Canarese. Most of the names of the ministers even of the Śilāhāras of northern Konkan, e.g. Vintapaiyya, Naganaiyya, etc. show that they hailed from Karnatak, which must have been the home of their masters as well. It is possible to argue that Shelarwadi in Poona district may have been the home of the Śilāhāras as its name would indicate; but it is possible that the name may as well have been due to a subsequent settlement of the Śilāhāra relatives in that place.

As regards the name of the dynasty, it has been variously spelled in the records as Śilāhāra, Śīlāra, Siyalāra, Selāra, etc. *Prima facie* it would appear that the first of these names was the original one from which the rest were derived. It is however equally probable that the original name was a Prakrit one like Selāra, and that the change into Śilāhāra was caused by the desire to Sanskritize it with a view to give it a meaning connected with the story of Jīmūtavāhana, from whom all the Śilāhāras claimed to be descended. Jīmūtavāhana, according to the traditional story, offered himself as *āhāra* or food to the eagle king on the *śilā* fixed for the purpose in order to save the life of the serpent Śaṅkhachūda; descendants of this great man who had thus become *āhāra* on *śilā* came to be known as Śilāhāras. Grammatically this derivation appears very curious; the connection with Jīmūtavāhana or the Vidyādharas could certainly have been shown in a much more intelligible manner than by adopting this curious expression, Śilāhāra. The change into Śilāhāra seems to be due to the current tendency of the dynasties of the period to connect themselves with Pauranic heroes, as is, for instance, shown by the claims of the Chālukyas, Pratīhāras, and Rāshṭrakūṭas to the effect that they were descended from Hāritaṛishi, Lakshmaṇa and Kṛishṇa respectively.

## The Śilāhāras of South Konkan

*c.* 765 *A.D.* to *c.* 1015 *A.D.*

The history of this house, which ruled for about two hundred and fifty years, is known to us only from one copperplate charter, and that too issued by the last ruler of the dynasty. This document is the Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja, issued in 1008 A.D.,[1] to record the gift of some villages to god Avveśvara. Luckily for the

[1] *E.I.*, III, p. 292.

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historian, this charter gives not only a detailed genealogy of the ancestors of Raṭṭarāja, but mentions in many cases their specific exploits, instead of indulging in unreal descriptions of imaginary victories.

This document claims that the house was connected with the kings of Siṁhala. It has been shown above that very probably this island of Siṁhala was the island of Goa, rather than the island of Ceylon. In further support of this view it may be pointed out that the exploits of some of the early rulers of this house were connected with the restoration or defeat of some of the rulers of Chandrapura near Goa. The founder of this house helped the Rāshṭrakūṭas in subduing Konkan ; this would appear natural if we assume that the family hailed from Goa.

The names of ten rulers of this house are known to us from the Kharepatan grant of Raṭṭarāja. It is not very probable that any more rulers belonged to this house, the first in the series was undoubtedly the founder of the dynasty, and soon after the issue of the Kharepatan plates, the territory of this Śilāhāra branch passed under the control of the Later Chālukyas. Only one definite date is known to us about this dynasty, viz. 1008 A.D., when we know from the Kharepatan plates that the last ruler Raṭṭarāja was ruling. The date of the founder can be inferred from the fact that he was a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa I, *c.* 758 to *c.* 773 A.D. Allowing about 25 years for each reign, we get the following genealogical and chronological table for this dynasty :—

Saṇaphulla, *c.* 765 to *c.* 795 A.D.
|
Dhammira, *c.* 795 to *c.* 820 A.D.
|
Aiyaparāja, *c.* 820 to *c.* 845 A.D.
|
Avasara I, *c.* 845 to *c.* 870 A.D.
|
Ādityavarman, *c.* 870 to *c.* 895 A.D.
|
Avasara II, *c.* 895 to *c.* 920 A.D.
|
Indrarāja, *c.* 920 to *c.* 945 A.D.
|
Bhīma, *c.* 945 to *c.* 970 A.D.
|
Avasara III, *c.* 970 to *c.* 995 A.D.
|
Raṭṭarāja, *c.* 995 to *c.* 1020 A.D. (known year, 1008 A.D.)

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About the founder of the dynasty, the Kharepatan plates state that he had obtained the lordship over the territory between the Sahya mountain and the sea through the favour of Kṛishṇarāja.[1] Allowing 25 years for each reign, we find the commencement of the reign of Saṇaphulla will have to be placed at about 765 A.D.; at this time Kṛishṇa I of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty was engaged in consolidating and expanding the sway of his house. He had by this time succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over Konkan and it would appear that he was helped in this venture by Saṇaphulla, who in return for his services was subsequently appointed to rule over the region as a feudatory of the imperial power. The descendants of Saṇaphulla continued to be steadfastly loyal to the Rāshṭrakūṭas down to the downfall of the imperial house.

Saṇaphulla was succeeded by his son Dhammayira, who probably ruled from *c.* 795 to 820 A.D. With a view to fortify the position of his house he built a fort at Valipattana, a port on the western coast.[2] Valipattana continued to be an important sea port; we find two of the ministers of Anantadeva of the Thana house hailing from it.

*Aiyaparāja, c.* 820 to *c.* 845

Aiyaparāja was the son of his predecessor Dhammayira. He is described as *vijigīshu*, seems to have obtained a victory at Chandrapura, Chandor near Goa, over some local ruler.[3]

*Avasara I, c.* 845 to *c.* 870

Avsara was the son of Aiyaparāja. The copperplate simply states that he was a vanquisher of his enemies and an expert in Dharmaśāstra. His reign does not seem to have been distinguished by any particular event.

*Ādityavarmā, c.* 870 to *c.* 895

This king was the son of Avasara I. The grant states that he was as brilliant as the sun in his valour, his specific exploits being the help offered to the kings of Chandrapura and Chemulya. Chandrapura, as observed already, is near modern Goa, and Chemulya is modern Chaul, a port about 30 miles to the south of Bombay. It would appear that the sphere of influence of the southern Śilāhāras

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1 Kṛishṇarājaprasādavān, SamudratīraSahyāntadeśasaṁsādanobhavat. —Kharepatan plates.

2 *E.I.*, III, p. 294, n. 8.

3 तस्मादेयपराजोऽभूद्विजिगीष्णुगुणान्वितः ।
खातचन्द्रपुरासन्ननालिकेराम्बुनाम यः ॥ Kharepatan plates.

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had by this time extended over the whole of Konkan, from Goa to Bombay. The Thana ruler at this time was Laghu-Kapardin, who was a mere boy; Ādityavarman seems to have offered help to the feudatory ruler at Chaul against the Thana house with a view to extend his sovereignty at the expense of Laghu-Kapardin.

### *Avasara II*, *c.* 895 to *c.* 920

Avasara II was the son of Ādityavarman and continued his father's policy of supporting the rulers of Chandrapura and Chaul. The details about Avasara's political relationship with these rulers are, however, not known.

### *Indrarāja*, *c.* 920 to *c.* 945

Indrarāja was the son of Avasara II and the only statement made about him is that he was *tyāgabhogātisundaraḥ*. It would appear that he was not an ambitious ruler, and no event of political importance took place in his reign.

### *Bhīma*, *c.* 945 to *c.* 970

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Bhīma was the son of Indrarāja. He was more ambitious than his father. Of him it is said that he was *rāhuvadgrastachandramandala ujvalaḥ*. This expression obviously contains a reference to Chandrapura politics. So long the ancestors of Bhīma were helping the rulers of Chandrapura against their enemies; Bhīma reversed this policy and seems to have overpowered the ruler of that petty principality. At this time Kadamba ruler Shashṭhadeva or his son Chaturbhuja were ruling at Chandrapura and struggling to become Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. Bhīma opposed their rise, probably because they were hostile to his sovereign lord.[1]

### *Avasara III*, *c.* 970 to *c.* 995

Avasara was the son of Bhīma. No specific exploit is attributed to him in the Kharepatan plates. It would appear that he was a retired type of ruler. He lived in thrilling times when a number of the feudatories joined Taila II in overthrowing the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. Avasara took no part in these movements and continued to be loyal to his sovereign till the end. This may be inferred from the fact that his son gives the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house even after its overthrow and when he was compelled to recognize the sovereignty of the Chālukyas.

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[1] Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 168.

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*Raṭṭarāja, c.* 995 to *c.* 1020 ; known year, 1008

Avasara III was succeeded by his son Raṭṭarāja, whose copperplate issued in 1008 A.D. is almost the sole source of our information about his house. Though the charter gives the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house, no longer in existence, we find Raṭṭarāja, acknowledging the imperial position of Taila II and Satyāśraya. It is clear that he was reluctantly compelled to transfer his allegiance to the new house.

The history of the house of Raṭṭarāja, subsequent to the year 1008 A.D., is not known. It would however appear that the career of this house came to an end within about 15 years from that date. From the Miraj plates of Jagadekamalla[1] we learn that before 1024 A.D. that ruler had killed the Chola king, annexed the territories of the lord of the seven Konkaṇas, and begun his campaign for the conquest of the north from his base at Kolhapur. The mention of the annexation of the seven Konkaṇas would indicate that either Raṭṭarāja or his successor was completely overthrown by Jagadekamalla. The causes of this drastic treatment meted out to Raṭṭarāja or his successor are not given but can be inferred. Raṭṭarāja had recognized the Chālukya sovereignty against his will. It is not improbable that soon after the death of Satyāśraya he may have declared independence. Satyāśraya's successor Vikramāditya was unable to punish this disloyalty. His younger brother Jayasimha was of a different mettle ; he inflicted a signal defeat on the Cholas, and while returning from the south defeated Raṭṭarāja or his successor, and annexed his kingdom. Thus ended the career of this Śilāhāra house, about 250 years after its foundation.

Goa territory, Savantawadi State, and the district of Ratnagiri comprised the territories of this kingdom. Under some kings its sphere of influence came to be extended over a portion of Kolaba district, as would appear from the reference to their help given to the rulers of Chaul. The capital of their kingdom, however, is not named in their records. For some time it was very probably Goa, later it may have been transferred to a more central place in the vicinity of Ratnagiri or Kharepatan.

## The Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan

*c.* 800 *A.D.* to *c.* 1240 *A.D.*

About five copperplates and six stone inscriptions belonging to this house have been published, and a dozen and half inscriptions

[1] Cf. *Balvantaṁ Cholaṁ nirghātya saptakoṅkaṇādhiśvarāṇāṁ sarvasvaṁ grihītvā uttaradigvijayārthaṁ Kolhāpura-samīpasamāvāsitavijayaskandhāvāre . . . . I.A.*, VIII, p. 18.

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referred to; so its history can be given more fully than that of the Śilāhāras of Southern Konkan. The rulers of this house were the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas till their overthrow in 973 A.D. The founder of this house, Kapardin, was a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Govinda III. He seems to have given active help to that emperor in his numerous wars, and was rewarded by the grant of the feudatory rulership over Northern Konkan. The capital of this house was at Thana. Puri, a fortified port or island was their subsidiary capital. This place cannot be satisfactorily identified as yet.

The following is the genealogical and chronological table of this dynasty:—

Kapardin I, *c.* 800 to *c.* 825 A.D.
|
Pullaśakti, *c.* 825 to *c.* 850 A.D.; known year, 843 A.D.
|
Kapardin II, *c.* 850 to *c.* 880 A.D.; known years, 853 and 877 A.D.
|
Vappuvaṇa, *c.* 880 to *c.* 910 A.D.

- Jhañjha, *c.* 910 to *c.* 930 A.D.
- Goggi, *c.* 930 to *c.* 945 A.D.
  - Vajjaḍa I, *c.* 945 to *c.* 975 A.D.
    - Aparājita, *c.* 975 to *c.* 1010 A.D.
      - Vajjaḍa II, *c.* 1010 to *c.* 1015 A.D.
        - Chittarāja, *c.* 1025 to *c.* 1040 A.D.
        - Nāgārjuna (did not rule).
          - Anantadeva or Anantapāla, *c.* 1070 to *c.* 1110 A.D.; known year, 1095 A.D.
            - Aparārka I, *c.* 1110 to *c.* 1140 A.D.; known years, 1118, 1107, 1129, and 1138 A.D.
              - Harapāladeva, *c.* 1140 to *c.* 1155; known years, 1149, 1150, 1153 A.D.
                - Mallikārjuna, *c.* 1155 to *c.* 1170 A.D.; known years, 1156 and 1160 A.D.
                - Aparāditya or Aparārka II, *c.* 1170 to *c.* 1195 A.D.
                - Keśirāja II, *c.* 1195 to *c.* 1240 A.D.; known years, 1203 and 1238 A.D.
                - Someśvara, *c.* 1240 to *c.* 1265 A.D.; known years, 1249, 1260 A.D.
        - Maṁmuṇi, *c.* 1040 to *c.* 1070 A.D.; known year, 1060 A.D.
      - Arikesarin *alias* Keśideva, *c.* 1015 to *c.* 1025 A.D.; known year, 1017 A.D.

*N.B.*—Broken line indicates that the relationship between the two rulers is not known.

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*Kapardin I, c.* 800 to *c.* 825 *A.D.*

Kapardin, the founder of this house, is not known from any contemporary records. The Kharepatan plates of 1095 A.D. describe him as a daring hero like Sāhasāṅka.[1] This may not be a merely conventional praise; for he was the founder of the house and Northern Konkan over which his descendants ruled came to be known as Kavarikādvīpa after him. We may safely conclude, although there is no evidence to prove this—that Kapardin was one of the most valuable lieutenants of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Govinda III, who in recognition of his valour and assistance conferred upon him the kingdom of Northern Konkan. Kanheri inscription, dated 843 A.D., no doubt states that Pullaśakti, the son of Kapardin I, had obtained the lordship over Konkan through Amoghavarsha's favour; but the inscriptions of Kapardin II at that locality make a similar assertion about Kapardin II as well. These records show that it was the custom to represent every feudatory as having obtained his kingdom through his feudal lord. Amoghavarsha had simply renewed the lordship over Konkan of the successive Śilāhāra rulers. The original grant was made by Govinda III to Kapardin I, the founder of the house.

*Pullaśakti, c.* 825 to *c.* 850 *A.D.*

Pullaśakti was the son of Kapardin. In one of the caves at Kanheri near Bombay we have an inscription of this ruler recording a grant given to the Buddhist monks living in the locality. This record describes the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarsha I as the feudal lord of Pullaśakti. We know very little about the achievements of this ruler, the account given of him in the Bhadan plates[2] being quite conventional.

*Kapardin II, c.* 850 to *c.* 880 *A.D.*

Kapardin II was the son of Pullaśakti and was named after his grandfather. He is often described as Laghu-Kapardin; this is to distinguish him from his grandfather. It may be pointed out that the second Mādhavarao of the Peshava house is described as *dhākaṭe* or *laghu* in Maratha history in order to distinguish him from his grandfather who bore the same name. The Thana plates of Arikesarin[3] assert that enemies feared Kapardin even in his childhood.

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[1] Cf. *Śrīsāhasāṅka iva sāhasikaḥ, I.A.*, IX, p. 33.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 358.

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It is not improbable that Kapardin ascended the throne in his infancy and therefore came to be termed *laghu* or small.

Two records of the time of this ruler have come to light in Kanheri caves, but they supply very little political information. We simply learn from them that Kapardin was a feudatory of Amogha varsha I. The donations mentioned in these inscriptions were in favour of the Buddhist monks residing in the caves. We have seen before (pp. 17-18) that the sphere of influence of the Śilāhāras of S. Konkan had extended at this time to Chaul near Bombay. This must have been at the cost of Laghu Kapardin.

### *Vappuvana, c.* 880 to *c.* 910 *A.D.*

Vappuvana was the son of Kapardin II. Copperplates give very little information about him ; probably he was not an able or ambitious ruler.

### *Jhañjha, c.* 910 to *c.* 930 *A.D.*

Vappuvana was succeeded by his eldest son Jhañjha. The conjectural period of his reign is confirmed by the statement of Al-Masudi that Samur or Chaul was being ruled in *c.* 916 A.D. by a king named Jhañjha. From the Kharepatan plates we learn that he had built 12 Śiva temples; probably he was a devout Saivite. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion that one of his daughters, Lasthiyavhā by name, was married to Bhillama II, of the Yādava house of Chandor[1] cannot be accepted, because the latter ruler ruled about sixty years later than the time of Jhañjha. His Sangamner plates were issued in 1000 A.D.[2]

### *Goggirāja, c.* 930 to *c.* 945 *A.D.*

Jhañjha seems to have left behind him no issue ; the *gādi* after his death went to his younger brother Goggirāja. Nothing definite is known about this ruler ; the Kharepatan plates compare his valour to that of Bhīshma or Droṇa but mention no specific exploit.[3]

### *Vajjaḍa I, c.* 945 to *c.* 975 *A.D.*

Vajjaḍa was the son of Goggi. No information whatever is supplied about this ruler in the records of the dynasty. The Rāshṭrakūṭa empire was overthrown during his reign, but both this ruler and his son continued to be loyal to their emperors.

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[1] *B.G.*, I, ii, pp. 232-3. [2] *E.I.*, II, p. 212.
[3] Kharepatan plates, 1095 A.D. ; *I.A.*, IX, p. 33.

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*Aparājita Mṛigāṅka, c.* 975 to *c.* 1010 *A.D.*

Aparājita was the son of his predecessor. His Bhadan copper-plate grant issued in 997 A.D. shows that he was the ruler of the whole of Konkan 1400, which probably comprised Thana and Kolaba districts.

In the Bhadan plates we find Aparājita regretfully referring to the overthrow of the Rāshṭrakūṭas but not acknowledging the overlordship of the Chālukyas as late as 997 A.D. We however find him contenting himself with the feudatory title '*Sāmantādhipati*'. Kharepatan plates of Anatadeva, issued in 1095 A.D., supply more information about this ruler; a verse in that record informs us that Aparājita had helped a ruler named Goma, enabled king Aiyapadeva to retain his kingdom and granted protection to king Bhillama.[1] The kings referred to in this verse are yet to be definitely identified; but one of them was, as Prof. Mirashi has recently suggested,[2] probably the contemporary Nāga chief in Bastar State. For the *Navasāhasāṅka-charit* of Padmagupta informs us that this Nāga chief invoked the help of the Paramāra king Sindhurāja and that the latter was assisted in this expedition by a king of the Vidyādharas. The Śilāhāras claimed themselves to be descendants of Vidyādhara Jīmūtavāhana; it is therefore probable that Aparājita offered help to Sindhurāja in his expedition to Bastar. He was reluctant to recognize the Chālukya supremacy; the best way to avoid its recognition was to secure the alliance of the Paramāras, who were the most inveterate enemies of the Chālukyas.

Aparājita had so far studiously refrained from recognizing the overlordship of the Chālukyas, and was engaged in strengthening his position by alliances with and assistance to a number of his neighbours. It would appear that it was his intention to assume the imperial rôle. Satyāśraya, the successor of Taila II, was engaged in a sanguinary war with the Cholas in the opening years of his reign, and Aparājita probably declared himself an emperor taking advantage of Satyāśraya's pre-occupations. Whether he actually did so or not, we find Satyāśraya launching an attack against Aparājita soon after the retirement of the Cholas. Śilāhāra documents do not refer to this invasion probably because Aparājita was defeated in

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[1] Yena svāgatamāgatāya vihitaṁ Gomāya nānāvidhaṁ
Yenaivaiyapadevanāmni chalitaṁ rājyaṁ sthiraṁ kāritaṁ
Bhillamāmmamaṇambudhakshitibhṛitām dattañcha yenābhayaṁ
Bhillama is very probably Bhillama II of the Yādava family who was a contemporary of Aparājita. The third line is corrupt.

[2] *I.A.*, LXII, pp. 102ff.

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it. The Canarese poet Raṇṇa claims that his patron Satyāśraya had routed the Lord of Konkan and extended his kingdom as far as the sea. Aparājita fled to his sea capital, Purī. Raṇṇa describes his plight graphically: 'Hemmed in by ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other.' Aparājita trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which were on fire.[1] Raṇṇa may have quite probably exaggerated the achievements of his patron, but we need not doubt that Aparājita was defeated. Satyāśraya is said to have burnt Aṁśunagara in Konkan and taken an indemnity of twenty-one elephants from the vanquished ruler. The small amount of indemnity may suggest that Aparājita's defeat was not a crushing one. Its time was *c.* 1005 A.D. Aparājita did not long survive this humiliation and died in *c.* 1010 A.D.

## *Vajjaḍa II, c.* 1010 to *c.* 1015 *A.D.*

Aparājita had two sons, Vajjaḍa and Arikesarin. The language used in the Bhandup plates to describe the succession after the death of Aparājita is ambiguous and lends colour to the view that Arikesarin alis Keśirāja may have been the elder of the two brothers, cf. :—

*Tasmādabhūd Vajjaḍadevanāmā tato' grajaśśrī Keśirājaścha.*

Prima facie, this line would suggest that Keśirāja was the elder brother, and that he ascended the throne after his younger brother Vajjaḍa. And since the latter's reign was a short one, it is possible to assume that after the death of Aparājita, there was a war of succession due to his younger son Vajjaḍa usurping the throne, and that he was soon ousted by the legitimate heir to the throne, Arikesarin, before 1016 A.D. as proved by his Thana plates. In an interesting paper Prof. Mirashi has recently suggested that the cause of the invasion of Aparānta by Sindhurāja must be to help the legitimate heir to the throne, whose father had sent him help in his campaign in Bastar.[2]

A careful analysis of all the available records, however, shows, that there was no war of succession. It is no doubt true that the word *agraja* in the above passage from the Bhadan plates goes more naturally with Keśirāja than with Vajjaḍa ; but we have to admit that it is equally possible, though rather unnatural, to construe it with Vajjaḍa. That this rather forced construction has to be accepted here follows from the testimony of other Śilāhāra records. Thana plates of Keśirāja himself, issued in 1016 A.D., i.e. within a very short time of the alleged war of succession, contain an eulogy

[1] Quoted in *I.A.*, XL, p. 41.

[2] *I.A.*, LXII, p. 102.

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of Vajjaḍa and state that Arikesarin was the younger brother. After eulogising Vajjaḍa in v. 15, the record states in v. 16, '*then was born* his brother prince Arikesarin . . . '. The testimony of this contemporary document is confirmed by the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva[1] and the Vaḍavalli plates of Aparārka I.[2]

In the light of the evidence of the other documents of the dynasty, we have therefore to construe the word *agraja* in the above verse of the Bhandup plates with Vajjaḍa and pronounce him to be the elder brother, as the plates of his younger brother themselves admit. Further if there was a war of succession between the two brothers, one would hardly have expected Arikesarin to have praised the rebel brother in his Thana plates issued in 1016 A.D., when the echoes of the alleged war of succession must have been still resounding the air.[3]

The view that Sindhurāja's intervention in Konkan was to enthrone the legitimate heir Arikesarin has also no evidence in its support. The *Navasāhasāṅkacharit* refers to Sindhurāja's victory in Konkan in a most casual and conventional manner.[4] A reading of the verse in question shows that it could not have been any very important affair, supposing of course that the verse chronicles a real incident. At any rate it does not refer to any war of succession, necessitating the championing of the cause of Arikesarin by Sindhurāja.

It may be further pointed out that if Arikesarin had really to oust his younger brother Vajjaḍa before he could ascend the throne, he would have after his accession taken steps to see that the succession did not pass to his rebel brother's son after his death. As it is, Arikesarin was succeeded by Vajjaḍa's son. In favour of the view that Vajjaḍa was the elder brother, it may be pointed out that it

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[1] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 33.

[2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXI, p. 508. The original text of the Thana plate verse is unfortunately not available, but to judge from the translation, it would appear that the verse appearing there was identical with the one appearing in the Kharepatan and Vaḍavalli plates.

[3] Cf.—' His son was named Vajjaḍadeva, a gem on the forehead of monarchs, eminently skilled in morality; whose deep thoughts (?), all people clad in horrid armour (?) praise even to this day '. The verse, hereby attempted to be translated, seems to be identical with the following verse of the Kharepatan plates, (*I.A.*, IX, p. 34) :—

श्रीमानभूत्तदनु वज्जडदेवनामा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्फुरनयो नयज्ञः ।
यद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जनास्समस्ता रोमाञ्चकञ्चुकितगात्रलताः स्तुवंति ॥

[4] Uditena vairitimiradruhābhitastava nātha vikramamayūkhamālinā
Gamitaḥ prabhāvalayaśūnyatāṁ jhaṭityaparāntapārthiva-vadhūmukhendavḥ,
X, 19.

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is usually the eldest grandson that is named after the grandfather; Vajjaḍa II, the grandson of Vajjaḍa I, may therefore be presumed to be the eldest son of Aparājita.

The reign of Vajjaḍa was a short one. We know of no political events in it from the Śilāhāra records. An inscription from Hangal states[1] that Kuṇḍaladevī, a queen of the Kadamba king Chhaṭṭadeva, was the daughter of king Vāchayya of Thāṇi, i.e. Thana. The approximate time of the rule of Chhaṭṭadeva is *c.* 980 to *c.* 1031 A.D. It is therefore quite probable that Vāchayya is the same of Vajjaḍa and that he had given his daughter in marriage to Chhaṭṭadeva. The marriage may have taken place before the accession of Vajjaḍa.

## *Arikesarin, c.* 1015 to *c.* 1025 *A.D.*

Arikesarin, as shown above, was the younger brother of Vajjaḍa. He was at the helm of the Śilāhāra kingdom from *c.* 1015 to *c.* 1025 A.D.; but it is not clear whether he was a regent at this time for his young nephew Chhittarāja or whether he was ruling as a king. In favour of the former view it may be pointed out that Bhandup plates observe that Chhittarāja brought glory to his family even when a mere baby.[2] It is clear that Chhittarāja's father Vajjaḍa died early in his life; his son therefore must have been too young to rule in *c.* 1015 A.D. Arikesarin may have stepped in as a regent. On the other hand it is equally probably that Arikesarin may have assumed the full regal title and died in *c.* 1025 A.D. and that the succession may have devolved upon his nephew because he had no son.

The period of the reign or regency of Arikesarin was a very troubled one. He was no doubt an experienced general as he had won some victories during his father's lifetime.[3] But the odds against him were very heavy, and the political situation was very complex. His father had recognized the sovereignty of the Chālukyas, but that did not put an end to his troubles. The open recognition of the Chālukya sovereignty exasperated the Paramāra ruler Bhoja, who was an inveterate enemy of the Chālukyas. He could not forget that Aparājita had worked as a friendly ally of his father Sindhurāja, and he regarded the acknowledgement of the Chālukya sovereignty by the Śilāhāras as an act of treachery, deserving a condign punishment. He therefore invaded Northern Konkan, and two of his records claim that he had conquered Konkan before

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[1] *E.I.*, XV, p. 333.
[2] Śilāravaṁśo śiśunā'pi yena nītaḥ parāunnatimunnatena.
[3] See Kharepatan plates, *I.A.*, IX, p. 33.

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September 1020 A.D.[1] Probably Arikesarin was compelled to recognize Paramāra suzerainty and allowed to rule. The position of Arikesarin was a very pitiable one ; whatever the course he might adopt he was sure to offend one of his two powerful neighbours. The Chālukya king Jayasimha III was determined not to lose any territories to the Paramāras ; his Miraj plates dated 1024 A.D. show that he had already conquered by that time Southern Maratha Country and South Konkan and was about to start for the conquest of northern territories.[2] Whether he compelled Arikesarin or Chhittarāja to change allegiance we do not know.

### *Chhittarāja, c.* 1025 to *c.* 1040 *A.D.*

Chhittarāja succeeded his uncle some time before 1026 A.D., the date of his Bhandup plates. The prospects for the Śilāhāras continued to be gloomy. The danger this time was neither from the Paramāras nor from the Chālukyas but from the Kadambas of Goa. The Śilāhāras of South Konkan had succumbed by this time to the attack of the Chālukyas. The latter however made no effective arrangements to retain South Konkan and we find Kadamba king Shashṭadeva II claiming the conquest both of Southern and Northern Konkan.[3] Southern Konkan was annexed by the Kadambas and Northern Konkan seems to have been restored to Chhittarāja on his consenting to acknowledge the Kadamba supremacy. The conquest of Northern Konkan by the Kadambas was facilitated by an earlier attack on Thana by king Gonka of the Śilāhāra house at Kolhapur. The latter calls himself the lord of Konkaṇa, and the Konkaṇa here referred to was probably not merely Southern Konkaṇa. *Dāyādavyasana*, referred to as facilitating the conquest of Konkan by the enemies in the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva was very probable at war between the Śilāhāra houses of Thana and Kolhapur, which had taken place at about this time.[4]

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[1] Banswara plates, dated 3-1-1020 were issued at Konkanvijayaparvani, *E.I.*, XI, p. 182 ; Betma plates were issued in September of the same year *Koṅkaṇagrahaṇavijayaparvaṇi*, *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 320.

[2] *I.A.*, VIII, p. 18. Prof. Mirashi has recently suggested (*I.A.*, LXII, p. 107) that Bhoja's invasion of Konkan may be due to oust Chhittarāja and place a son of Arikesarin, who was his father's friend, upon the throne. He thinks that Bhoja succeeded in doing this but his nominee was ousted by Jayasiṁha who ultimately succeeded in putting Chhittarāja on the throne. There is no evidence to support this conjecture.

[3] Narendra inscription *A*, *E.I.*, XIII, p. 316.

[4] It may not impossibly refer to a war of succession between Mummuṇi and Chhittarājadeva or his son.

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The end of the reign of Chhittarāja may be conjecturally placed in *c.* 1040. In spite of the adverse political circumstances, Chhittarāja managed to erect the beautiful Śiva temple at Ambaranātha near Kalyan.

Two brothers of Chhittarāja are mentioned, Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi. Of these Nāgārjuna was the elder, but he seems to have died before Chhittarāja. His succession is vaguely referred to only in the Vaḍavalli plates of his grandson, Aparārka I.[1] But since other documents of the dynasty do not describe his accession, we may safely conclude that he is referred to as a king in the Vaḍavalli plates, simply because they were issued by his grandson.

### *Mummuṇi or Māṁvaṇi, c.* 1040 to *c.* 1070 *A.D.*

Mummuṇi was a younger brother of Chhittarāja. During his time there was no Paramāra danger, because the Paramāra house was for a time completely overpowered by its enemies. The Kadambas of Goa were however getting very powerful, and Mummuṇi found it necessary and prudent to form a matrimonial alliance with them. About the Kadamba ruler Chhaṭhadeva, Narendra inscription says, 'When the exalted valour of Chhaṭhadeva in his sport upon the ocean reached Mummuri of famous Thāṇeyaka, hearing of it, he came into his presence, saw him, led him to his palace, and displayed intense affection, and he bestowed upon him his daughter with much pomp and gave five lakhs of gold.[2]

The Ambaranatha temple near Kalyan which was built towards the beginning of the 11th century, seems to have been repaired in the reign of this ruler.[3]

### *Anantadeva, c.* 1070 to *c.* 1110 *A.D.*

Apparently Chhittarāja and Mummuṇi both died issueless, for we find the succession passing on to Anantadeva, a son of their brother Nāgārjuna. Anantadeva, who is also spelled as Anantapāla, was an able and ambitious ruler. His Kharepatan plates claim that those enemies of his house, who, taking advantage of a civil war, had devastated the land of Konkaṇa, were completely routed out by him.[4] The enemies here referred to must be the Kadambas ; Kadamba ruler Gūhalla II seems to have been expelled from Konkan by Anantadeva. He took the title of *Paśchimasamudrādhipati* and claims to be the ruler of the whole of Konkan.[5] His overlordship

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[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXI, p. 508. [2] Narendra inscription, *E.I.*, XIII, p. 310.
[3] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 329. [4] *I.A.*, IX, p. 33.
[5] Cf. पुरीप्रभृतिखचतुर्दशग्रामशतीसमन्वितां समस्तकोंकणभुवमनुशासति । *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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over Southern Konkan is also suggested by the fact that two of his ministers referred to in the Kharepatan plates hailed from Valipattana in South Konkan.

The precise nature of the family strife (*dāyāda-vairi-vyasana*) referred to in the Kharepatan plates cannot be at present ascertained. It may refer to a war of succession between Mummuṇi and one or both of his brothers or their sons. Or it may refer to a war with the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur. King Goṅka of Kolhapur Śilāhāra line (*c.* 1020–1050 A.D.) is described in one of his grandson's record as the lord of Konkaṇa.[1] Konkan may have included Northern Konkan also, which may have been occupied for a time by Goṅka, rendering its rulers weak and making them easy targets for the Kadambas. The second alternative seems to be more probable.

Gūhalla III and Vijayāditya were the Kadamba rulers who were Anantadeva's contemporaries. They seem to have been defeated by him. Anantadeva's reign probably continued to *c.* 1110 A.D.

### *Aparārka I, c.* 1110 to *c.* 1140 *A.D.*

It was at one time believed that there was a break in the Śilāhāra line after Anantadeva's death, which was followed by an interregnum of about 40 years, during which time Northern Konkan was annexed and directly administered by the Kadamba ruler Jayakeśin II.[2] Evidence now available shows that there is no break in the Śilāhāra genealogy after Anantadeva. The Vaḍavalli plates of Aparārka I show that Anantadeva was succeeded by his son Aparārka I. His known dates are 1118-19, 1127-28,[3] 1129-30[4] A.D. and 1138-39[5] A.D. We find him issuing land grants in these years without any reference to the Kadambas. It is therefore clear that Konkan was not under the direct administration of the Kadambas during this period. In 1118-19 we find a minister of Aparārka making a grant of a property in Thana for the Somanātha temple in Prabhāsa. In 1127-28, we find Aparārka himself giving two villages in Thana district. In 1138-39 we see the king making a grant for the spiritual benefit of his mother Līlāvatī.[6] It is therefore clear that Konkan was not annexed to the Kadamba dominions during all these years.

Kadamba ruler Jayakeśin II of Goa (*c.* 1104 to *c.* 1147-48), who was a contemporary of Aparārka I, was a very able and ambitious

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 281.
[2] *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 544.
[3] *A.B.O.R.I.*, V, p. 169.
[4] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXI, pp. 506–16.
[5] *Festgabe der Dr. Jacobi*, pp. 189–93.
[6] Referred to in n. 2, p. 19 of *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 19. This stone is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

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king. His Narendra inscription, dated 1125 A.D., claims that he had completely subjugated both Southern and Northern Konkans.[1] This claim on his behalf has to be conceded, for it is admitted in a grant of Aparārka himself. His Vaḍavalli plates issued in 1127-28 A.D., describe the terrible calamity that had befallen his house soon after his succession. The style here is very graphic and reminds us of the language of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The record states that a demon named Chhittuka had invaded the kingdom, the feudatories had sided with him, *dharma* had disappeared, elders had died, prosperity had fled, subjects had become exhausted, and the nation had sunk. There was none to help him ; all alone, with the help of a single horse and sword, Aparārka straight way plunged into the battlefield and so harassed the enemy that he could neither fight nor flee. We are told that eventually the enemy abandoned the battlefield and took refuge with the Mlechchhas.[2]

The ' demon ' Chhittuka, who had reduced the fortunes of the Śilāhāras to this condition, can be no other than the Kadamba ruler Jayakeśin II, who we have just seen, claims to have conquered both Southern and Northern Konkan. The real founder of the Goa Kadamba house was king Shashṭhadeva, who is also called Chhaṭṭa, Chhaṭṭala, or Chhaṭṭaya in the Kadamba records.[3] It may be that Jayakeśin is called Chhittuka because he was a descendant of Chhaṭṭadeva. His sons Permāḍideva and Vijayāditya had the epithets of Śivachitta and Vishṇuchitta. It is possible that he too may have had a *chitta*-ending epithet, which may have induced the

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[1] *E.I.*, XIII, p. 316.

[2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXI, p. 508.

Cf. आसीत्कोप्यसुरो जगद्दलयितुं क्षित्तुक्कनामान्तकः ।

तत्रान्यो ( तत्रान्यच्च ) समस्तमेव मिलितं सामन्तचक्रं ततः ॥

ध्वस्ते धर्मवने गतेषु गुरुषु क्षिप्ते विभासंत्रये ।

शीर्णे जीर्णपुरप्रजापरिजने नष्टे च राष्ट्रोदये ॥

एकश्चैकतुरंगमश्च भुजयोर्द्वन्द्वं च खड्गश्च तं ।

द्राग्दृष्ट्वा कठिने रणे सरभसस्तत्संमुखं धावितः ॥

नायोढुं न पलायितुं किमपि वा ज्ञातं च तेन स्फुटं ।

संग्रामं परिहृत्य यस्य च भिया म्लेच्छाश्रये संश्रितः ॥

It is difficult to conjecture about the identity of the Mlechchha king, to whose protection the Kadamba ruler is said to have fled.

[3] *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 567.

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Śilāhāra secretariate to describe him as Chhittukāsura. Whatever the reason may have been for so naming him, there can be no doubt that the enemy of Aparārka, who had reduced him to this condition, was none other than Jayakeśin II. There is no doubt that for some time he had succeeded in annexing Northern Konkan and ousting Aparārka.

Kadamba rule over Northern Konkan came to an end soon after the date of the Narendra inscription. Another inscription of Jayakeśin from the same district issued only five months later, does not include Kavarikādvīpa or Northern Konkan within his dominions.[1] That this omission is not accidental would become clear when we consider the testimony of the Vaḍavalli plates of Aparārka. These plates were issued only two years later than the time of the Narendra inscription of Jayakeśin II, and describe in glowing terms, as we have seen already, the victory of Aparārka over the 'demon Chhittuka.' We may therefore conclude that the turning battle in the Śilāhāra-Kadamba war was fought in 1126 A.D. As a result of this victory Aparārka ceased to be a Kadamba feudatory and regained most of his hereditary possessions.

Aparārka now began to establish his own diplomatic connections with other political powers. That he had his own ambassadors in the court of most of his neighbours may be taken for granted, for we find him sending an embassy even to distant Kashmir. The evidence for the Kashmir embassy is obtained from a rather unique source. In his *Śrīkaṇṭhacharit* we find its author Maṅkha describing a learned assembly assembled in the house of his brother Alaṅkāra, (a minister of king Jayasiṁha of Kashmir 1128–1150 A.D.), to which he presented his work for a review. Among the members of this assembly figures Tejaḥkaṇṭha, who is described as an ambassador of king Aparāditya of Kuṅkaṇa, who had defeated his opponents in a *śāstrārtha* held at Śūrpāraka or Sopara, when halting there while on his way to Kashmir.[2] Aparārka, who had sent this embassy to Kashmir cannot be Aparārka II. The latter king ruled over Konkan between *c.* 1170 and *c.* 1195 A.D.; the *Śrīkaṇṭhacharit* was written during the lifetime of Jayasiṁha, who died in 1150 A.D., and another member of the learned assembly was Suhala, an ambassador of king

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[1] Referred to by Fleet, *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 568, no. 6.

[2] Cf. :—
Vachobhirnunude dantadyutiśrikhaṇḍapāṇḍubhiḥ
Vādināṁ vādadarposhmā yena Śūrpārakādhvasu
Yaṁ śrīmadAparāditya iti dūtaprasiddhaye
Prajighāya ghanashlāghaḥ Kāshmīrān Kuṅkaṇeśvaraḥ.
Canto, XXV, vv, 109-10.

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Govindachandra of Kanauj,[1] whose death took place in *c.* 1155 A.D. It is clear that an ambassador of Aparārka II could not have been a contemporary of king Jayasiṁha of Kashmir, of his minister Alaṅkāra, of the latter's brother Maṅkha, and of king Govindachandra of Kanauj.

The colophon of *Aparārka-ṭīkā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* states that it was composed by Aparāditya, a Śilāhāra king, born in the family of Jīmūtavāhana, belonging to the Vidyādhara stock.[2] Mr. Kane has shown how the internal evidence shows that the author of this commentary must have flourished between the time of Vijñāneśvara (*c.* 1100 A.D.) and that of Devaṇabhaṭṭa (*c.* 1225 A.D.). It is therefore clear that the author of the commentary is to be identified either with Aparāditya I (*c.* 1110–1140 A.D.) or with Aparāditya II (*c.* 1170 to *c.* 1195 A.D.), both of whom are described in their records as sprung from the family of Jīmūtavāhana of Vidyādhara stock. The fact that Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* continues to be the standard law-book used by the Pandits of Kashmir and that the work shows some familiarity with that country would support the view that the book was composed by Aparārka I, and was introduced in Kashmir by Tejaḥkaṇṭha at the time of his embassy.[3]

Whether Aparāditya was himself the author, or whether the commentary was attributed to him by its author, who may have been a protege of his, is a question that is difficult to answer. Aparāditya had his hands full with political and military affairs practically for the greater part of his reign, and he was famous as a general and soldier. His Vaḍavalli plates however show that he was a man of culture and took keen interest in music.[4] This verse does not refer to his studies in Dharmaśāstra, but that may be due to his having undertaken that line in the latter half of his reign when he had a relatively peaceful time. Of course we cannot altogether

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[1] Cf. :—
Anyassa Suhalastena tato'vandyata Paṇḍitaḥ
Dūto Govindachandrasya Kānyakubjasya bhūbhjaḥ.
Canto, XXV, 102.

[2] Cf. :—Iti śrīvidyādharavaṁśaprabhava-śrīŚilāhāra-narendra-Jīmūtavāhanānvya-śrīmadAparādityavirachite Yājñavalkīyadharmaśāstranibandhe prāyaścittādhyāyastṛitīyaḥ.

[3] The references to Kashmir were originally marginal notes on the copies of the members of Kashmir embassy, which were later incorporated in the text. See, Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra Literature*, pp. 353-54.

[4] Cf. :—Dhairyaudāryavivekavikramavidhirgāmbhīryamudrāmbudhiḥ
Saubhāgyaikanidhiḥ prasiddhavilasatsaṅgītavidyānidhiḥ
Śastrāṇāṁ sagunārjunapratinidhirjīyātsahasraṁ samāḥ
Sa śrīmānAparājito niravadhiśśauryeṇa satsannidhiḥ.

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rule out the possibility of a protege of Aparārka having fathered his work on his patron, since the Vaḍavalli plates, which proceed to describe his cultural achievements are silent about his studies and literary achievements in the field of Dharmaśāstra.

*Harapāladeva, c.* 1140 to *c.* 1155 *A.D.*

Aparārka I was succeeded by Harapāladeva. His relationship with his predecessor is not known at present. Bombay Gazetteer refers to three inscriptions of this ruler hailing from Thana district and dated 1149, 1150, and 1153 A.D.[1] These inscriptions have not been unfortunately published as yet ; at present it is even difficult to trace the stones on which they are inscribed. If these stones are discovered and the inscriptions published, we might know something about the reign of this ruler, the events of which are at present shrowded in mystery.

P.S.—Recently I was able to trace the stone inscription from Agashī in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Its date is Śaka year 1078, Mārgaśirsha Śuddha I, corresponding to 22nd of November, 1150. In this year Śrī Vesupaḍavala, Śrī Lakshmaṇa Prabu, and Śrī Padmāsivarāula were his ministers.

*Mallikārjuna, c.* 1155 to 1170 *A.D.*; known dates, 1157 and 1160 *A.D.*

This ruler is known from two inscriptions, both of them still unpublished and merely referred to in the Bombay Gazetteer.[2] Out of these two inscriptions I was able to trace the Chiplun stone inscription in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The whereabouts of the Bassein inscription are still unknown. The date of the Chiplun stone inscription is Pausha *vadya* 14, Monday, of the Śaka year 1079 and corresponds with the 2nd of December 1157 A.D. The inscription is now considerably damaged, but we can find out from it the name of Mallikārjuna's Foreign Minister ; it was Prabhākara Nāyaka. The Bassein stone inscription is dated, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal, 1160 A.D.

Mallikārjuna's relationship with his predecessor Harapāladeva is not disclosed by his records. According to the *Kumārapālacharit*[3] Mahānanda was the father of Mallikārjuna and Śatānandapura, surrounded on all sides by the sea, was his capital. Śatānandapura is obviously Purī, mentioned in Silāhāra records. Mahānanda's relationship with Harapāladeva or Aparārka is not known. He may perhaps have been a brother of the former.

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[1] *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 19, note No. 3.
[2] *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 19.
[3] Canto, VI, 65–70.

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The Kadambas were at this time engaged in a bitter struggle with the Hoysalas, and so Mallikārjuna had no fear from the southern side. His Prince of Wales Museum inscription, hailing from Chiplun, shows that he was ruling over Ratnagiri district as well till the end of his reign. Mallikārjuna, however could not long enjoy his kingdom in peace. His northern neighbour, Chaulukya Kumārapāla of Gujarat, was an ambitious ruler, and pretending to be offended by a pretentious title taken by Mallikārjuna, he invaded his dominions. The *Kumārapālacharit* gives us a detailed, though perhaps a partial description of this war.[1] Kumārapāla's general, Āmbaḍa, was at first heavily defeated by Mallikārjuna near Naosari. Kumārapāla, however, sent further reinforcements to his general and in the second battle Mallikārjuna was defeated and slain. The *Kumārapālacharit* includes Konkaṇa among the provinces ruled over by Kumārapāla; it would seem probable that the successor of Mallikārjuna was compelled to recognize the suzerainty of the conqueror for some time.

### *Aparāditya II*, *c.* 1170 to *c.* 1195 *A.D.*

Aparāditya's relationship with his predecessor Mallikārjuna is not known at present; he may have been his son or nephew. His Parel inscription describes him as *Mahārājādhirāja-Koṅkaṇa-chakravarti*.[2] It would therefore appear that soon after his accession, he overthrew the Chaulukya yoke. The Kalyaṇi Chālukyas had ceased to be any power of importance by this time and could not forbid the assumption of imperial titles by an erstwhile feudatory of theirs. Nothing definite is at present known about the reign of this ruler. His Parel inscription is dated 1187 A.D.; we may presume that he died within about a decade of that event.

### *Keśirāja*, *c.* 1195 to *c.* 1240 *A.D.*

The Bombay Gazetteer refers to two unpublished inscriptions of this ruler, one dated 1203 and the other 1238 A.D.[3] From the latter inscription we learn that Keśirāja was the son of his predecessor Aparāditya II. It is clear that this ruler enjoyed a long reign of about 45 years. He could not however long preserve the independent status won by his father. During his reign, the Yādavas of Devagiri were rapidly extending their power over the Deccan and Karnatak, and Keśirāja must have been compelled by them to recognize their suzerainty. Probably his kingdom too must have diminished in size.

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[1] *Ibid.*, canto, VI, 41–72.
[2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 333.
[3] Vol. I, ii, p. 20, n. 3.

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*Someśvara, c.* 1240 *to c.* 1265.

The Bombay Gazetteer refers to two stone inscriptions of this ruler which have not yet been published, and which it is not now easy to trace.[1] One of them is dated 1259 A.D. and the other 1260 A.D. They record grants of land in Thana district, but do not specify the grantor's relationship with Keśirāja. But probably he was a son of Keśirāja (or Keśideva).

We find no Śilāhāra inscriptions subsequent to the time of Someśvara. Hemādri, on the other hand, states that the Yādava ruler Mahādeva defeated and killed a king of Konkan named Soma.[2] It would therefore appear that Someśvara was the last ruler of the Thana house and that after his death his kingdom was annexed by the Yādavas of Devagiri, and governed through their own governors. 1260 A.D. is the last known date of Someśvara; in 1273 A.D. we find a Yādava governor ruling over the kingdom of the Śilāhāras.[3] The extinction of the Śilāhāra power may therefore be dated *c.* 1265 A.D.

From Hemādri we learn that Mahādeva invaded Konkan with a large army strong in elephants. Someśvara was signally defeated on land and took resort to his ships. Mahādeva attacked him with a naval squadron, and in this naval engagement, Someśvara seems to have been drowned. For, Hemādri says that Soma preferred drowning because he thought that the submarine fire would be much less harmful than the fire of Mahādeva's wrath.[4]

Some *Virgal* stones near Borivalli railway station (near Bombay) commemorate the deaths of heroes, who fell in some action carried out upon land and sea. Some of the stones show the land battle in which elephants took part; while others depict the lines of vessels propelled by oars, both in advance upon the enemy and the melée itself. Since Mahādeva's force was strong in elephants, and since the stone from the sculptures upon it appears to belong to the 12th or 13th century A.D., it is quite possible, as Cousens has suggested, that these stones may be commemorating the heroes who fell in the battle between Someśvara and Mahādeva.[5]

The kingdom of the Śilāhāras of Thana included Northern Konkan, i.e. southern portion of Surat district and the districts

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1.

[2] Cf. :—Sārdham jananyā saha jīvitena Someśvarasyāpi jahāra rājyam, v. 49, Rājapraśasti, *Chaturvargachintānaṇi.*

[3] *J.R.A.S*, V, p. 178.

[4] Etatpratāpo bahiramburāśeraurvontarepyasti kutaḥ prayāmi
chiraṁ vimṛisyeti yadīyavairī Someśvaro vāḍavameva yātaḥ. v. 18, *ibid.*

[5] Cousens, *Medieval Architecture of the Dakkan*, p. 21 and Pl. XV.

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of Thana, Alibag, and Ratnagiri. The last mentioned district came under this house sometime after the extinction of the Śilāhāras of Southern Konkan. Documents of their contemporaries describe the Northern Śilāhāras as rulers of Thana[1]; Thana therefore was their main capital. They had a subsidiary capital at a place called Purī, which is not yet possible to identify satisfactorily. It is described as a *dvīpa* and a naval attack is mentioned in connection with its capture by Pulakeśin II.[2] It is therefore suggested that Purī may have been situated on the island of Ghārāpurī. Cousens has objected to this view on the ground that the island is too small to permit the location of a capital, and shows no traces of fortifications. *Dvīpa* can denote also a peninsula and it is quite possible that Purī may have been situated somewhere in the island of Salsetti as Cousens suggests.[3] A fort in Salsetti would be practically surrounded on all sides by water, and could be approachable from the Thana side in case of emergency more easily than a fort in Ghārāpurī. The Aihole inscription describes Purī as *Aparajaladheḥ śrīḥ*, suggesting that it was a wealthy port on the western coast. This also would suggest the location of Purī somewhere in Salsetti. The question can perhaps be satisfactorily solved only by the spade of the archæologist, if it is lucky to discover inscriptions helping the identification.

## The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur

The third Śilāhāra house, which rose into prominence at the beginning of the 11th century, was ruling over Southern Maratha Country, viz. portions of Satara and Belgaum districts and the State of Kolhapur. It probably held sway for some time over a portion of southern Konkan as well. Kolhapur, Panhālā fort, and Vaḷavaḍe[4] are mentioned as the capitals of this dynasty in its records. It is possible that Panhālā was the summer, Kolhapur the winter, and Vaḷavaḍe the monsoon capital. According to the *Vikramāṅkadevacharit*, cantos VIII and IX, the marriage of the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI with the Vidyādhara, i.e. Śilāhāra princess Chandaladevī or Chandralekhā, took place in her father's capital at Karhāṭaka or modern Karad in Satara district. It is therefore

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[1] *E.G.*, Narendra inscription, *E.I.*, XIII, p. 310.
[2] Aihole inscription, *E.I.*, VI, p. 1.
[3] Cousens, *Medieval Architecture of the Dakkan*, Appendix.
[4] Vaḷavaḍe may be either the village Vaḷavade in Kolhapur State about 16 miles to the south-west of Kolhapur, or it may be the village of Walava in Satara district, about 25 miles to the north-east of Kolhapur. The first alternative seems to be more likely.

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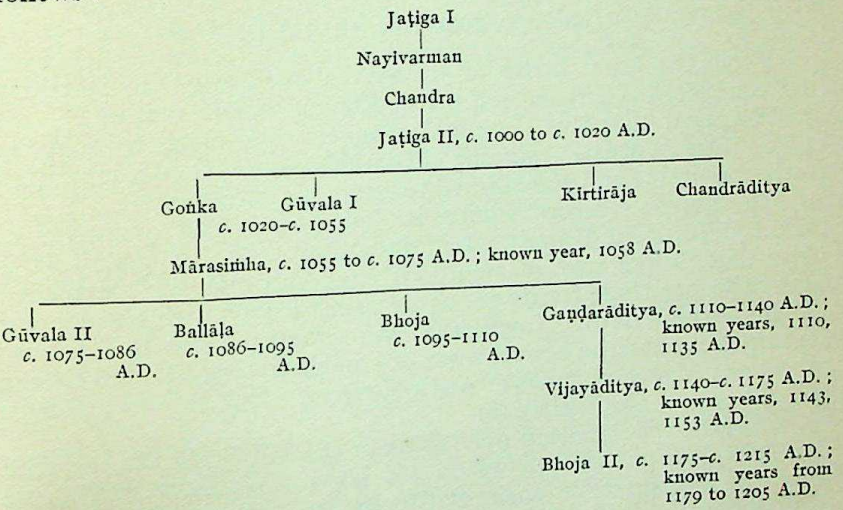
suggested that Karad may have been the capital of this house. Most of the records of this house are, however, to be found in Kolhapur State; Mahālakshmī of Kolhapur was their titulary deity. It is therefore probable that Kolhapur was the chief headquarter of their administration. Karad may have been a provincial headquarter, perhaps the capital of a royal viceroy.

The chronological and genealogical table of this house is as follows :—




The first three personages in the above genealogy are mentioned only in the Tāḷale plates of Gaṇḍarāditya. Subsequent records omit them altogether,[1] and the Tāḷale plates also supply very little information about them. It is not improbable that they had not in their own days achieved even the feudatory status, and that they were called as kings only by their descendants when they had become real rulers. Their period may be conjecturally taken to be *c.* 940 to *c.* 1000 A.D.

*Jaṭiga II*, *c.* 1000 to *c.* 1020 A.D.

The grandson of this ruler, king Mārasiṁha, is known to be ruling in 1058 A.D.; we may therefore place his reign between *c.* 1000 to *c.* 1020 A.D. In his grandson's record[2] he is described

[1] E.g. Kolhapur and Bamani inscriptions of Vijayāditya, dated 1143 and 1151 A.D. respectively. *E.I.*, III, p. 211.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 281.

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as *Tagaranagarabhūpālaka* and *Parṇāladurgādrisiṁha*; it is therefore clear that he was ruling over portions of Kolhapur State and holding the fort of Panhālā. The Rāshṭrakūṭas who were formerly ruling over this area, had fallen, their successors the Chālukyas were engaged in a bloody war with the Paramāras and the Cholas; and so Jaṭiga may have succeeded in carving out a principality for himself near Kolhapur.

## *Goṅka, c.* 1020 to *c.* 1055 A.D.

From the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha[1] we learn that that king had conquered Kolhapur and south Konkan before 1024 A.D. It would appear that this Chālukya conquest took place towards the end of Jaṭiga's or the beginning of Goṅka's reign. Goṅka submitted to the inevitable and was allowed to retain his patrimony.

In his son's record Goṅka is described as the conqueror of Karhāḍa (modern Karad), Mairiñja (Miraj) and Konkan.[2] It is clear that Goṅka was an ambitious ruler and may have extended his sway over these territories as an agent for, or with the consent of, his feudal lords. Jayasiṁha had conquered south Konkan; he may have for the convenience of administration, allowed Goṅka to rule over such portions of south Konkan, which he could manage to hold against the Kadambas.

Whether the lordship over Konkan claimed by Goṅka included northern Konkan as well we do not know. We have seen above how the conquest of their territories by the enemies, i.e. the Kadambas, is attributed by a record of the northern Śilāhāras to *dāyādavyasana*. This *dāyādavyasana* may refer to dissensions among the brothers Chhittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi or their sons, or it may refer to an attack from the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur. If the latter alternative is the correct one, the offensive must have been taken by Goṅka, and his lordship over Konkan may have for a time at least included portions of northern Konkan.

Tāḷale plates mention two brothers of Goṅka, Gūvala and Kīrtirāja, both of whom are given the title of king.[3] Kolhapur inscription of Vijayāditya[4] states that Goṅka had three brothers, Gūvala, Kīrtirāja and Chandrāditya. The title king however is not given to any of these brothers. It would therefore appear that only Goṅka was the real king and his brothers are given designations like *nṛipa* out of mere courtesy, or because they

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[1] *I.A.*, VIII, p. 18. [2] *J.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 281 (Sanskrit transcript.)
[3] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 2; cf.: *Tadbhrātā Gūvalo rājā nirjitārivrajobhaval.*
[4] *E.I.*, III, p. 211.

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were occupying important posts as governors under their eldest brother.[1]

*Mārasiṁha, c.* 1055 to *c.* 1070 *A.D.*

Goṅka was succeeded by his eldest son Mārasimha.[2] No specific political achievements of this ruler are known. His description in the Tāḷale plates[3] is conventional and we may conclude that he was not a particularly ambitious ruler. His copperplate grant describes the fort of Kilagila as his capital.[4] This Kilagila fort is probably identical with Paṛṇāla-durga or Panhālā which is so often mentioned as a capital of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras.

*Gūvala II, c.* 1075 to *c.* 1086 *A.D.*

Gūvala was the eldest son of Mārasiṁha and we may presume that he succeeded his father in the normal course of events in *c.* 1075, though we have so far discovered no grants issued by him. He is mentioned as a king in the grants of his successors, though they did not belong to his direct line.

Gūvala had four brothers, Gaṅgadeva, Ballāḷa, Bhoja, and Gaṇḍarāditya. The history of the period between 1075 and 1110 has become complicated because all these princes are mentioned as kings and rulers in Śilāhāra records. Of these brothers, Gaṅgadeva is mentioned along with his brothers in only one inscription,[5] and we may presume that he may have died young without ascending the throne and so he is passed over in other records. The youngest brother Gaṇḍarāditya is definitely known to have ruled alone at least from 1110 to 1140 A.D., for we have got his grants issued during this period. Between 1085 A.D., the conjectural date of Gūvala's death, and 1110 A.D., the earliest known date of Gaṇḍarāditya, Ballāḷa, and Bhoja must have ruled the kingdom.

*Ballāḷa, c.* 1186 to *c.* 1195 *A.D.*

Gūvala was succeeded in 1186 A.D. by Ballāḷa. The date of his accession can be fixed with the help of an inscription on a beam

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[1] See addenda, p. 51.

[2] Māraśiṁha's own plates (*J.R.A.S.*, O.S., IV, p. 281) first describe Goṅkala, then his younger brother Gūvala, and then state पूर्व्वोक्तगोंकराजसर्व्वगुणोपेतस्तस्य सुतो मारसिंहः। This no doubt suggests that Māraśiṁha was a son of Gūvala. But the editing of these plates, done in 1837, is far from satisfactory. All other properly edited records definitely assert that Māraśiṁha's father was Goṅka: for instance cf:— तत्र गोंकस्तस्य सूनुर्मारसिंहः। Bamani inscription, *E.I.*, III, p. 212; तत्र गोंकभूतलपतेर्मारसिंहो नाम नंदनः। Kolhapur inscription, *ibid.*, p. 209.

[3] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 1.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 281.

[5] *E.I.*, III, p. 207.

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in Śiddheśvara temple at Haveri in Belgaum district. This record was issued in the second year of Ballāḷa's reign and is dated, according to Cousens, in 1187 A.D.[1] An inscription from Kolhapur definitely states that Ballāḷa was elder than Bhoja[2] and we may presume that he must have ruled for a few years before Bhoja's accession as indicated by the Haveri inscription. His reign was probably a short one and may have probably terminated by about 1195 A.D.

*Bhoja I, c.* 1195 to *c.* 1110 *A.D.*

Herley inscription, dated 1108 A.D., first mentions Bhojadeva and then records a grant made by his brother king Gaṇḍarāditya, 'the sovereign of Valvad, whose fame was extensive'.[3] From the way in which the record mentions these two brothers, it is clear that in 1108 A.D. Bhoja was the real king and Gaṇḍarāditya was a royal viceroy at Vaḷavaḍe invested with plenary powers.

Achugi II, the Sinda ruler of Yelburga, is said to have repulsed a certain Bhoja, who had invaded his territory.[4] Achugi's known date is 1122 A.D.,[5] and he may have ruled for some years before this date. Bhoja, the opponent of Achugi, can therefore be our Śilāhāra Bhoja, whose latest known date is 1108 A.D. To judge from the Sinda accounts of this venture, it was not successful.

According to Bilhaṇa, Vikramāditya VI (1076–1127 A.D.) had married a Vidyādhara, i.e. Śilāhāra princess, named Chandralekhā, at Karad, her father's capital.[6] This princess must have belonged to the Kolhapur Śilāhāra family, for Karad was one of its provincial capitals. Bilhaṇa does not mention the name of Chandralekhā's father; probably he was either Mārasiṁha or one of his five sons.

*Gaṇḍarāditya, c.* 1110 to 1140 *A.D.*

We have records where Gaṇḍarāditya alone is mentioned as king ranging from the years 1110[7] to 1135[8] A.D. It is therefore clear that he succeeded Bhoja and ruled alone as king from *c.* 1110 to *c.* 1140 A.D.

Gaṇḍarāditya claims to be the undisputed king of Konkan. During the rule of Gaṇḍarāditya, from *c.* 1115 to 1126 A.D., the Śilāhāra ruler of Thana, Aparārka I, was ousted from his patrimony by

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[1] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 81. Cousens is not however sure about the correctness of the date. The inscription is only referred to and not published.
[2] *E.I.*, III, p. 207.
[3] Graham, *Kolhapoor*, No. 2, p. 349.
[4] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XI, p. 269.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 247.
[6] *Vikramāṅkadevacharit*, VIII and IX.
[7] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 3.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, p. 266.

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Jayakeśin II of Goa. A record of Vijayāditya's time, son of Gaṇḍarāditya, states that he had reinstated the fallen lord of Sthānaka or Thana.[1] Gaṇḍarāditya was old at this time; he seems to have sent his crown prince Vijayāditya to the help of Aparārka. After defeating Jayakeśin II, the crown prince seems to have occupied a portion of Konkan, after wresting it away from the Kadamba ruler, who was engaged in a grim fight with the Hoysala.[2] Greater part of south Konkan however continued to be under the Kadambas.

Gaṇḍarāditya was interested in executing works of public utility. At Irukudi in Miraj district he built a lake called Gaṇḍasamudra on the bank of which he built temples in honour of the Buddha, Jina and Śaṅkara.[3] It is clear that he gave equal honour to the three main faiths of the land. Another document refers to his feeding a hundred thousand Brahmanas at Prayag near Kolhapur, where the Kāsārī and the Kumbhī join to give rise to the Pañchagaṅgā.

*Vijayāditya, c.* 1140 to *c.* 1175 *A.D.*, known years, 1143, 1151 and 1153 *A.D.*

Gaṇḍarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya in *c.* 1040, who probably ruled up to 1175 A.D. He was an able and ambitious ruler. His feudal lord Taila III was unable to maintain his imperial position, and a conspiracy was being formed against him by his minister Bijjala with the help of the feudatories. Vijayāditya joined this conspiracy and Satara plates of his son claim that it was through him that Bijjala got the sovereignty.[4] It is probable that Vijayāditya must have played a prominent part in the revolution, which put an end to the Chālukya supremacy. The same record states that he reinstated the fallen lords of Sthānaka and Goa. We have seen already that Aparārka succeeded in regaining his patrimony at Thana in *c.* 1127 A.D., and he seems to have got valuable help from Vijayāditya. Vijayāditya did not ascend the throne before 1140 A.D., by which time Aparārka was probably dead. We need not however disbelieve the statement in the Satara plates about Vijayāditya's help to the fallen lord of Thana, for he may have rendered it while he was a *yuvarāja*. His father was too old to undertake any military expedition in *c.* 1125 A.D.

The reference to Vijayāditya's reinstating the fallen lord of Goa, made in the Satara plates, presents some difficulty. The

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1 *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, III, p. 393.
2 Moraes: *Kadambakula*, pp. 191–4.
3 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 3.
4 Satara plates; *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, III, p. 393.

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chief enemy of Aparārka of Thana was Jayakeśin of Goa ; if Vijayāditya had sided with Aparārka against Jayakeśin, how could he be supposed to have reinstated a fallen lord of Goa? Enmities in politics are however short-lived, and it is not improbable that after Jayakeśin's death, his son Permāḍideva may have been helped by Vijayāditya in his struggle against the Kaḷachuris, who were their common enemies.

These successes must have induced Vijayāditya to assume independence. His sovereign Bijjala himself had owed his position in no small degree to Vijayāditya's assistance. Bijjala of course would not concede Vijayāditya's claim to suzerainty and summoned him to his court. Sūri Daṇḍanātha of Kolhapur, who is mentioned in the *Bijjalacharit*[1] as having disobeyed his master's call to attend his court, must be none other than Vijayāditya himself. Bijjala then marched against him. The account in the *Bijjalacharit* no doubt claims that after a hard won battle Bijjala compelled Vijayāditya to admit his overlordship. Bijjala, however, soon died after this victory and we may presume that Vijayāditya must have reasserted his independence soon thereafter.

*Bhoja II*, *c.* 1175 to *c.* 1215 *A.D.*, known dates from 1179 to 1205 *A.D.*

Bhoja was the last and the greatest ruler of the Kolhapur Śilāhāra family. His father had played the rôle of the emperor-maker and assumed independence towards the end of his reign. Bhoja was determined not to lose the point of vantage won by his father ; we find him claiming imperial titles early in his reign.[2] Somadeva, a protégé of the Śilāhāras, describes Bhoja as Rājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Paśchimachakravarti in the colophon of his *Śabdārṇavachandrikā*, completed in 1205 A.D. at a Jina-maṭha at Ajra in Kolhapur State founded by Gaṇḍarāditya.[3] One of his own inscriptions, dated 1187, describes his greatness in glowing terms ; 'fear of the edge of Bhoja's sword caused Cholarāja to take a spear on his head and frightened other kings ; by the favour of Mahālakshmī Bhoja was worshipped by all the kings, he was a Vikrama of the Kali age'.[4] He was therefore appropriately known as *Vīrabhoja*. It is therefore clear that from about 1185 onwards, Bhoja had assumed the imperial titles.

The imperial ambition of Bhoja could not be checked by the Kaḷachuris, but it received a fatal blow from the newly rising power

[1] Quoted in *J.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 34.
[2] See Kolhapur Inscription, dated 1187 A.D., Graham, *Kolhapoor*, p. 397.
[3] *I.A.*, X, p. 75-6.
[4] Graham, *Kolhapoor*, p. 397, No. 7.

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of the Yādavas. Siṅghaṇa, who ascended the throne in *c.* 1210 A.D., is described as the eagle, who caused the serpent in the form of the mighty ruler Bhoja hiding in the fort of Parṇāla or Panhālā to flee away.[1] It would therefore appear that Siṅghaṇa attacked Bhoja in his advanced old age and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him sometime about 1215 A.D. Bhoja fled from his capital and could not have long survived his disgrace. He had a son named Gaṇḍarāditya, at whose instance the Satara grant was made,[2] but we do not hear of him after his father's death. On the other hand we have several records subsequent to the time of Bhoja attesting to the rule of the Yādavas in the territory once held by the Śilāhāras. The earliest of these is dated as early as 1218 A.D. and hails from Kolhapur itself. It refers to the erection of a gate before the temple of Ambābāī at Kolhapur by a son of Siṅghaṇa. It is therefore clear that after the defeat of Bhoja, Siṅghaṇa did not allow his son Gaṇḍarāditya to succeed his father, but annexed the kingdom, appointing his one of his sons to administer the territories. Thus ended the career of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur.

## Administrative, Religious, Social, and Economic Condition

Let us now consider the data supplied by the Śilāhāra records, throwing light on the administrative, social, religious, and economic condition.

The status of the Śilāhāra rulers was always that of the feudatories with the exception of one or two rulers, who claimed but were not acknowledged to be emperors. Their feudal lords were first the Rāshṭrakūṭas and then the Chālukyas, Paramāras or the Kadambas. All these houses allowed the Śilāhāras a very large amount of internal autonomy. The earlier grants describe the genealogy of the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa house before giving the genealogy of the Śilāhāras; but we do not find even there the grants being made with the sanction of the imperial ruler. Unlike petty feudatories,[3] the Śilāhāras had complete control over their revenues and could alienate them without the sanction of the imperial administration. Later grants do not give even the genealogy of the imperial house; it would probably indicate that the

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[1] *Parṇāla-nilaya-prabala-Bhoja-bhūpāla-vyāla-vidrāvaṇa-vihaṅga-rājaḥ*, quoted in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 254, n. 1.

[2] *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, III, p. 393.

[3] See *I.A.*, XII, p. 15 and *E.I.*, IX, p. 195 for other feudatories seeking permission of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors for alienating revenues. Nowhere do we find the Śilāhāras seeking a similar permission for the alienation of lands or taxes; cf. *E.I.*, III, pp. 292, 267, etc.

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internal autonomy increased with the advent of the Chālukyas, the Paramāras and the Kadambas. The feudatories in ancient India had to send troops for fighting the battles of their emperors ; there is however only one case on record of the Śilāhāras having participated in an expedition of the Paramāras ; even there it is doubtful whether the Śilāhāras were then professing any allegiance to the Paramāras.[1] It would appear that the Śilāhāra rulers simply used to pay some tribute to their feudal lords in recognition of their sovereignty. At any rate, no evidence is yet forthcoming to show that their imperial overlords exercised any administrative control over the Śilāhāras.

Our records throw some light on the machinery of the central administration of the Śilāhāras of Thana. At the head of the administration was a ministry consisting of about five ministers. The designations of these ministers and their names are usually given in their grants. How much is it to be wished that other dynasties had followed a similar practice ! The Bhandup plates show that the ministry of Chhittarāja consisted of five members ; Srīnāgaṇaiyya was the prime-minister or *sarvādhikārin*, foreign ministers were two, Śrī-kapardin was for Karnatak or the southern kingdoms and Sīhapaiyya was for the rest of the neighbours. The chief secretary was the fourth member of the ministry. The name and designation of the fifth member have been omitted through inadvertance.[2]

Under Mummuṇi in 1060 A.D. Vintapaiyya was Mahāmātya or premier, Nāganaiyya was *Mahāpradhāna*, Jogalaiyya was foreign minister, Vakadaiyya was foreign secretary (*lekhasandhi-vigrāhika*) and two persons were in charge of the treasury.[3] In the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva we find a ministry of four only in 1095 A.D., the premier, the foreign minister, the treasurer and the assistant treasurer being its members.[4] These records further show that sometimes ministerial offices continued in the same family for more than one generation.

Towns in the kingdom were under the charge of committees consisting mostly of non-officials. A concrete case is supplied by the Bhadan plates, where we find the administration of Guṇapura being conducted by a committee consisting of Ambuśresṭhin, Vapayyaśreshṭhin, merchant Chelapayya, Brahmana Govaṇayya, etc.[5] Important classes of the community seem to have been represented on the committee.

We get the mention of some taxes in our records. Goods imported from abroad were taxed at the ports ; the tax on goods

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[1] *Ante*, p. 23.
[2] *I.A.*, V, p. 278.
[3] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 329.
[4] *I.A.*, IX, p. 33.
[5] *E.I.*, III, p. 274.

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coming by the sea from other parts of the country was less than the tax on goods coming from foreign countries.[1] Octroi duties in kind on merchandise like ghee, betelnuts, piecegoods, oil, vegetables, etc. imported in the various towns of the kingdom, are mentioned in several inscriptions.[2] Land tax was the mainstay of the government revenue. The State claimed ownership over forests, and heirless property lapsed to it.[3]

The Śilāhāra administration seems to have been very methodical. From the Bhadan plates we learn that government used to keep the originals of the copperplates in a State Record of Right kept at the capital Thana.[4] The conditions on which a claimant's right to the land under a charter was conceded are given in the following verse in the Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja[5]:—

Mudrāśuddhaṁ bhuktiśuddhaṁ kriyāśuddhaṁ sachihnakaṁ
Rājasvahastaśuddhaṁ cha śuddhimāyāti śāsanam.

'The claim under a charter is allowed when it bears a royal signature, possesses a seal with the royal insignia, is properly drafted and is accompanied with possession.'

### *Religious Condition*

Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism were all living side by side in the Śilāhāra territories. Kanheri was a famous centre of Buddhism, and the monks staying there used to get support from royal officers for their monasteries. Kanheri records testify to the help given for this purpose by a Śilāhāra minister.[6] Jainism was powerful in Kolhapur district; a large number of the records of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur refer to grants made for the support of Jain establishments by kings and commoners. All these religions were living amicably; there is no evidence of any persecution. The Śilāhāras themselves were Hindus. The Thana house seems to have been a Saivite one as may be inferred from the building of the Ambarnath temple; a verse in the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva suggests that they held in specially high reverence Somanātha at Prabhāsa.[7] We also find a minister of Aparārka I making a grant in favour of Somanātha temple in 1118 A.D.[8] The Kolhapur rulers were the worshippers of Ambābāī situated in their capital.

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[1] *E.I.*, III, p. 292.
[2] E.g., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, II, p. 267.
[3] *E.I.*, III, p. 274.
[4] *E.I.*, III, p. 267.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[6] *I.A.*, XIII, p. 136.
[7] *Cf. Galvā śaiśava eva sainyasahito dṛishṭvā cha Someśvaraṁ*
*Tasyāgre piturājñayā jagadalṁ yah kīlayitvāgataḥ, I.A.*, IX, p. 33.
[8] *A.B.O.R.I.*, V, p. 169.

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They were however quite catholic in their religious sympathies; we have the typical example of king Gaṇḍarāditya, who built the temples of Śaṅkara, Jina and the Buddha on the bank of the lake Gaṇḍasāgara built by him. He did not forget to provide decent incomes for these temples in order to carry their routine worship.[1] The royal example was imitated by commoners, we have an example of the erection of a Jain Basadi at Kolhapur by a Brahmana donor.[2]

Śiva, Sūrya, Ambābāī, Jina, and the Buddha are the deities that figure in Śilāhāra records. In the Śilāhāra period several temples were built for these and other deities, but a majority of these have been destroyed by the bigotry of the Portuguese and the Moslems. Remnants of these temples at Ambaranath, Pelar, and Valkeswer show that many of these temples were conceived and executed on an artistic and grand scale.[3]

An idea of the daily activities connected with the important temples of the age may be gained from the Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja.[4] The image was worshipped thrice a day and a provision was made for maintenance of a Brāhmaṇa family for this purpose in the temple compound. The usual paraphernalia of well-endowed temples included an oilman to supply oil for the *nandādīpa*, a gardener for supplying flowers for daily worship, a potter to supply pots for daily food and a washerman, apparently to wash the clothes of the deity and its worshippers. Like the Avveśvara temple of this record many other temples used to maintain schools and *sattras*, which helped considerably the task of the propagation of religion, culture, and education.[5]

Many of the modern religious beliefs like the efficacy of charity during an eclipse, the desirability of feeding a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas, of settling them in life, etc. are to be seen subscribed to in the inscriptions of the period.[6] The tonsure of widows was not yet in vogue at least among the Kshatriyas, for the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva describe his enemies' widows as having long hair, *lambalakāni*.[7] Widows were refraining from the use of toilet, but the hair on the head continued. An inscription from Kolhapur refers to the sale of some *Vṛittis* in a Dharmadeya land by Mayikota, a daughter of Chhandoga Someśvara.[8] We do not know whether this lady had inherited the land from her husband or

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[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 1.
[2] *Jinapadapadmabhṛingeṇa viprakulasamuttuṅgaraṅgeṇa*, *E.I.*, III, p. 211.
[3] *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 22. [4] *E.I.*, III, p. 292.
[5] See Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, pp. 282–93.
[6] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 1. [7] *I.A.*, IX, p. 33.
[8] Graham, *Kolhapoor*, p. 397 Inscription, No. 8.

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father; since her husband is not mentioned, the probability is that the land was her *strīdhana* inherited from her father. It would appear that women could sell even landed property if it was their *strīdhana*.

Sahavāsī Brāhmaṇas, now more popularly known as *savvāśes* in Kolhapur-Satara territory, are referred to in our records. Now they are regarded as slightly inferior in status to ordinary Brāhmaṇas and several stories are current to account for the lower status that is given to them. In our period no such ideas prevailed in society. We have a record of the times of Bhoja II describing a grant made for the purpose of feeding Sahavāsī Brāhmaṇas.[1] The trustees for the grant are four Brāhmaṇas, two Sahavāsis and two Karahāṭakas. The latter expression would probably show that the term Karhāḍe Brāhmaṇas of the modern times originally denoted Brāhmaṇas from Karhad.

Some facts of economic interest can be gleaned from our documents. Guilds figure in many of our inscriptions. They performed a variety of banking work as well. Persons anxious to make arrangements for the perpetual working of trusts used to invest capital in guild banks. From one of the Kanheri inscriptions which records the donation of Bhadravishṇu, the Śilāhāra premier, it appears that the rate of interest on perpetual deposits was as high as 17 per cent.[2] Another record from the same locality describes an investment in a guild bank and states that the rate of interest would be such as would be determined from time to time by the experts.[3] This provision was a reasonable one; the guild had to pay interest in perpetuity and no definite rate could be guaranteed for all time to come. The rate must have obviously varied with the conditions of the money market. It is however interesting to note that a similar saving clause as to the rate of interest does not appear in the numerous inscriptions of this period, which state agreed rates of interest on deposits given in perpetuity. It is however quite probable that the banks receiving deposits in perpetuity may have been allowed to vary the rate of interest if the conditions rendered this procedure equitable.

The Kharepatan plates[4] throw some light on the standard of living of the Brāhmaṇa classes. Brāhmaṇas in charge of the temple worship used to receive normally four *nivartanas* (probably equal to 20 acres) of land. If this land was dry, it would follow that the allowance to the temple priest was sufficient for the normal needs of an average family.

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[1] *E.I.*, III, p. 215.
[2] *I.A.*, XIII, p. 136.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[4] *E.I.*, III, p. 216.

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## List of the Śilāhāra Inscriptions

### *Śilāhāras of Southern Konkan*

1. Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja, Śaka 930 ; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 297.

### *Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan*

1. Kanheri inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I and Śilāhāra Pullaśakti ; Śaka 765 (?) ; *I.A.*, Vol. VI, p. 102.
2. Kanheri inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I and Śilāhāra Kapardin II, Śaka 775 (for Śaka 773) ; *I.A.*, Vol. XIII, p. 134.
3. Kanheri inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I and Śilāhāra Kapardin II, Śaka 799 ; *I.A.*, Vol. XIII, p. 135.
4. Bhādān plates of Aparājitadevarāja, Śaka 919 ; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 271.
5. Thana plates of Arikesarin, Śaka 939 ; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 357.

This inscription requires to be re-edited as it is deciphered from a far from faultless lithograph at a time when the knowledge of ancient Indian history and epigraphy was in its infancy.

6. Bhāṇḍup plates of Chhittarājadeva, Śaka 948 ; *I.A.*, Vol. V, p. 277.
7. Ambaranāth inscription of Māṁvaṇirājadeva, Śaka 982 ; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IX, p. 219, with plates ; *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 329, with plates.
8. Kharepatan plates of Anantapāla, Śaka 1016 ; *I.A.*, Vol. IX, 33, with plates.
9. Somanātha inscription of Aparāditya I, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; Vikrama Saṁvat 1176=Śaka Saṁvat 1041 ; *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. V, p. 169.
10. Vaḍavallī plates of Aparārka I, Śaka 1049 ; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 505.
11. An inscription of Aparāditya I, Śaka 1051 ; *Festgabe der Dr. Jacobi*, p. 189. Referred to by Mr. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra Literature*, p. 353.
12. Chānje stone inscription of Aparāditya I, Śaka 1060 ; referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 19, n. 2. I was able to trace this stone in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
13. Sopārā stone inscription of Haripāladeva, Śaka 1071 ; referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 19, n. 3. The suggestion in the Gazetteer that the name of the king here may be Kurapāladeva has to be rejected in view of the clear reading of the king's name as Haripāladeva on the inscription No. 14 below.

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14. Agāshi stone inscription of Haripāladeva, Śaka 1072; referred to in *ibid.* This stone is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

15. Borivali station stone inscription of Haripāladeva, Śaka 1075; referred to in *ibid.* The present whereabouts of this stone are unknown.

16. British Museum inscription of the reign (?) of Haripāladeva, Śaka 1076; referred to in Kielhorn's *List*, No. 310.

17. Karanjaon (Bassein) stone inscription of Haripāladeva, undated (?), referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 19, n. 3.

18. Bombay Asiatic Society's fragmentary stone inscription of Mallikārjuna, Śaka 1079; referred to in Kielhorn's *List*, No. 311. This stone is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The stone originally hailed from Chiplun.

19. Bassein inscription of Mallikārjuna, Śaka 1082; referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 19. The present whereabouts of this stone are unknown.

20. Lonād (Bhivandi Taluka) stone inscription of Aparāditya II, Śaka 1106; referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 20 and n. 2. The present whereabouts are unknown.

21. Bombay Asiatic Society's inscription of Aparāditya II, Śaka 1107; referred to in Kielhorn's *List*, No. 312. This stone is probably identical with the Bassein stone inscription, Śaka 1107, referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 20, n. 2.

22. Parel inscription of Aparāditya II, Śaka 1109; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333 and plate. This stone is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

23. Bombay Asiatic Society's inscription of Aparāditya II, Śaka 1109, referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 20, n. 2.

24. Kalambhom (Bassein) stone inscription of Aparāditya II (I ?), undated; referred to in *ibid.* The present whereabouts of this stone are unknown.

25. Mandavi (Bassein Taluka) stone inscription of Keśideva, Śaka 1125; referred to in *ibid.* The present whereabouts are unknown.

26. Lonād (Bhivandi Taluka) stone inscription of Keśideva, Śaka 1161; referred to in *ibid.* The present whereabouts are unknown.

27. Rānvad (near Uran) stone inscription of Someśvara, Śaka 1181; referred to in *ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1. This inscription is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Its date, Śaka 1171, as given in the Gazetteer is wrong. Its correct date is Śaka 1181, which was a Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara, as the record states.

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28. Bombay Asiatic Society's inscription of Someśvara, Śaka 1181 ; referred to in Kielhorn's *List*, No. 314. This stone is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

29. Chānje (near Uran) inscription of Someśvara, Śaka 1182 ; referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 21, n. 1. I was able to trace this stone in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

*Some contemporary Records*

1. Narendra (Dharwar Taluka) inscription of Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI and Kadamba king Jayakeśin II, Śaka 1047 ; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 298.

2. Bhāvihāl inscription of Kadamba king Jayakeśin II, Śaka 1048 ; referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 568, n. 6.

*Śilāhāras of Kolhapur*

1. Miraj plates of Mārasiṁha, Śaka 980 ; *J.R.A.S.*, old series, Vol. IV, p. 281 ; *Cave Temples of Western India*, p. 102, with plates.

2. Hāveri inscription of Ballāḷa, Śaka 1009 (?) ; referred to in Cousen's *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 86.

3. Honnur Canarese inscription of Ballāḷa and Gaṇḍarāditya, undated ; *I.A.*, Vol. XII, p. 102.

4. Tāḷale plates of Gaṇḍarāditya, Śaka 1032-3 ; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 1.

5. Herley Canarese inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya, Śaka 1040 ; Graham's *Kolhapoor*, p. 349, No. 2.

6. Kolhapur Khāsbāg copperplates of Gaṇḍarāditya, dated Śaka 1048 (*Aṣhādha-śukla-chaturthyāṁ Śaṁvāre*). These plates were discovered in April 1935 in Khāsbāg of Kolhapur while it was being levelled for the Silver Jubilee celebrations. They will be soon edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

7. Kolhapur Canarese inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya, Śaka 1058 ; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. II, p. 266, No. 6 ; Graham's *Kolhapoor*, p. 349, No. 2.

8. Kolhapur Sanskrit and Canarese inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya, undated ; Graham's *Kolhapoor*, p. 357, No. 3.

9. Kolhapur inscription of Vijayāditya, Śaka 1065 ; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 209.

10. Miraj Canarese inscription of Vijayāditya, Śaka 1065 and 1066 ; *P.S.O.C.I.*, No. 96.

11. Bāmaṇī inscription of Vijayāditya, Śaka 1073 ; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

12. Sheḍbāḷ inscription of Vijayāditya, Śaka 1075 ; referred to in *B.G.*, I, ii, p. 548, n. 6.

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13. Kolhapur Canarese inscription of Bhoja II, Śaka 1101; *Kolhapoor*, p. 382, No. 6.

14. Kolhapur inscription of Bhoja II, Śaka 1109; *ibid.*, p. 397, No. 7.

15. Kolhapur Town Hall stone inscription of Bhoja II, Śaka 1112, 1113 and 1114; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 215.

16. Satara plates of Bhoja II, Śaka 1113; *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 393.

*Records of the Contemporaries*

1. Khidrāpur inscription of Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, Śaka 1136; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XII, p. 7.

2. Kolhapur inscription of Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, Śaka 1140; Graham, *Kolhapoor*, p. 425, No. 11.

3. Tiḷivalli (Dharwar Dt.) Iśvara temple Sanskrit and Canarese inscription of Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, Śaka 1160; *P.S.O.C.I.*, No. 112.

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## Addenda to pp. 37-8.

## WAS GOṄKA THE ELDEST BROTHER?

In the Kolhapur plates of Gaṇḍarāditya, discovered in April 1935, which were very kindly shown to me by the authorities of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, there occur the following genealogical verses:—

स्वस्ति श्रीजतिगच्चितीशतनयो नायिम्मनामा नृपः
पुत्रस्तस्य च चंद्रराट् पृथुयशास्तस्यापि सूनुः किल।
संजातो जतिगो जगज्जननुतः श्रीमांश्च तन्नन्दनो
गोकल्लो भुवि भूमिपालतिलकस्तस्याप्यभूदग्रजः।
गूहलेशोऽथ तद्भ्राता कीर्तिराजोऽनुजोस्य च।
चंद्रादित्यस्ततस्तस्य चक्रे राज्यमकंटकम्॥

If we construe the word *agraja* in the last line of the first verse above with Gūhaleśa in the next verse, Gūvala or Gūhala will have to be regarded as the eldest brother. But such was not the case. The proposed construction is faulty and far fetched. To construe one word in one verse with another in the next one is a far fetched procedure. The word *agraja* goes more naturally with word

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*nandana* in the preceding line and shows that Goṅkala was the first born son of Jaṭiga II. *Agraja* does not necessarily denote the eldest brother; it is also used for the eldest son; cf:—तत्रापि तिलक-भूतस्यावंतिवर्मणः सूनुरग्रजो ग्रहवर्मा नाम। *Harshacharit*, 4th *Uchchhvāsa*. It may be further pointed out that in all the Śilāhāra records (e.g. Kolhapur and Bamani Inscriptions of Vijayāditya, Mārasiṁha's grant and the newly discovered Kolhapur copper plates) Goṅka is invariably mentioned first among his brothers. This also shows that he must have been the eldest brother.

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# THE ṢŪFĪ MOVEMENT IN INDIA

## ṢŪFĪ ORDERS

*By* MD. ENAMUL HAQ

Orders among the Ṣūfīs were not of recent origin ; it is as old as the origin of Ṣūfī theosophy in the Muslim world. As to the origin of Ṣūfī orders Dr. Margoliouth observes :—' The growth of orders is an obscure subject, and nothing is more remarkable in Islāmic history than the speed with which these systems have been propagated. It must be remembered that eastern people are highly impressionable to systematic devotion of any sort ; and it is probable that the institution of pilgrimage which gathers together crowds of Muslims with their religious emotions kindled to fanaticism facilitates such propaganda to an extraordinary degree.' (Muham., p. 213.) Before passing such an unwarrantable remark on the origin of a great thought-movement like Ṣūfism, one should consider the fact that the various forms of devotion, which are still prevalent in Islām, are remarkably systematic and are conspicuously unitary ; and yet there is a great deal of diversity of view which has brought about this. Let us try to find out the reason for this diversity.

Ṣūfī theosophy had in its origin a great tendency to individualism. In its inception, it was neither meant for the ordinary common folk, nor for any coterie of intellectuals. Illumination of the individual soul by the culture of everyone's self was the aim and object of the early Ṣūfīs. Great Ṣūfīs of eighth and ninth centuries A.D. achieved this illumination by individual exertion, mortification and austerity. This individualistic tendency among the Ṣūfīs led each individual to the way of thinking out a theosophic system according to his own mentality and his intellect. Hence, each system of Ṣūfī theosophy bears a clear stamp of an individual who shaped it and worked it out in the line, invented or discovered by him. In this way, when one system took a final shape and when, following that definite system, any individual attained the ideal as desired by him, others with similar tendencies—accepted the path laid down by him. This was a kind of servile imitation, but it was helpful to some. In any case, the disciples clung round the master and the new group, often named after the master or founder, grew up. As it is a case with all groups or sects, after the formation of a well-defined order, many new formalities and rituals were,

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in course of time, introduced. The beginning of Ṣūfī orders is thus as old as the origin of Ṣūfīism itself.

The earliest of the orders of which we hear from the Ṣūfīs, is the Baṣrī order, founded by the Ḥasan of Baṣrah (d. 728 A.D.). The next one was perhaps the Adhamī, founded by Ibrāhīm-ibn-Adham (d. 777 A.D.). Whatever might have been the history, the rapidity with which these Ṣūfī orders were increasing is remarkable. Dr. Margoliouth seems to be in the right in assigning the cause of rapid growth of the Ṣūfī orders during the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. These orders became known and their doctrines were preached and popularized among the masses of different countries through the agency of the pilgrims to Mecca where the Muslims of distant countries used to assemble once a year. A deeper cause was of course the appearance of inventive Ṣūfīs in early centuries of Islām. Another factor contributing largely to the increment, was the absorption of Aryan civilization of Persia and of Greece by Islām. Austerity and an overwhelming sense of the Divine presence of Arabian Islām, mingled with the subtle philosophical bent of Aryan mind, produced the result of these new experiments in the field of religion and mystic speculations.

However, before the advent of the Ṣūfīs to India, they belonged to many schools of Ṣūfī thought. Every school was recognized as a Khāndān or family or order. Many such orders were probably introduced and subsequently established in India, some of which became extinct through want of support of the Indians. The history of the introduction of these orders is as obscure as their creeds. The Ṣūfī treatises of India only contain the account of a few of these Ṣūfīs and their particular theosophy.

The Aīn-i-Akbarī furnishes us with a list of Ṣūfī orders that had been prominent in India up to the time of Akbar, the Great (1565–1605). We give below the names of those orders chronologically with names of their founders and dates of their deaths:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ḥabībī .. | .. Khwājah Ḥabīb Ajmī—Contemporary with Ḥasan Baṣrī (d. 728 A.D.). |
| 2. | Zaydī .. | .. Shaykh 'Abdu-'l Wāhid bin Zayd (d. 743 A.D.). |
| 3. | Adhamī .. | .. Khwājah Ibrāhīm bin Adham Balkhī (d. 777 A.D.). |
| 4. | 'Ayyāḍī .. | .. Khwājah Fuḍayl bin 'Ayyāḍ (d. 803 A.D.). |
| 5. | Karkhī .. | .. M'arūf Karkhī (d. 815 A.D.). |
| 6. | Saqaṭī .. | .. Ḥasan Sarī Saqaṭī (d. 865 A.D.). |
| 7. | Ṭayfūrī .. | .. Bāyizīd Bisṭāmī Ṭayfūr Shāmī (d. 874 A.D.). |
| 8. | Hubayrī .. | .. Khwājah Hubayratu-'l-Baṣrī (d. 900 A.D.). |
| 9. | Junaydī .. | .. Junayd Baghdādī (d. 910 A.D.). |
| 10. | Chishtī .. | .. Abū Isḥāq Chishtī (d. 965 A.D.). |
| 11. | Gājrūnī .. | .. Abū Isḥāq Gājrūnī (d. 1034 A.D.). |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12. | Suhrawardī .. | .. Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Abū Nazīb Suhrawardī (d. 1167 A.D.). |
| 13. | Firdausī .. | .. Shaykh Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā Firdausī (d. 1221 A.D.). |
| 14. | Tūsī .. | .. 'Alāu-'d-Dīn Ṭūsī—Contemporary with Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā. |

The above list of fourteen orders, given by Abū-'l-faḍl is not complete in itself ; he had admitted the inadequacy of his list (*vide*, Aīn, Vol. III, p. 257). He only furnishes us with a list of those orders that were prominent in India up to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Besides these we know that the following orders became prominent afterwards :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15. | Shaṭṭārī .. | .. Shaṭṭār. Probable date (1200–1300 A.D.). |
| 16. | Qādirī .. | .. 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of Jīlān (1078–1166 A.D.). |
| 17. | Qalandarī | .. Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalusī. Not known. |
| 18. | Naqshbandī | .. Bahā'u-'d-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389 A.D.). |
| 19. | Ūwysī .. | .. Ūwys Karanī—Contemporary with Ḥaḍrat Muḥammad. |

The Indian Ṣūfīs recognized only the fourteen orders of Abū-'l-Faḍl. The other five, they admit in a peculiar way. They are not inclined to acknowledge the separate existence of the other five but they include them in the list of fourteen orders in a most arbitrary manner.

What exactly are the views of Indian Ṣūfīs about these orders ? They are of unanimous opinion that ' Khirqah-i-darwishī ' or the cloak of sainthood was bestowed on the Prophet in the night of M'irāj or ascension to heaven. After his return from heaven, he assembled his companions in the morning and according to the wish of God, entrusted Ḥaḍrat-'Alī, amongst others, with the secret of divine gnosis ('Ilm-i-m'arifah). In order to single him out as his nominee, the Prophet conferred a black woollen cloak on 'Alī. This cloak is traditionally known as ' Khirqah-i-Khilāfat ', or the cloak of spiritual succession,—because of the fact that whenever a saint chooses one as his nominee to succeed him in his life-time or on his death he plays the part of the Prophet by the offering of a patchwork garment to his future successor. However, 'Alī was chosen by the Prophet as the future inheritor of his divine gnosis. It is said that 'Alī initiated seventy persons to his mystic creed during his life-time and chose four men to succeed him. Amongst these four persons, the first two were his two sons of Karbalā fame Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, while the third and the fourth were respectively Khwājah Kamīl bin Ziyād and Khwājah Ḥasan of Baṣrah. Fourteen orders, mentioned above and generally known in India as the ' Chowdah Khwānwādah ' trace their spiritual descent from Ḥasan of Baṣrah who had two great spiritual successors named Khwājah

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Ḥabīb 'Ajmī and 'Abdu-'l-Wāhid-bin Zayd. Out of these two great spiritual successors of Ḥasan of Baṣrah, Ḥabīb of 'Ajam was at the spiritual head of the following nine orders:—(1) Ḥabībī, (2) Ṭayfūrī, (3) Karkhī, (4) Saqaṭī, (5) Junaydī, (6) Gāzrūnī, (7) Ṭūsī, (8) Firdausī, (9) Suhrawardī and 'Adbu-'l-Wāhid bin Zayd was at the spiritual helm of the following five orders, viz. (1) Zaydī, (2) 'Ayāḍī, (3) Adhamī, (4) Ḥubayrī, (5) Chishtī (Tadhkirah, part I, pp. 1–3).

As to the names of these orders, most of them are either known after the proper names of their founders or after their titles signifying the places they lived in. Only a few orders received their names from the causes other than these and we are concerned with only one of them such as Naqshbandī. This order was founded by Bahā-d-Dīn (d. 1398 A.D.) who was a painter (Naqshband). The incident which led to the acquisition of this name to this order is thus described in the books of Indian Ṣūfīs:—One day, Amīr Kalāl, the spiritual guide of Khwājah Bahā'u-d-Dīn, ordered his disciple (i.e. Bahā'u-d-Dīn) that he should paint the name of ' Allāh ' in all pots that were in his possession. Bahā'u-d-Dīn carried out the order of his spiritual guide, but by chance many of his pots were left unnoticed and hence unpainted. A tell-tale came to know of this and accused him before Amīr Kalāl that he was disobedient. Amīr at once sent for Bahā'u-d-Dīn and when he came, he was asked to give an explanation about this delinquency. Bahā'u-d-Dīn replied to his master that he had carried out his order to the letter. Amīr could not believe his disciple and he asked him to show all the pots that were with him for the purpose. Bahā'u-d-Dīn exhibited all of the pots one by one and Amīr was much satisfied to see that all pots were painted with equal care and attention. When the exhibition was finished, Amīr gladly addressed his disciple as ' Ay Naqshband ' or ' O Painter '. The mischief monger witnessed this miracle, and became ashamed of his conduct. Henceforward Bahā'u-d-Dīn was called the 'Naqshband ' or the Painter and the order, he founded, was given the name of Naqshbandī (Khāliqiyah, pp. 122-123).

We have already said that the history, concerning India, of many of the orders, mentioned above, is very obscure. No Ṣūfī treatises furnish us with a clue to unfolding the unlighted pages of the history of Ṣūfiism in India. The list of fourteen orders given in the Aīn fairly suggests that up to the end of sixteenth century A.D. these orders were very prominent in India. But unfortunately Abū-l-Faḍl either failed or did not care to inform us about the men who first introduced these schools of Ṣūfī theosophy to India. Apart from the question of Aīn, other Ṣūfī treatises too failed to note this

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important history. Books on critical study of Ṣūfī theosophy are of comparatively recent origin in India and none can hope to get any adequate help from them at least in the historical concerns. However, we give below the names of a few orders and the first Ṣūfīs who introduced them to India :—

| Orders. | Names of those who first introduced them. | Probable date of introduction. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Chishtī .. | Khwājah Mu'inud-Dīn Chishtī (d. 1236). | 1193 A.D. |
| 2. Suhrawardī .. | (*a*) Jalālu-d-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 1225) | Before 1200 A.D. |
| | (*b*) Qāḍī Ḥamīdu-d-Dīn Nāgūrī (d. 1246). | About 1200 A.D. |
| | (*c*) Bahāu-d-Dīn Dhakhriya Multānī (d. 1266). | Between 1193–1200 A.D. |
| 3. Junaydī .. | (*a*) Dātā Ganj Bakhsh Lāhorī (d. 1072 A.D.). | Before 1072 A.D. |
| | (*b*) Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī (d. before 1400). | Between 1324–51 A.D. |
| 4. Shaṭṭārī .. | 'Abdisllāh Shaṭṭārī (d. 1406) | Before 1400 A.D. |
| 5. Qādirī .. .. | (*a*) 'Abdul-Karīmal-Jīlī (d. Between 1406–1417). | 1388 A.D. |
| | (*b*) Sayyad Ni'matullāh (d. 1430 A.D.). | Before 1400 A.D. |
| | (*c*) Sayyad Muḥammad Ghawth al-Jīlī (d. 1517). | 1482 A.D. |
| 6. Ūwaysī .. | Badi'u-d-Dīn Shāh-i-Madār (d. 1436). | About 1400 A.D. |
| 7. Naqshbandi .. | Khwājah Baqī Billāh (d. 1603).. | Before 1600 A.D. |

All the above seven orders carry no equal importance to the Muslims of India. Amongst these seven, as has been said before, only three, viz. Chishtī, Suhrawardī, and Qādirī orders had been and are still the most prominent orders in this country. Only of late, say from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the seventh order, i.e. Naqshbandī, has risen to prominence. Chishtī and Suhrawardī orders produced many famous Ṣūfīs, through the personal exertion of whom, Ṣūfiism had been established in India on a firm footing. During the period of reformation Qādirī order had a favourable time for its self-expansion among the Indians who regarded and still regard it as the most puritanic of all Ṣūfī orders existing in India. Almost sentimental regard and respect for the alleged puritanic character of the Qādirī order, had been best echoed by Mawlānā Abdul Ḥaqq Muḥaddith of Delhi (d. 1641 A.D.) in the few following lines, composed in honour of Abdū-l-Qādir al-Jīlī, the founder of this order :—

'Ghawth-i-A'azam is a proof of the way to faith ;
Surely he is a guide to the grandees of Islām.

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Amongst all saints he is the greatest,————
Just as a message-bearing prophet is the most exalted of all inspirational prophets.
Saints are his servants with heart and soul;
His feet rest on their shoulders.' (xx)

Such an excessive regard for the founder of the Qādirī order might have led the Indian Muslims to take it to be puritanic in character; otherwise we see very little difference between the Indian creeds of the Qādirī and the other orders. The creeds of Qādirī order that were introduced to India in the last part of the fourteenth century A.D., were perhaps substantially different from the pristine Qādirī teachings; otherwise Indian Qādirī creed should have been widely different from other Indian Ṣūfī creeds.

As Ṣūfīism in India spread and the Ṣūfīs recruited adherents of Indian blood, they and their theosophy no doubt lost original purity. In its subjective and speculative side, Ṣūfīism received and assimilated many Indian philosophical thoughts which we shall attempt in due course to point out to our readers with a desire to arrive at the truth. The thing we like to note here is this that the loss of purity (i.e. of the original Qurānic Islām) in the region of thought soon brought in many divisions in the fold of Ṣūfīism in India. These divisions were mostly concerning formal observances and practices. Just after the advent of Sūfīism to India its practices began to change and within a century, it became widely varied from the practices of other Muslim countries. Before the close of the thirteenth century, we see many divisions (which we may call sub-orders) had already made their appearance in the two chief orders, Chishtī and Suhrawardī. These do not differ much in principle from the parent orders, but they disagree with them in respect of many practices and observances. In this connection, Abū-l-Faḍl has rightly observed, 'Any chosen soul who in the mortification of the deceitful spirit and in the worship of God, introduced some new motive of conduct and whose spiritual sons in succession continued to keep alight the lamp of doctrine, was acknowledged as the founder of a new line.' (Aīn., III, p. 357.) Owing to this reason, many sub-orders sprang out of every order, within a few centuries. In many cases, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of these sub-orders and it is still more difficult to gather the life-history of those 'chosen souls' who first struck out new paths within the main orders.

It is said that the famous Chishtī order of India was split up into fourteen divisions; among them the following six are the principal sub-orders, of which we know something:—

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(i) Kirmāniyah :—Among the disciples of Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī (1142–1236) the first to differ from him, was 'Abdullah Kirmānī of Bīrbhūm, Bengal. The new sub-order, he founded, had a great hold on, and a large following in Rāḍha or Western Bengal, and in the modern province of Bihār and Orissa. We shall again elaborately discuss about this sub-order in the proper place.

(ii) Karīmiyah :—The next to revolt against his master was Pīr Karīm Sīlūnī. He died in the year 1264 A.D. (Tadhkirah, pt. I, p. 103).

(iii) Ṣābiriyah :—The third one to revolt, was 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir of Kalīr (1196–1291). He was a great Chishtī saint famous all over India. (For his life in detail, *vide* Tadhkirah, part II, pp. 2–9). This sub-order was named after the title of its founder and how its founder acquired this title of ' Ṣābir ' or the Patient, is an interesting story to tell. It is said that, ' One day Bābā Farīd, 'Alī Aḥmad's spiritual director and maternal uncle, bade him give food and alms on his behalf to the poor. This he did, and, though stationed at the kitchen (langar Khānah) night and day, he did not quit it to take his food at his own house. As he got weaker day by day, his mother asked him the reason, and he replied that he had taken no food for several days as his leader's order bade him distribute it to others, but did not authorise him to take any himself. Also as he was required to be present at the kitchen, he could not leave it. For this he received the name of Ṣābir (the patient one).' (In. Isl., p. 122.)

(iv) Niẓāmiyah :—Sulṭānu-'l-mashāikh Niẓāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā, the renowned Chishtī saint of Delhi was the founder of this sub-order. He was born at Badāyūn in the year 1236, the memorable date of Khwājah Mu'īn-d-Dīn Chishtī's death and died in Delhi in 1325 A.D. (For his life, *vide* Firishtah ; Tadhkirah, pt. I, pp. 87–103.) This famous saint of Delhi is largely responsible for the regular propagation of Chishtī creed in Bengal. His is one of the most popular sub-orders of India. His exquisite shrine in Delhi still attracts a large number of pilgrims.

(v) Ḥusāmiyah :—Ḥusāmu-'d-Dīn of Māṇikpur (Kaṛā) founded this sub-order in Bihār. He was a disciple of the famous Bengali saint Nūru-'d-Dīn Quṭb-i-'Ālam (d. 1416). His sub-order once had a strong hold on Bihār and northern Bengal. His teachings had been embodied in the book known as ' Rafīqu-'l-'Ārifīn ' or ' the Friend of the Gnostics ', after his death in the year 1477 A.D., by his devoted followers. (Tadhkirah, pt. II, pp. 36-37.)

(vi) Qalandariyah :—This order is regarded by the general consensus of Indian darvishes, as one of the important sub-orders

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of Chishtī order. Though the first Indian Qalandar Sharafu-'d-Dīn Bū 'Alī Shāh had an ordinary connection with the Chishtī saints of India, we see no reason to include this famous independent order to the sub-orders of Indian Chishtīs. Almost all the famous saints of India owed their ordinary allegiance to the practices and beliefs of more than one order. Bū 'Alī Shāh's connection with the Chishtī order does not warrant to be more intimate than that. In such a case, we are not inclined to regard it as a sub-order of the Chishtīs. It was quite an independent order, introduced afresh to India, by Bū 'Alī Shāh in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. But, in spite of all our disinclination to treat it as one of the sub-orders of the Chishtī order, we are recording an account of it here since a good section of the Indian Ṣūfīs have considered it to be so.

Dr. Titus writes the following about this Qalandari order—' the order was introduced into India by its founder, 'Alī Abū Yūsuf Qalandar, known as Bū 'Alī Qalandar, who was a native of Spain. After having been connected with the Baktashī and Chishtī order, he finally left them both, and organized an order of his own. In his travels he ultimately came to India, and settled down at Panipat, near Delhi, where he died in A.D. 1323. The tomb of Bū 'Alī Qalandar is the chief shrine of the order, and is generally venerated by his followers.' (Ind. Isl., p. 129.) Unfortunately we have not yet found the original sources for the above account. According to Aīn (Vol. III, pp. 368-369), the name of the saint of Panipat was Shaykh Sharaf and his patronymic was Abū 'Alī Qalandar. According to Tadhkirah (part I, pp. 120–123) and many other Ṣūfī treatises his name was Shaykh Sharafu'd-Dīn Bū Alī Shāh Qalandar. As regards his name, there is no difference between Aīn and other hagiologies and the Tadhkirah. We do not know, how can he be identified with 'Alī Abū Yūsuf of Spain. Sharafu-'d-Dīn Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar was never a Spaniard ; he was born and brought up in India. His father was a settler in Panipat, where he was born. (Tadhkirah, p. 120.) It seems probable that, Dr. Titus, having seen a seeming similarity between the patronymic of Sharafu-'d-Dīn and the name of Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalusī (Spain) the founder of the Qalandari order (D.I., p. 119), came to the above hasty and unwarrantable conclusion.

However, Shaykh Sharafu-'d-Dīn Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar was a great learned man. Before he renounced the world in pursuit of higher spiritual truth, he led the life of a preacher. He used to preach Islam and Islāmic theology in the mosque of ' Quwwatu-'l-Islām ', the great mosque built at the Quṭb by Quṭbu-'d-Dīn Aybak. (Tadhkirah, pt. I, pp. 120-121.) While he was in this way passing his peaceful life, suddenly his mind changed and the

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cause of change, he expresses in the following way:—'Unexpectedly, I received a call from God and throwing all my learned books into the Jumna, I set out on travel. In Rūm, I fell in with Shamsu-'d-Dīn Tabrīzī and Mawlānā Jalālu-'d-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273), who presented me with a robe and turban and with many books, which in their presence, I threw into the river. Subsequently I came into Panipat and there lived as a recluse.' (Aīn., III, p. 369.) He died at Panipat in the year 1323-24 A.D.

Sharafu-'d-Dīn Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar was not the founder of this order. He introduced it and popularized it in India. The founder of this order was 'Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalūsī, a native of Spain. He was for a time a member of the Bakhtashīs; but having been dismissed from the order, he established one of his own with the obligation of perpetual travelling' (D.I., p. 119). The date of this Spaniard Yūsuf is not known. He must have lived before the twelfth century A.D.; because, we hear of the existence of his famous order from Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (1147–1234) in his erudite book 'Awarifu'l-Mu'ārif (Chap. IX, pp. 90-91).

Those who belong to the order of Yūsuf al-Andalūsī are known as Qalandar which simply means 'a monk'. The Qalandars played an important part in the eastern romances (D.I., p. 119), and in the middle Bengali literature, the word generally signifies Muslim religious men of itinerant habits. 'In northern India the term "Qalandar" connotes one who leads about a bear or a monkey, from the dancing and tricks of which he earns a living; or it is associated with a poor, ragged beggar, obviously a Muslim, who goes from door to door singing and asking alms.' (In. Isl., p. 129.) It is now impossible to ascertain, how the followers of Bū 'Alī Shāh have now degenerated to ordinary beggars in northern India; but the association of Qalandars with tamed animals was of early origin. In the monastery of 'Alā-'u-'d-Dīn 'Alī'u-'l-Ḥaqq of Bengal (d. 1398 A.D.) of whom we shall write in some detail later on, we meet with a few Qalandars who had a cat with them (Tadhkirah, pt. I, pp. 143-44).

The Qalandars of early time were really ascetics: their supreme aim was the achievement of purity of heart. In order to achieve this, they cared for nothing in the world;—habits they shunned, friendship they avoided, and dictates of own heart they followed. They occasionally observed the outward practices of Sharī'at or formal Islāmic injunctions such as prayer and fasting; and they were not addicted to the pleasures of this world. (A.M., p. 91.) Complete indifference to the world was the chief characteristic of this class of saints. This world was as if an illusion to them, which they thought, can easily allure men to destruction. They

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gave a severe warning to the people of the world against the entanglement in the snare of this illusory world :—

'Be careful of the love of world and be careful of it ;
Suck not the blood of your heart for bread and wealth'

(Bū 'Alī.)

They believe that attainment of perfection cannot be had, unless a man forget this world ; two worlds of spirit and matter are situated at two opposite poles which can never meet ; the man who tries to make in him a meeting ground of these two worlds endeavours only in vain and runs after sheer impossibility :—

'When both these—the benefit of this world and the next—
can be obtained at hand ?
Do not indulge in these extravagances, O selfish one !
God and the mean world, thou desirest to obtain together ;
This is sheer fancy, impossibility and madness'

(Bū 'Alī.)

It is said that the Suhrawardī order was divided into some seventeen sub-orders, most of which do not seem to exist now. However, amongst these large number of sub-divisions, we know about the account of the following few orders :—

(i) Jalāliyah :—This was the most prominent and well-known sub-order of the Suhrawardī order. It was founded by Jalālu-'d-Dīn of Bukhārā (1307–1374 A.D.), generally known as Makhdūm Jahāniyah Jahān Gasht.

(ii) Lāl Shāhbāziyah :—This sub-order was founded by Lāl Shāhbāz of Sind (d. 1323 A.D.) who was a disciple of Shaykh Bahāu-'d-Dīn Dhakriyā of Multan (d. 1267 A.D.), (Tadhkirah, pt. III, p. 142). His real name was Sayyad 'Uthmān Shāh. He was born in the town of Marwand in Afghanistan. 'It is said that even when very young he had developed occult powers.' (S.S., p. 87.) He had been in Baghdād for some time and thence he came to India and settled in Sind. While he was coming to India, he 'is said to have been challenged on the way by a famous ascetic to bathe in a tub of burning oil. This is a feat which many of the old anchorites seem to have performed. 'Uthmān Shāh also successfully passed the test. Thus he earned the title of 'Lāl' (a ruby) as the ascetic said to him. 'Thou art indeed the Lāl of Lāl (the ruby of rubies).' This meant that 'Uthmān was real gold having been tested by fire. He received no injury, only his robe turned crimson. He wore a red robe up to the end and was called Lāl Shāhbāz. Shāhbāz means a falcon.' (S.S., pp. 90-91.) He had a large follow-

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ing in Sind generally known as Lāl Shāhbāziyah. Lāl Shāhbāz was the precursor of Ṣūfiism in Sind. His influence on the succeeding generations of the Ṣūfīs of Sind was exceptionally great.

(iii) Sadā Sohāgan :—Ḥaḍrat Shāh Mūsā Sadā Sohāg was the founder of this sub-order. His field of activity was Aḥmadābād in Sind where he was living incognito for many years in singing songs and playing on musical instruments. He always put on the dress of a woman, and publicly played the part of a female on all occasions. So people took him to be a mad man and left him alone in neglect for a long time. It is said that once in his life time, there was a severe drought in Aḥmadābād, owing to which famine broke out in the country. In this time of need, people were obliged to have recourse to the blessings of this unknown saint. When they requested him to pray for showers, he first of all refused to accede to their request saying that he was only a sinful and vicious woman ; but afterwards he conceded to the public and agreed to pray for a heavy downpour. Then he raised his hands towards the sky and began to say, ' O my dear husband ! if you do not send a shower just now, I shall forthwith divulge the secret of love with you '. Saying thus, he was about to break the bangles that he had been using round his two wrists for a long time. Before he did this, there came a heavy downpour. Thus he saved the country from an impending ruin and henceforward he became known to all as a wonderful saint of uncommon piety. He died at Ahmadābād in the year 1449 A.D. (Tadhkirah, pt. III, pp. 150–153.)

The followers of Shāh Mūsā styled themselves as ' Sadā Sohāgan ' ; because their spiritual guide used the title ' Sadā Sohāg ' or ' Ever-loving '. The phrase ' Sadā Sohāgan ' is prevalent among the womenfolk of Northern India. It is a benedictory phrase, used by a woman at the time of invoking prosperity and good-luck of her mate, meaning thereby, ' may your husband live for ever '. Because of the predominance of feminine practices, styles and dresses, among the followers of Shāh Mūsā, they use this feminine phrase as their title. We have seen, how Shāh Mūsā played the part of a woman throughout his life. He believed that the relation between God and man is that of a husband and wife. His followers too believed that and still they wear woman's dresses and bangles, and dance amidst other faqīrs in the guise of women uttering, ' Lā ilāha illallāh nūr muḥammad sallallah'. ' There is no god but Allah and His blessings be on Muḥammad, the light (of Allah).'

(iv) Mīrān Shāhī :—The name of the founder of this sub-order was, Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, entitled ' Mawj-i-Daryā ' or the wave of the Sea. His name is associated with the conquest of Chitore (1568 A.D.) by Akbar. When Akbar reached Chitore, he sent for

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the saint, who when brought before the Emperor, was requested by him to pray for his victory. He did this and the Emperor came out victorious with the fall of Chitore. At this, Akbar became very much pleased and devoted to the saint and granted 'Jāgīrs' in the State of Patiala and around Lahore, to the saint. The saint was born in the year 1531 A.D. and he died in 1604 A.D.

The Indian Qādirī order too, like its other Indian sister orders, became divided into many sub-orders. Among them, the following were the principle ones :—

(i) N'imatullāh Shāhī :—Sayyad N'imatullāh Shāh was the founder of this sub-order. He died in the year 1430 A.D.

(ii) Bahlūl Shāhī :—The full name of the founder of this sub-order was Shaykh Bahlūl Daryājī. He spent his whole life in travelling and was one of the famous darvishes of the Punjab. He died in the year 1575 A.D. (Tadhkirah, pt. III, pp. 25-26.)

(iii) Qamīṣiyah :—Ḥaḍrat Shāh Qamīṣ was the founder of this sub-order. He was one of the descendants of 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of Jīlān (1078–1166 A.D.). When he came to India, he settled down at Salūrah in Bengal. This Sālurah seems to be identical with Sālār in the district of Murshidābād, Bengal. Naṣrullāh, a pious man of the locality where the saint settled down, gave his daughter in marriage to him. In course of time he became very famous and attracted around him a large following. He died in 1584 A.D. and was buried at Sālār. (Tadhkirah, pt. III, p. 27.)

(iv) Naw Shāhī :—The real name of the founder of this sub-order was Ḥājī Muḥammad Qādirī Binnaw Shāh Ganj Bakhsh. His field of work was in the Punjab where he died in 1691 A.D. (Tadhkirah, pt. III, pp. 70-71.)

(v) Binawā :—'Abdullāh Ghulām 'Alī Shāh of Delhi was its founder. He was a famous darvish of his time. He died in Delhi in 1824 A.D.

From Naqshbandi order only one sub-order was formed and that was Mujaddadiyah, founded by Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī (1563–1624 A.D.).

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# THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

## II

### THE BHAGAVAT-SAṂDARBHA

*By* S. K. De

The principal object of this Saṃdarbha is to establish and explain the concept of the Bhagavat. Having explained the concept of the Absolute as implied by the phrase *advaya-jñāna-tattva* in the verse cited above from the *Bhāgavata* i, 2, 11, Jīva Gosvāmin now turns to an interpretation of the second line of the same verse, which further amplifies that concept. The line signifies that although the Absolute is one and indivisible, it has threefold aspect, according to the particular capacity of realization of the devotee (*upāsaka-yogyatā-vaiśiṣṭyena*). The same ultimate reality, therefore, can be viewed respectively as Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat, although it is never, as Jīva Gosvāmin carefully notes, designated by the term Jīva. Our author now proceeds in this Saṃdarbha to explain these three gradations of the Absolute, and deals principally with the concept of Bhagavat as the highest and most perfect manifestation of the Advaya-jñāna-tattva. It is not perfectly clear if this doctrine of Trinity is actually and consistently implied in the *Bhāgavata* ; but it is, at any rate, one of the fundamental postulates of the school which Jīva Gosvāmin represents. It is possible to find conflicting texts existing on the subject, but our author attempts to reconcile them, partly by rejecting those which go against the theory, partly by ingenuities of interpretation, and partly by presuming that the apparently contradictory terms or ideas are to be taken in different senses in different contexts, e.g. by presuming that some apply to the concept of the Brahma, some to that of the Bhagavat.

The concept of the Paramātman and its relation to Prakṛti and Jīva are dealt with in detail in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* ; the present Saṃdarbha, as its title implies, has for its principal theme the concept of the Bhagavat. There is no need for a Brahma-saṃdarbha, for if the concept of the Bhagavat is clearly realized, that of the Brahma will also be understood, and the latter concept has already been fairly fully explained by the school of Advaita philosophers. The Brahma (neuter) is in fact the *nirviśeṣa* state of the Bhagavat, and

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as the non-differentiated substance it corresponds to the Brahma of the school of Śaṃkara. But the Bhagavat represents the highest being in the hierarchy of spiritual manifestations, the most perfect person in whom all the *viśeṣas* are most perfectly developed. In other words, the Brahma is unqualified, but the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of blessed and perfect attributes. In the Bhagavat all the divine Śaktis or Energies eternally come into full play, but in the Brahma they remain in a potential or indiscrete state (*avivikta-śakti-śaktimattā-bhedatayā pratipādyamānam*). The essence of the Bhagavattā or Lordship consists in this actualization of the Śaktis, the nature of which will be explained later on ; and the Bhagavat as the religious concrete can be realized in the full display of his distinctive features, potencies, attributes, dwelling places and associates. The Brahma, on the other hand, is the philosophical Absolute, in which these attributes and powers remain undifferentiated ; it is devoid of all *viśeṣas*[1] and forms an absolutely homogeneous and indivisible substance. Thus, thought cannot be predicated as an attribute of the Brahma, but thought forms its very essence, i.e., the Brahma is not a thinking being but the thought-substance itself ; in the same way, the Brahma cannot be said to exist but it is existence itself. The Bhagavat is regarded as the Lord in full manifestation (*pūrṇa āvirbhāva*), because the appearance in this case is accompanied by all the divine Energies (*sa-śaktika āvirbhāva*), while the Brahma from this point of view constitutes an imperfect or incomplete manifestation (*asamyag āvirbhāva*). The sacred texts, therefore, describe the Brahma as the bodily lustre (*tanubhā*) of the Bhagavat, and in the *Gītā* the Bhagavat describes himself as the *pratiṣṭhā* of the Brahma. In other words, the realization of the Bhagavat, as taught by the theistic Vaiṣṇava school, is held to indicate a stage superior to the realization of the

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[1] The theory of Viśeṣa or differentiation is dealt with in some detail by Rādhādāmodara in his *Vedānta-syamantaka* ((ed. U. C. Bhattacharya, Lahore 1930, pp. 11-12), a work which, in spite of its name, belongs to the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism and attempts to reconcile Vedānta doctrines with its sectarian tenets ; it is also explained by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *Siddhānta-ratna* (ed. Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares, 1927). According to these writers the Viśeṣa is not exactly a difference but it functions as a difference (*viśeṣaś ca bheda-pratinidhiḥ*) and produces the consciousness of difference when there is no real difference (*bhedābhāve'pi tat-kāryaṃ pratyāyayan dṛṣṭaḥ*). It is thus the power by which there is a realization of difference in non-difference (*bhedābheda*), or as Baladeva puts it : *yatra bhedābhāvo bheda-kāryaṃ ca pramīte, tatraiva bheda-pratinidhir viśeṣaḥ kalpyate*. It is by means of this *viśeṣa* that the same substance appears as different, and this *viśeṣa* is a power inherent in the Lord who, as the Bhagavat, thus exhibits himself as the Brahma and Paramātman. The whole Acintya-Bhedābheda theory of the school is based upon this conception of differentiation or Viśeṣa.

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Brahma of the Advaita-vādins ; and we are told that the Brahma is the object of realization of the Paramahaṃsas who are Jñāna-yogins, but the Bhagavat reveals himself only to the Bhāgavata-paramahaṃsas, who are Bhakti-yogins. Although the Bhagavat is one and indivisible reality, this distinction is possible because some Sādhakas do not possess the fullest capacity of realization ; to them the highest reality therefore appears in the general or incomplete form of the Brahma (*śrī-bhagavān evākhaṇḍaṃ sādhaka-viśeṣāṇāṃ tādṛśā-yogyatvābhāvāt sāmānya-bhāvodayatvena tad-asamyaṅmūrtir eva brahma*). Such Sādhakas are the philosophers of the Advaita school, but the Bhaktas proceed a stage further. There is, however, no absolute difference between the two forms, for the difference is one of degree only, and the limitation is in relation to the capacity and stage of realization of the devotee.

In order to elucidate the concept of the Bhagavat further, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to discuss and analyse its attributes and explain its divine Energies or Śaktis. He begins by showing that these attributes reside really and eternally (*nitya*) in the Bhagavat in intimate or organic relation, which is understood in philosophical terminology as the Samavāya relation, as opposed to the mere Saṃyoga or separable relation. In other words, the Guṇas and Śaktis are not adventitious or *āropita*, but essential or *svarūpabhūta*. In this connexion the author refers to the etymology or Nirukti of the word Bhagavat and shows, on the authority of the Purāṇas, that the various syllables indicate the various attributes and Śaktis which go to make up the concept. Thus, the syllable *bha* in the name implies the sense of supporter and protector (*bhartṛ* or *saṃbhartṛ*) and refers to his creating and sustaining the Bhakti of his devotee ; while the syllable *ga* bears the sense of leading (*gamayitṛ* or *netṛ*) and signifies the idea of his making the devotee attain the bliss of divine love (*premānanda*). Altogether the name is made to imply the totality of the virtues of Aiśvarya (power), Vīrya (potency), Yaśas (fame), Śrī (prosperity), Jñāna (knowledge) and Vairāyga (non-attachment), which constitute the sixfold lordliness of the Bhagavat.[1] The terms are thus explained : Aiśvarya=*Sarva-vaśīkāritā* (power to subjugate all), Vīrya=*Maṇi-mantrāder iva prabhāvaḥ* (magical potency similar to that of precious stones, magic spells, etc.), Yaśas=*Vāṅ-manaḥ-śarīrāṇāṃ saduṇya-khyātiḥ* (fame arising from excellent qualities of mind, body and speech), Śrī=*Sarva-prakāra-saṃpat* (all kinds of prosperity), Jñāna=*Sarvajñatvam* (omniscience), and Vairāgya=

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[1] In another Purāṇic version these six virtues are enumerated as Jñāna, Śakti, Bala, Aiśvarya, Vīrya and Tejas.

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*Prapañca-vastvanāsaktiḥ* (non-attachment to the things of the phenomenal world). These attributes, however, must be conceived as having received their perfect and infinite development in the Bhagavat.

But Jīva Gosvāmin takes pains to show that the three Prākṛta Guṇas (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) can be predicated only of the Jīva, and not of the Bhagavat, who is beyond their sphere. We shall see later that these Guṇas are due to the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, but having eternally subjugated or transcended this Śakti, which is extraneous to his essential self, the Lord himself is entirely unaffected by its influence. If therefore he has any Guṇa, it is *aprākṛta* or non-natural. We are told that in the Vaikuṇṭha where he dwells, there is no Sattva, Rajas or Tamas ; but there is only a function of his Svarūpa-śakti or Intrinsic Energy, viz., a pure existence or Śuddha Sattva, which is *prākṛtātīta* or beyond the sphere of the phenomenal world. It is called Pure or Śuddha because it is untouched by the influence of his extraneous Māyā-śakti, to which are due the evolution of Prakṛti and the Guṇas. The absence of Rajas indicates, we are further informed, that the Lord is incapable of being created (*asṛjyatva*), that of Tamas implies that he is indestructible (*anāśatva*), and that of Sattva signifies that he consists of pure existence (*Sat*), pure consciousness (*Cit*) and pure bliss (*Ānanda*).

In order to understand the concept of the Brahma and the Bhagavat, as well as of the Paramātman, it would be necessary to understand the nature of Śakti or Divine Energy, upon whose degree and quality of display the distinction really rests. Jīva Gosvāmin now turns to the peculiar theory of Śakti which his theistic school teaches ; but he points out at the outset that the Śaktis possess the two characteristics of Acintyatva and Svābhāvikatva. By Acintyatva is meant that the Śaktis in themselves are inscrutable and beyond the reach of human thought and reason (*tarkāsaha*) or that they are capable of bringing about impossible effects (*durghaṭa-ghaṭakatva*) ; but it also refers to the peculiar relation in which these Śaktis stand to the Śaktimat, the possessor of the Śakti, and which consists of an inscrutable relation of difference in non-difference (*acintya-bhedābheda*). By Svābhāvikatva is meant that the Śaktis are natural to the Lord and constitute in their totality his very self or essence, although in his infinite power he actually transcends them. These ideas will be made clear as we proceed with a detailed consideration of the theory of Śakti.

The Śakti or Divine Energy of the Bhagavat is viewed in three aspects and is accordingly grouped into three classes, viz., Śakti as Svarūpabhūtā, Śakti as Taṭasthā and Śakti as Bahiraṅgā. These are successively called Parā or Svarūpa-śakti, Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti,

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and Bahiraṅgā or Māyā-śakti. The division bases itself upon a text of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* which styles them respectively as Parā, Kṣetrajñā and Avidyā. The present Saṃdarbha, which is concerned chiefly with the question of the Svarūpa of the Bhagavat, deals naturally with the Svarūpa-śakti, leaving the consideration of the other two Śaktis to the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* to which they are primarily relevant. The Svarūpa or Parā Śakti, as the name itself implies, may be described as that Energy which constitutes the intrinsic perfect selfhood of the Bhagavat and is therefore inseparable from him. This Energy is thus Antaraṅgā or intrinsic, as opposed to the other Māyā-śakti which is Bahiraṅgā or external and never affects his true self. This Māyā-śakti causes the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, and consists of an aspect of Bahiraṅga Vaibhava or extraneous power in the form of the material Prakṛti or Pradhāna. Although unconnected with the essential self, this Energy is as real as the other, and not a power of illusion such as the Advaita-vādins presume ; the resulting phenomenal world therefore is also relatively real. Through this Śakti, the Bhagavat limits himself into his partial manifestation as the Paramātman, who is thus the godhead immanent in Spirit (Jīva) and Nature (Prakṛti). It must be admitted that a Śakti cannot stand by itself, it must inhere in a body ; in this sense the Bhagavat is as much the substratum of the Svarūpa-śakti as of the Māyā-śakti. But this Māyā-śakti is said to be extraneous to his essence or Svarūpa, for this self-determined limitation does not exist in his highest form of the Bhagavat and is not perceived by the Jīva as soon as the latter releases itself from the diverting influence of this Māyā-śakti by the power of Bhakti, which is an aspect of the display of his Svarūpa-śakti. Thus, the highest form of the deity is uncontaminated by the Māyā-śakti, and this highest uncontaminated form, therefore, can be attained only when the Jīva is no longer under the bondage created by the Māyā-śakti. The Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti is, as the name itself implies, that form of the divine Energy which being distinct from both, does not fall under either of the above categories of Antaraṅgā and Bahiraṅgā Śaktis, and which is yet related to both. The Jīva or individual self is an aspect of this Śakti which the Bhagavat displays in his role of Paramātman. Being subject to the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva cannot, until released, be connected with the Svarūpa-śakti, which is beyond the affection of the Māyā-śakti ; but since the Bhagavat is the ultimate essential source of the Jīva, who can in spite of deviation return to the Lord by shaking off the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva can yet be finally connected with the essential Svarūpa-śakti. Hence to explain the nature and position of the Jīva it is necessary to presume an

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intermediate Taṭasthā Śakti which is connected with, but distinct from, both the Antaraṅgā (Svarūpa) and Bahirangā (Māyā) Śaktis.

Thus, in the highest form of the Bhagavat there is a direct and full display of his Svarūpa-śakti, which goes to make up his Svarūpa or perfect self. The other two Śaktis are displayed indirectly through the medium of his partial form of Paramātman. In other words, these Śaktis have scope only when the Jīva is in the earlier deluded (*vimohita*) stage, but when it attains the Bhagavat himself, the Jīva is subject only to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Lord, of which Bhakti is a function. The highest form of the Bhagavat himself is indifferent to the work of the Paramātman or the other two Śaktis, which give rise to creation, rebirth and bondage ; but this indifference implies that the Bhagavat possesses the attribute of impartial benevolence to all. The delusion (*saṃmohana*) of the Jīva produced by the Māyā-śakti is not in itself pleasing to the Lord, and in the highest form of the Bhagavat he has nothing to do with it ; but it is due to the Jīva's natural averseness (*bahirmukhatā*) to the Bhagavat. This disinclination at a lower stage is due, again, to his Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti, which is equally prone to his intrinsic Svarūpa- and to his extrinsic Māyā-Śaktis. But the question arises—why should the Bhagavat, who is merciful to the Jīva, permit this act of delusion by the Māyā-śakti which is a cause of suffering ? The reply is that the Māyā as a Śakti having power over creation is, as such, an eternal servant of the Lord, towards whom it is not possible for him to assume a hostile attitude ; but as he is at the same time full of mercy to the Jīva he desires that the Jīva should for fear of Māyā take refuge in him and work for deliverance. As to the ultimate question of the reason or necessity of such complicated display of three kinds of power, the answer is that it is an aspect of his inscrutable (*acintya*) Līlā or divine sport, and the existence and character of the threefold Śakti, as explained above, are facts vouched for by the *Bhāgavata* and other scriptures. If one objects to the absurdity of imagining two contradictory Śaktis residing in the deity, the reply is that the Lord's power is inscrutable and even contradictions merge in him.

The Svarūpa-śakti, viewed in its different aspects, is classified, on the authority of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, into Saṃdhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī Śaktis, which correspond roughly to the Sat, Cit and Ānanda of conventional philosophy. The Saṃdhinī Śakti is the energy of existence of the self-existent being, which also upholds the existence of the Jīva and Prakṛti. It is in relation to this Śakti that the Bhagavat is described as the ultimate reality, and the world and the individual as relative reality (*sattva-rūpo'pi yayā sattvaṃ dadhāti dhārayati ca sā saṃdhinī*). By the Saṃvit Śakti, the Bhagavat is

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both the knowledge and the knower, and makes others possessed of knowledge (*jñāna-rupo'pi yayā jānāti jñāpayati ca sā saṃvit*). The last Hlādinī Śakti is the Bhagavat's energy of infinite bliss, which also causes in the devotee pure bliss (*hlāda-rūpo'pi bhagavān yayā hlādate hlādayati ca sā hlādinī*). These Śaktis exist infinitely in the Bhagavat ; but since the Jīva is only an *aṇu* or infinitesimal part of the Bhagavat, the smallest atom of the limitless divine existence, knowledge and bliss is capable of causing the existence, knowledge and bliss of the Jīva.

All these Śaktis are regarded as attributes of the Bhagavat, existing inseparably and eternally in him, they are yet graded in a peculiar manner. Although all the above three aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti in their totality form the very self of the Bhagavat and therefore constitute an undifferentiated unity, yet of Saṃdhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī each succeeding Śakti is supposed to include and supersede the preceding (*tatra cottarottara-guṇotkarṣeṇa saṃdhinī saṃvid hlādinīti kramo jñeyaḥ*). The Hlādinī Śakti, therefore, is the most important, as it includes and transcends the other two. This prominence given to the Hlādinī Śakti explains the peculiar standpoint of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism ; for it conceives that its deity is essentially composed of infinite bliss, which is his highest attribute and which necessarily involves the other attributes of knowledge and existence. By this Śakti also he has the power of communicating atoms of this infinite bliss to his Associates (Pārṣadas) and his Devotees (Bhaktas). It must be noted in this connexion that the Svarūpa-śakti is supposed to take two forms, viz., the Svarūpa, which refers to the Lord himself, and Svarūpa-Vaibhava, which includes his Associates, his Residence, his Devotees etc., which are thus parts or functions of himself. The theory which gives exclusive prominence to the Hlādinī Śakti may therefore be expressed in theological language by saying that this is the eternal Līlā or divine sport of the Lord, which consists of pure and infinite bliss and which he enjoys with his Associates and Devotees ; for they are merely aspects of the divine energy, and their very existence, consciousness and bliss are relative to the absolute existence, consciousness and bliss of the Lord. This brings us to the idea, to which we shall revert later on, of the Lord as Rasa or Ānanda, which attribute is nothing but an aspect of the Hlādinī Śakti. This Rasa, which constitutes the Svarūpa of the Lord, must be taken ultimately to signify the highest and best Rasa recognised by the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstra of this school, viz., Mādhurya or Madhura Rasa, which is another name of the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment. The attitude is thus a kind of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious ideas in the intimate language of earthly passion, for it

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conceives of divine love as a reflex of the human emotion. The Śaktis are accordingly represented, in terms of human relationship considered in its emotional aspect, as his consorts or wives ; and this devout yet sensuous attitude entirely humanises the deity and his consorts and presents them in a loveable human relation to their Associates and Devotees. As the Lord is not only infinite bliss himself but he also makes others enjoy the bliss, the Bhakti or ecstatic devotion, by means of which a taste of this infinite bliss is attained, is also an aspect or function of the Hlādinī Śakti. We shall see later in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* that as Kṛṣṇa is identified with the Bhagavat, Rādhā, who is his eternal consort and greatest Bhakta, is represented as the highest form of his Hlādinī Śakti.

This brings us to the question of the nature of the relation of the Śaktis to the Śaktimat. As the Jīva is also an aspect of the divine Jīva-śakti, the relation is the same as that between the Jīva and Paramātman ; and the question accordingly assumes importance as one of the fundamental metaphysical questions regarding the relationship of the individual to the universal self. We shall have occasion to deal with the question from this point of view in connexion with its treatment in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha ;* but we may briefly indicate here that the relation between the Śaktis and the Possessor of the Śaktis is represented as an inscrutable (*acintya*) relation of non-difference as well as of difference (*bhedābheda*), the whole theory thus receiving the designation of Acintya-bhedābheda-vāda, a peculiar point of view which distinguishes the Bengal school from other Vaiṣṇava schools. The Śaktis are non-different from the Bhagavat, inasmuch as they are parts or Aṃśas of the divine being ; but the very fact that they are parts only makes the superlativeness of divine attributes inapplicable to them, and there is thus an inevitable difference. The Śaktis therefore possess a reality which is indeed relative to that of the Lord but which is nevertheless absolute in itself. The respective character of the reality, however, of the three kinds of Śakti, viz., Antaraṅgā, Bahiraṅgā and Taṭasthā, is not, as their names are designed to imply, entirely identical. This distinction has already been explained above, but it is also illustrated by an analogy. It is like the threefold aspect in which the sun manifests itself, viz., the solar disc (*maṇḍala*), the solar rays (*raśmi*) and the solar reflexion or halo (*bimba*) ; the Antaraṅgā or Svarūpa-Śakti corresponding to the luminous disc or body of the sun itself, the Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti to its rays scattered away but ultimately contained in the sun itself as the original source, and the Bahiraṅgā or the Māyā-śakti being regarded as the reflection which is a real but dazzling emanation from the solar disc, obscuring it, but existing outside and not forming an integral part of the sun.

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Although this is the principal classification of the Śaktis, they are said to be infinite in number, and all of them are presented as wives of the Lord. As such they are distinctive deities having name, form and personality. The Antaraṅgā Mahāśakti of the Lord is Lakṣmī or Mahālakṣmī, who forms his Svarūpa and, being the first manifestation, is the ground or Āśraya of all other Śaktis. The Bahiraṅgā Śakti is of course named Māyā. Each of these again has many aspects and is named accordingly. The text mentions only some of the aspects of Mahālakṣmī as Svarūpa-śakti ; but each of them can also have an additional significance as aspects of the Bahiraṅgā Māyā-śakti. Thus Śrī as an aspect of Mahālakṣmī signifies divine splendour or Bhagavat-saṃpat ; but Śrī as an aspect of Māyā means worldly splendour or Jagat-saṃpat. In the same way, Ilā is both Līlā-śakti and Bhū-śakti ; and Kānti, Kīrti etc. are similarly interpreted as possessing two meanings and included in both the aspects of Śakti. As an aspect of Lakṣmī, Vidyā is the source of spiritual knowledge (Tattva-jñāna), and of the bliss of divine love (Premānanda) by which the Lordship of the Bhagavat is suppressed voluntarily and posited into a personal relationship with the devotee ; but as an aspect of Māyā it becomes Avidyā which has the function of obscuring and causing the Jīva to forget his own nature. Lakṣmī is again classified into Saṃdhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī ; but the support (*ādhāra*) of these Śakti-mūrtis are Vimalā, Jayā, Yogā, Prahvī, Īśānā and Anugrahā. The functions of these are indicated roughly by the names themselves, e.g. Jayā=Utkarṣaṇī, power of eminence ; Yogā=Yogamāyā or Sarjanārthā Śakti, creative power ; Prahvī=Vicitrānanda-sāmarthya-hetuḥ, the power which causes the capacity for excellent bliss ; Īśānā=Sarvādhikāritā, mastery over all beings, etc. The Māyā is to be similarly classified, but the subject is dealt with later on in the next book. The Jīva-śakti is Guṇamayī, consisting of the three Guṇas, viz., Sāttvikī, which causes bliss (Hlādakarī), Tāmasī which causes suffering (Tāpakarī), and Rājasī which possesses the power of causing a mixed effect (Miśrā).

This conception of inherent Śaktis in the Lord naturally presumes the idea of the Bhagavat as the Perfect Person, and conceives him not as a formless entity but as an embodied substance in which inhere infinite attributes and energies. Scriptural texts are cited in which the supreme being is described as *cid-ghana*, *ānanda-ghana*, *rasa-ghana* etc., and it is maintained that the word *ghana* (=compact or solid) implies the idea of Mūrti or image, in accordance with the dictum *mūrtau ghanaḥ* of Pāṇini. The Lord is therefore not *amūrta* or unembodied, but possesses a blessed Mūrti or form (*sa ca bhagavān pūrvodita-lakṣaṇa-śrīmūrtyātmaka eva, na tvamūrtaḥ*). It is, however,

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clearly explained that by this form or body of the Lord, his Mūrti or Vigraha, is not to be understood any gross or sensuous body like that of human beings. The limited limbs and senses of the Jīva are due to the Jīva-śakti only, and therefore they are phenomenal (*prākṛta*) and material (*jaḍa*) ; but the Lord in his Svarūpa-śakti possesses a non-phenomenal and spiritual body. This body consists entirely of pure existence, knowledge and bliss, and he is therefore called Saccidānanda-vigraha. As there is no distinction of form and essence (*svagata-bheda*) in the Bhagavat, there is no differentiation between the different organs, so that existence, knowledge and bliss, which constitute his form, are eternally simultaneous and non-different from his essence. The divine person (*vigraha*) is therefore identical with the divine essence (*svarūpa*) in the supreme unity of the godhead. The attributes, like intelligence, bliss etc., are merely terms or symbols to indicate aspects of his essence; and their totality is called form or body because of its eternally self-manifest character (*vyakti*). His body, or what may be called his body, is his soul (*dehadehi-bhidā cātra neśvare vidyate*) ; it is eternal, supernatural and spiritual, and has nothing gross, natural and material in it ; but at the same time it is not *nirviśeṣa* or undifferentiated, it is something real and *saviśeṣa*, possessing its own divine attributes. He is *vikaraṇa* in the sense that he does not possess the human organs of senses but he is also *sa-karaṇa* in the sense that he possesses divine or non-natural forms of these. The Śruti texts establish that this body is *like* that of the human being, but the similarity is only in respect of form and not of the ingredients. The Lord is not subject to change (*vikāra-rahita*) or limitation, but by his Svarūpa-śakti he can limit himself into a conditioned or unconditioned form (*svarūpa-śaktyaiva paricchinnam aparicchinnaṃ ca tad evaṃ vapuḥ*). Hence Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat never entered into a gross body like an ordinary Jīva, but only appeared to do so (*dehīva jīva iva ābhāti krīḍati, iva-śabdena śrīkṛṣṇas tu na jīvavat pṛthag dehaṃ praviṣṭavān iti gamyate*). This divine form is no doubt unthinkable, but for purpose of meditation or devotion it is thinkable. The scriptures describe the form sometimes as two-handed, sometimes as four-handed, or even six-handed or eight-handed, and as possessing head, eyes, ears, feet etc. The assumption of these various forms does not imply impermanence or changefulness, for they are all real and eternal (*nitya*) and coexist in him, like the diverse forms of a Vaidūrya-maṇi (lapis lazuli) which make their appearance simultaneously. But Jīva Gosvāmin cites authorities to show that, although no particular divine form exists apart from his other forms, the two-handed form of the divinity, of which presumably man is the image, is the best and most beautiful for purposes of

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meditation and worship; for it exhibits his attributes to their best advantage.

The Lordship of the Bhagavat which is described above is thus intrinsic to his selfhood; and the attributes and energies have no touch of gross quality in them but inhere in his essential character (*svarūpabhūta*). The Vigraha or the form of the Bhagavat is not something different from his essence but is eternally identical with it (*pūrṇa-svarūpabhūta*) and therefore possessed of essential reality. It follows from this that when the Lordship or Vibhutva is manifested in the state of an Avatāra it is also intrinsic, real and eternal, even if the Avatāra seemingly belongs to a past age. The Lord is unborn but when we speak of his birth, only appearance or Prādurbhāva is meant (*ajananasya janmetyanena prābhurbhava-mātraṃ bodhayati*). Though the appearance occurs in the phenomenal world, it is itself not phenomenal but an expression at will of his essential divine Svarūpa. Although the chief Vigraha of the Bhagavat is one, he is capable of assuming simultaneously infinite forms (*ekam api mukhyaṃ bhagavad-rūpaṃ yugapad ananta-rūpātmakaṃ bhavati*), whether these forms be mere Prakāśas, Āvirbhāvas or Avatāras; hence his attribute of Sarva-rūpa-svabhāvatva or the capacity of assuming all kinds of forms and shapes. Even when the deity assumes phenomenal forms, he retains his non-phenomenal Svarūpa. But he appears to the devotee in the form or plane of realization which has been attained by his devotion (*yathā yādṛśaṃ yeṣām upāsanā-phalodaya-bhūmikāvasthānaṃ tadā tathaiva te paśyanti*). It is, however, laid down that the deity always appears only in the form which is agreeable to his devotee. If he appeared in the disagreeable form of an ox to Rantideva, that form was illusory (*māyika*), for what is supersensuous cannot be horrible (*aprākṛtatvena kutsitatvāsaṃbhavāt*).

Having established the general character of the Bhagavad-vigraha, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to analyse in detail some of its special characteristics. These attributes are not something imposed from outside but they form invariable (*avyabhicārin*) aspects of the divine essence and therefore they are the deity's *svābhāvika dharma*. These may be briefly summarised here as forming the constituent elements of the concept of Lordship: (1) The attribute of all-pervasiveness (*sarva-gatatva*), by means of which the Bhagavat can not only pervade the universe, but, in spite of being one, he can appear as many at different places, not in a different but in the same form. This, we are told, is not merely *Kāya-vyūha*, or mere illusory multiplication of the same form, all of which act in the same way in different places; for here, though the various forms are the same, they can act in different ways (*teṣāṃ prakāśānāṃ tayaivā-*

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*cintya-śaktyā pṛthak pṛthag eva kriyādīni bhavanti*). Each of these appearances thus is not illusory but real, and has the same divine characteristics and capacity of independent action (*ekatve'pi pṛthak prakāśatvam, teṣu pṛthak pṛthak kriyādhiṣṭhānāditvam*). In other words, each appearance (*prakāśa-bheda*) has different egoism (*abhimāna-bheda*) and different series of acts (*kriyābheda*), and this may occur simultaneously at the same or different places. (2) The attribute of self-luminosity or self-manifestation (*sva-prakāśatva*). (3) The attribute of surpassing both the gross and the subtle (*sthūla-sūkṣmātiriktatva*), implying also the fact that he is beyond mundane existence (*sat*) and non-existence (*asat*). (4) Non-liability to change or limitation (*avikāritva*). This attribute implies that the Lord is not subject to the six Vikāras or forms of evolution, viz., Janma (birth), Astitva (existence), Vṛddhi (growth), Pariṇāma (transformation), Kṣaya (decay) and Vināśa (destruction). He is also independent of the fourfold fruits of action (*caturvidha-kṛtya-phala-rāhitya*), viz., Utpatti (production), Prāpti (acquisition), Vivṛti (expansion) and Saṃskāra (fruition or merit). (5) Possession of supersensuous spirit-form as the indwelling spirit (*pratyag-rūpatva*), not visible to the mortal eye. Hence he is the Antaryāmin or the inward ruler, and is called Adhokṣaja, which term is explained as signifying that he exists beyond perception of the senses (*akṣajam aindriyakaṃ jñānaṃ tad adho'rvāg eva yasya*). He can be seen or perceived only in virtue of his own energy (*nija-śaktitaḥ*), and this energy comes into play only through his grace (*tādṛśa-śakter apyullāse tat-kṛpaiva kāraṇam*). (6) Non-liability to mundane (*prākṛta*) birth (*janma*), form (*rūpa*) and action (*karma*), but the capacity of assuming all these in a real and eternal character (*nitya*) by his Svarūpa-śakti. We are told that such assumption of birth, though real and eternal in character (*nitya*), constitutes only an Āvirbhāva (*śrīmūrter ayam āvirbhāva eva*), and not actual mundane or human birth (*na tvasmadādivajjanma*) ; but it either resembles mundane birth or is sometimes different from it (*prākṛta-janmānukāraṇenāvirbhāva-mātratvaṃ, kvacid ananukāraṇena vā*). In other words, the appearance assumed in the phenomenal world is really non-phenomenal, although in all respects it may appear as phenomenal (*prapañca-vad bhāti na tu prapañca-rūpam*). The deity is really Svayaṃ-rūpa, i.e. his form is identical with his essence ; hence if he assumes the attributes of birth, childhood etc., these are not phenomenal, but aspects of his inherent character (*bhagavadvigrahe śiśutvādayo vicitrā eva dharmāḥ svābhāvikāḥ santi*). Of the same character is the form (e.g., Matsya) which is assumed in an Avatāra ; and this form as well as the exploits of an Avatāra he can assume or discard at will. In the same way, his Karma or action is not guided by any motive (*na tu prayojanā-*

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*pekṣatva*), inasmuch as the Bhagavat is motiveless (*āpta-kāma*), but it is due to his Ānanda or Hlādinī Śakti (*tathā karmaṇo vailakṣaṇyaṃ svarūpānanda-vilāsa-mātratvam*). It is an aspect of his Līlā or divine sport which is natural to his essence of bliss (*svarūpānanda-svābhāvikyeva tallīlā*). As Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa explains the idea in his *Govinda-bhāṣya* : That the most perfect should proceed to the act of diversified creation is due to his Līlā, which is not preceded by any desire of the fruits of action for himself (*paripūrṇasyāpi vicitra-sṛṣṭau pravṛttir līlaiva kevalā, na tu sva-phalānusaṃdhipūrvikā*). Jīva Gosvāmin further explains that this Līlā arises from the awakening of the bliss intrinsic to the deity, and it has no reference to any particular motive of himself (*svarūpānandodrekeṇa svaprayojanam ananusandhāyaiva līlāyate*).

In this way Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to analyse the concept of Lordship or Bhagavattā and discusses in detail the various divine attributes which constitute its principal features. One of the interesting points which he deals with as a fundamental creed of his school is the theory of the efficacy and eternity of the blessed name itself (*nāma-māhātmya*). The theory is based partly on the old doctrine of the eternity of sound ; but the Bengal school goes a step further in maintaining the essential identity of the name and the possessor of the same (*nāma-nāminor abhedaḥ*). In other words, he believes that the name itself is the essence of the Lord (*bhagavat-svarūpam eva nāma*), so that one who utters the name with devotion attains the Lord himself. Not only the name but even the syllables (*akṣara*) or its symbol (*saṃketa*, e.g., the syllable *Om*) are enough to produce the same effect. Just like the Avatāras of the Lord, this is a kind of *Varṇa-Avatāra* (*avatārāntaravat parameśvarasya varṇa-rūpeṇāvatāro'yam*). The deity, however, is often called nameless or Anāman in the scriptures, but this usage is on a par with the employment of terms like birthless (*ajanman*), formless (*arūpa*) or actionless (*akartṛ*). It does not mean that he has no name but that his name is *aprākṛta* or *aprasiddha*, i.e. his name is not like the common names we have in the phenomenal world, but it possesses a spiritual significance and efficacy. It is for this reason that the name or names which have been established in the Śāstras as bringing the Bhagavat himself instantaneously into consciousness are alone appropriate, and not those which are merely imaginary (*ato yaiḥ śāstre'ti-prasiddhair nāmabiḥ śrī-bhagavān eva jhaṭiti pratīto bhavati . . . . . teṣāṃ svataḥ-siddhatvam, anyeṣāṃ kalpanāmayatvaṃ jñeyam*). In the same way Jīva Gosvāmin speaks of the colour which is appropriate to the deity, for the coloured figuration of deities plays an important part in sectarian devotion in general. He informs us that the particular colours of the deity are not due to the presence of particular

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Guṇas. The dark (*kṛṣṇa*) colour of the Bhagavat does not indicate Tamo-guṇa, but it is a peculiar suggestion of his Svarūpa-śakti (*svarūpa-śakti-vyañjitatvam*). The white colour is often taken to signify Sattva-guṇa, but the colour of the Indian crane (*Baka*), a bird which is proverbial for its cunning and its tendency to mischief, is white.

Jīva Gosvāmin concludes this topic by summing up that all this assumption by the Lord of birth, form, action, name and colour has no motive behind it, but they are to manifest his Svarūpa-śakti and make his devotee enjoy its bliss ; for the Bhakti or devotional attitude itself is an aspect of his peculiarly wonderful nature which consists of the display of intrinsic bliss (*svarūpānanda-vilāsa-bhūta-paramāścarya-svabhāva-viśeṣaḥ*). If one argues that the Lord has no form, name etc., this very argument would tend to put a limitation to his unlimited Śakti (*yadi tasmin nāma-rūpitvādikaṃ nāsti, tarhi tacchaktimattvaṃ prati sāntatvaṃ prasajyeta*). It is by Bhakti alone, and not by Sāṃkhya and Yoga, that the true character of the Lord is attained (*yoga-sāṃkhyayos tattvaṃ na samyak prakāśate, kiṃ tu bhaktau eva*). That the divine Vigraha is the Bhagavat himself had been realized and testified to by great sages (*śrī-vigrahaḥ sa eva ca bhagavān iti vidvadbhiḥ pratīyate prayujyate caiva*). This intuition of the great sages or Mahad-anubhava is said to be the only true Pramāṇa (*satya-pramāṇam*). For these great men are really Āveśa-Avatāras who, being inspired by the Lord, themselves partake of the nature of his Vigraha. So also do his partial manifestations, his Aṃśas or his Guṇāvatāras ; and their appearance possesses the same eternal, real and supernatural characteristics (*tad-aṃśānām api tādṛśatvam*). But the Lord himself in his supreme form is far superior to all these.

From the theory described above that the supreme deity is a Perfect Person, having a peculiar form and a characteristic set of attributes, it follows that he has also a transcendental dwelling place, distinctive colour, decoration and associates peculiar to himself as a personal god. Of his dark colour we have spoken above. No doubt he dwells in the Jīva or individual self, and pervades the universe, but this is only in his partial aspect as the Paramātman. In his complete and perfect form as the Bhagavat he has a Dhāma or residence far beyond the phenomenal world (*prapañcātīta*). His decorations are also transcendental and are a part of his divine essence. A symbolical meaning is therefore assigned to some of his ornaments, e.g. the Kaustubha which the Lord bears on his breast is not a mundane precious stone, but typifies the Jīva-śakti. These are thus manifestations of the deity's self assumed through his grace to his devotees, who alone have a beatific vision of them. All this

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is thus established by the vision of the great devotees, which is its only and true Pramāṇa. In the same way the Vaikuṇṭha-loka (sometimes called the Goloka or Mahā-vaikuṇṭha, to distinguish it from a lower Vaikuṇṭha), which is his place of residence (Dhāma), as well as his Associates or Pārṣadas, represents eternal transcendental expressions of his Svarūpa-śakti. The word Dhāma has also the sense of lustre, and is explained as the Lord's inherent power of manifestation (*svarūpa-bhūta-prakāśa-śaktiḥ*) ; but as a personal god, the deity is represented as having a real, and not merely figurative, abode for the display of his Svarūpa. This Loka, which is conceived as the highest paradise of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, cannot, on account of its being beyond phenomenal existence, be attained by Jñāna or Karma (*jñāna-karmabhir aprāpyam, prapañcātītatvāt*), but only by Bhakti. Once attained there is no fall from it (*tato'skhalanam*). Since it is beyond the phenomenal world it follows that it cannot be attained by means of the three Guṇas ; it is therefore called Nirguṇa or Guṇātīta ; for it is said in the *Bhāgavata* (xi, 25, 21) that by the Sattva-guṇa men reach Svar-loka, by the Rajo-guṇa, the Nara-loka and by the Tamo-guṇa, the Naraka or Hell ; but the Loka of the Bhagavat is beyond the reach of these three Guṇas. Hence it is eternal and beyond Prakṛti (*prakṛteḥ param*), which is an effect of the Māyā-śakti. It is consequently beyond the Māyā-śakti itself, so that the Jīva can never reach it as long as he is subject to that Śakti. This Loka, being an expression of the Svarūpa-śakti, can be attained only by another aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti, viz., Bhakti. Like the Vigraha of the Bhagavat himself, his Loka which is thus really and eternally a part of himself, consists of the three attributes of Sat, Cit and Ānanda (*saccidānanda-rūpatva*). It is called by the Vedic name of Viṣṇupada, and it is higher than all other Lokas, such as Svar-loka, Śiva-loka etc. Just as the form or Vigraha of the Bhagavat makes its appearance in the world, so it is said that his Dhāma, Pada or Residence also sometimes makes its appearance (*evaṃ ca bhagavad-vapur āvirbhavati loke, tathaiva kvacit kasyacit tat-padasyāvirbhāvaḥ śrūyate*). Although this appearance is real, it is usually not manifest (*aprakaṭa*), but it becomes manifest only to the vision of the devotee who can always perceive the deity's eternal divine sport in his favourite earthly resorts like Dvārakā, Mathurā or Vṛndāvana.

The above remarks apply also to the Pārṣadas or Associates, who are the Lord's eternal servants (Parikara) in his Paradise, being parts of his own self (*tadaṅgabhūta*) and expressions of his intrinsic Ānanda or Hlādinī Śakti (*bhagavad-ānanda-śakter vilāsamayatvam*). Thus Śrī or Lakṣmī, his eternal consort, is, as we have already noticed, inseparable from his Svarūpa-śakti (*svarūpānatiriktatvam*).

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The subject is treated in detail in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* ; but in the present connexion Jīva Gosvāmin points out that to the deity's Pārṣadas the bliss of worship (*bhajanānanda*) is greater than the bliss they enjoy from their being merged in the divine self (*svarūpānanda*). The theory of this school is that release does not mean cessation from devotional activity ; even these emancipated souls who are the deity's Pārṣadas engage in an eternal worship of the Bhagavad-vigraha. They desire only a taste of his Mādhurya, and not of his Brahmatva (*kevala-tan-mādhuryāpekṣayā, na tu brahmatvānubhavāpekṣayā*), because it is the nature of the Vigraha of the Bhagavat, which consists of bliss, to make others enjoy that bliss (*sukhadatva*) as a Vilāsa of his Svarūpa-śakti.

This last position Jīva Gosvāmin now attempts to establish by reverting to his original topic of the distinction between the two forms of the deity, viz., Brahma and Bhagavat. The distinction is not a distinction of one into two, for the concept of ultimate reality is one and indivisible (*ekam eva tattvaṃ dvidhā śabdyata iti na vastuno bheda upapadyate*) ; nor is it a mere difference in designation according to difference of appearance (*āvirbhāvasyāpi bheda-darśanān na ca sajñā-mātrasya*). It is due to the deity's inherent power of Viśeṣa or differentiation, by which there is a consciousness of difference even when there is no actual difference and by which the same substance appears as different. It must not, however, be supposed that the Lord's possession of Viśeṣa necessarily makes him conditioned or qualified, for the possession of an infinity of attributes is the reason why he cannot be qualified or conditioned by any one of them. The relation of Brahma to Bhagavat is thus one of difference in non-difference. The distinction arises from the stage or degree of realization of the two kinds of devotee whose capacities are different and who follow different paths of Jñāna and Bhakti according to their respective capacity of worship (*sva-sva-darśana-yogyatā-bhedena dvividho'dhikārī dvidhā dṛṣṭaṃ tadupāsta iti*). But the manifestation of the Bhagavat-form is said to be superior to that of the undifferentiated Brahma-form, because in the former stage of realization the true self of the deity in its perfection is revealed through a complete display of his Svarūpa-śakti or intrinsic Energy (*svarūpaśakti-prakāśenaiva svarūpa-prakāśasyādhikatvāt, nirviśeṣa-brahmaprakāśasyāpyupari śrībhagavat-prakāśa-śravaṇāt*). In the Brahma-form the full and special character of the deity is not reached (*brahmaprakāśe tad-viśiṣṭānupalambhanāt*) ; even the Prakāśa of Brahma is not independent but due to the Śakti of the Bhagavat. It must not be supposed that the vision of the one form is real and the other unreal, for the authority of the scriptures shows both to be real (*tatrāpyekasya darśanasya vāstavatvam anyasya bhramajatvam iti na*

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*mantavyam, ubhayor api yāthārthyena darśitatvāt*) ; nor should the one be regarded as a part of the other through the function of transformation or Vikāra, for the supreme deity is not subject to any Vikāra (*na caikasya vastunaḥ śaktyā vikriyamāṇāṃśakatvād aṃśato bhedaḥ, vikṛtatva-niṣedhāt tayoḥ*). The two forms in their essence are identical, but the apparent difference is due to a difference of vision based upon a difference of the mode of worship (*upāsanābhedena darśana-bhedaḥ*). In the one case, where the deity reveals himself in his undifferentiated state of Brahma, the vision is incomplete (*asaṃpūrṇā dṛṣṭiḥ*) ; in the other case, where the vision takes in the full Vigraha of the Bhagavat, accompanied by all his Śaktis which form his essence, it is perfect (*saṃpūrṇā*). For this full or proper vision (*samyag-darśana*) we are told that Bhakti is the only means (*bhaktir eva samyag-darśane hetuḥ*), for Bhakti is due to a display of the deity's Svarūpa-śakti itself. This therefore establishes the superiority of the Bhakti mode of worship to every other mode, for according as the deity reveals himself in his twofold aspect as the Brahma and the Bhagavat, his Svarūpa-śakti reveals itself correspondingly as Jñāna and Bhakti. The way of Jñāna is indeed not wholly rejected, but since the Bhagavat is spoken of as the Aṅgin and the Brahma as Aṅga, the Brahmānubhava or perception of the Brahma is included (*antargata*) in the perception of the Bhagavat. But, at the same time, in the direct realization of the Bhagavat through Bhakti, the realization of the Brahma is not distinct (*na spuṭaḥ*) and therefore superfluous. The bliss arising from the Brahmāsvāda is entirely merged in the superior bliss of Bhagavad-darśana. Hence it is maintained that devotional worship or Bhakti for the Bhagavat is superior to the release or Mokṣa consequent upon the knowledge or Jñāna of Brahma. It is for this reason, as already noted above, that even the emancipated souls make light of mere Mokṣa and delight in the continuous worship of the Bhagavat (*bhajanānanda*).

Having established the superiority of Bhakti to Jñāna, Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the scriptures which speak of Bhakti are superior to the scriptures which speak of Jñāna, i.e., the devotional texts are superior to those which are merely philosophical. For, those scriptures which are inspired by Bhakti lead to the Bhagavat, those which are actuated by Jñāna lead to the Brahma. It is true that the Brahma being an appearance of the Bhagavat, scriptures like the Upaniṣads which lead to the Brahma may also lead ultimately to the Bhagavat (*brahmaṇi carantīnām api yathā śrī-bhagavati paryavasānam*), yet, the Brahma being an imperfect appearance, the scriptures, which speak of Brahma, only dimly and incompletely perceive the true character of the Bhagavat. It follows from all

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this that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* is the greatest and the most authoritative of all scriptures, because, apart from its other causes of greatness it has for its exclusive theme the Bhagavat-tattva which is the greatest of all Tattvas (*śrī-bhāgavatasya bahudhā śraiṣṭhye satyapi tathābhūtasyāpi bhagavad-ākhya-parama-tattvasyākarṣa-vidyā-rūpatvād eva paramaṃ śraiṣṭhyam āha*). It is superior to both the Jñāna-kāṇḍa and the Upāsanā-kāṇḍa of the Vedas, not only for the reason stated above, but also because its Ṛṣi-author was an incarnation of the Bhagavat himself, than whom a greater author cannot be found (*parama-śreṣṭha-kartṛtva*), and the direct beatific vision of the deity (*bhagavat-sākṣātkāra*) is described in the work itself. Hence all desirous of attaining the highest spiritual truth should constantly listen to it.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin interprets the real purport of the four verses known as *Catuḥ-ślokī* (ii, 9, 30–4), which speak of the Bhagavat, and form the keynote of the *Bhāgavata* itself. He explains that divine love is here called *rahasya* or secret because it consists of an indescribable blissful attitude of love which manifests by itself, and remains invariably inclined towards the Bhakta (*bhakteṣu sarvathānanya-vṛttitā-hetur nāma kim api sva-prakāśaṃ premākhyam ānandātmakaṃ vastu rahasyam iti vyañjitam*). The Bhagavat as the ultimate reality is really indeterminable (*anirdeśya*), and even the Vedas cannot properly reveal him. But the secret is revealed by Sādhanā (Worship) and Prema (Love), which are phases of Bhakti. Jīva Gosvāmin in this connexion only briefly refers to the topics of Sādhana-bhakti and Prema-bhakti, which are dealt with more fully in his *Prīti-saṃdarbha*. The Sādhana-bhakti is to be learnt from one's spiritual preceptor and from the injunctions of the Śāstras, but Prema-bhakti develops spontaneously through divine grace. By the Sādhana-bhakti Brahma-jñāna is possible, but the Bhagavat is attainable by Prema-bhakti alone. The meritorious acts prescribed by the Vedas, however, may lead one in the way of Sādhana-bhakti, and in this way he becomes better fitted for the highest Prema-bhakti. The Bhagavat is thus the Samanvaya or the synthesis of all Śāstras, and he is in fact the supreme import of all the Vedas (*sarva-vedārthatva*). Hence the sacred scriptures which give an account of the Bhagavat (*bhagavatkathā*) have an efficacy, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated.

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# KINGSHIP AND NOBILITY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

*By* ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

Firishta says that with the death of Mahmūd Tughluq in 1412 A.D. 'fell the kingdom of Dehly from the race of Toorks'.[1] As a matter of fact, the Turkish Empire could never recover the position which it had lost during the reign of Muhammad *bin* Tughluq. His successors, Fīrūz Shāh, was not a very strong man; and towards the close of his reign he was so much broken down by grief[2] as well as by 'age and infirmity' that he left his *wazir*, Khān-i-Jahān, in 'absolute' authority over all affairs of state.[3] His successors, Nāsir-us-dīn Muhammad Shāh,[4] Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq,[5] Abu Bakr,[6] Humāyūn[7] and Mahmūd Tughluq,[8] were unable to restore the steadily vanishing splendour of Delhi. The weakness of the Crown led to dissensions among the nobles. They fought among themselves, and some of them even fought against the Sultāns.[9] Then came the invasion of Tīmūr. When the invader left India, the provincial governors 'no longer acknowledged allegiance to the throne, having established their independence during the civil war'.[10] On the conclusion of the 'disastrous and inglorious reign'[11]

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[1] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 504.

[2] Owing to the death of his eldest son, 'Futteh Khān'. Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 455, 461.

[3] Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 457-8. Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 371) says that 'the Sultān committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge'.

[4] He ascended the throne during the life-time of Fīrūz Shāh, but was soon deposed by the nobles. Later on he recovered the throne, and reigned for six years. (Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 459-60, 468–77).

[5] He was put to death by the nobles after a brief reign. (K. K. Basu, *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, pp. 147, 150-51).

[6] He was deposed by Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh. (Briggs, pp. 468–73).

[7] He reigned only for 45 days. (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 477).

[8] He is said to have been 'deficient both in sense and courage' and his conduct is described as 'imbecile'. (Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 502-3).

[9] Thus, some of the nobles fought against Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 460), Abu Bakr's *wazir* tried to 'usurp the throne' (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 468), and a group of nobles contested the claim of Mahmūd Tughluq (K. K. Basu, p. 167).

[10] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 498.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 504.

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of Mahmūd Tughluq, the throne of Delhi was occupied by Khizr Khān.[1]

At this stage we come across a new source of information, the *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī* by Yahiyā *bin* Ahmad Sirhindi. Dowson says that the author ' has no claim to be ranked as an historian, but he is a careful and apparently an honest chronicler ', and that his ' work is the source of all our knowledge of the Saiyid dynasty '.[2] Nizām-ud-dīn, Badāonī and Firishta borrowed their materials, and in many cases even their expressions, from him, so that he ' is not only a contemporaneous writer, but the only original authority available upon the times of the Saiyids '.[3]

Khizr Khān's claim to the throne of Delhi derived its sanctity from more than a single source. It may be argued that he seized the throne by right of conquest, for he had defeated Daulat Khān Lodī who had been elected by the nobles as the successor of Mahmūd Tughluq. On the other hand, we know that Khizr Khān had secured the favour of Tīmūr, and had been appointed by the conqueror to the viceroyalty of Multān, Lahore and Dipalpur.[4] Firishta says that Khizr Khān ' refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Teimoor, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck,[5] and the Khootba to be read. After the death of Teimoor, the Khootba was read in the name of his successor, Shahrokh Mirza ; to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand '.[6] Briggs explains ' the causes which induced Khizr Khān to refrain from calling himself King ' in the following words : ' . . . he disarmed the jealousy which the nobles of the late regal government would have felt towards him, and which might have prevented them from submitting to his authority '.[7]

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[1] Doulat Khān Lodī, the nominee of the nobles, ascended the throne and struck the currency in his own name ; but he was defeated by Khizr Khān. (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 505).

[2] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 6.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

[4] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 497.

[5] On this point, see Thomas (*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, pp. 328–30), who says that Firishta derived this statement from *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, which inserted this ' gratuitous interpolation ' in the information gathered from *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī*. As a matter of fact, Khizr Khān ' issued money in the names, sometimes with the available original obverse dies, of his formally crowned predecessors '.

[6] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 508. See K. K. Basu, p. 187, note. Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 210) says that Mubārak ' found it no longer necessary to feign vassalage to any of the rulers who now governed the fragments of Tīmūr's vast empire, and freely used the royal title of Shāh, which his father had never assumed '.

[7] Vol. I, p. 508, note

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Though the family of Khizr Khān has been traced to that of the Prophet,[1] yet the origin of his father, who was the 'adopted son' of a governor of Multān, is obscure.[2] So far as we know at present, the father was a *novus homo* who somehow made himself governor of Multān after the death of his patron's son,[3] and the son inherited his fortune. Khizr Khān strengthened his position as a lieutenant of Tīmūr, and raised himself to the imperial throne as his viceroy. The old nobles might very well have resented the authority of this intruder, had he not taken shelter behind the dreaded name of the mighty invader.

On the death of Khizr Khān, his son, Mubārak, who had been nominated by his father as his successor,[4] was placed on the throne by the nobles.[5] This fact, says Briggs, 'at once bespeaks the power to which aristocracy had attained over despotism, and proves by how precarious a tenour the prince held his throne'.[6] Such incidents, however, as we have already seen, were by no means rare. They undoubtedly made the position of the Sultān 'precarious', but 'the power to which aristocracy had attained over despotism' did not allow the former to be a permanent and effective check over the latter. The supreme tragedy of mediaeval Indian history lies in the fact that the struggle between monarchy and aristocracy left both exhausted and impotent, and consequently prevented the state from acquiring strength and stability.

Firishta describes Mubārak as 'a man of good talents, and on most occasions just and benevolent'.[7] We are told that he never gave 'offence to his nobility, except in changing or removing them from their governments when they misbehaved'. But the ability or kindness of a prince was no guarantee against the ambition of the nobles. The latter had sunk to such a depth of degradation that the *wazir* of the King, offended at the royal favour shown to a rival who was superior to him in abilities, entered into a conspiracy and brought about the murder of his master.[8] Prince Muhammad, probably a son of the King,[9] is said to have been a party to this

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 506–8, Yahiyā *bin* Ahmad, the only contemporary authority, does not explain 'the nature of consanguinity of Khizr to the Prophet's family', but he calls him a Sa'iyid.

[2] Khizr Khān's father once 'brought an ewer and basin, in common with the other servants of' his 'adopted' father. (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 507).

[3] K. K. Basu, p. 188.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

[6] Vol. I, p. 512, note.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 531.

[8] *Op cit.*, pp. 529-30. K. K. Basu, p. 241.

[9] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 532. K. K. Basu (p. 243) refers to him as Muhammad Shāh *bin* Farid Shāh *bin* Khizr Khān.

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crime.[1] He 'was seated on the throne' 'on the same day which gave to Moobarik his death-wound'.[2]

Muhammad Shāh was a 'weak and dissolute prince', quite unable to keep the powerful nobles in check. Sometime after his accession he murdered the man to whom he owed his throne[3] and placed in power those nobles who had been faithful to his predecessor.[4] He 'abandoned himself to pleasure and totally neglected the affairs of his government'. This state of things was favourable to the rise of adventurers. Bahlūl Lodī, governor of Sirhind,[5] became the most important man in the kingdom, and 'boldly aspired to the throne'.[6] Fortunately for himself, Muhammad Shāh died a natural death', and was succeeded by his son, 'Alā-ud-dīn,[7] to whom all the nobles, excepting Bahlūl Lodī, took the oath of allegiance.[8]

'Alā-ud-dīn, a hot-headed incapable young man, 'began to consider of the means to recover part of his lost empire',[9] while Bahlūl Lodī was trying to deprive him of Delhi itself. 'Alā-ud-dīn unwisely offended his *wazir*, who took his revenge by inviting Bahlūl Lodī 'to assume the government'.[10] Bahlūl Lodī 'quietly took possession of the capital, and was proclaimed King'. The name of 'Alā-ud-dīn was, 'for form's sake, allowed to be read in the Khootba as usual', until he abdicated the throne in favour of the *de facto* ruler. He 'remained at Budaon unmolested till his death, which happened' 28 years later.[11]

The extent to which even a strong king was afraid of the nobility is illustrated by Bahlūl Lodī's treatment of 'Alā-ud-dīn's *wazir* who had done so much to raise him to the throne. For sometime the old *wazir* was 'treated . . . with much respect' and allowed to exercise 'great influence'.[12] But Bahlūl Lodī was unwilling to tolerate an over-powerful minister, and took recourse to a stratagem for compelling him to retire, saying 'that gratitude was a security for his life'.[13]

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[1] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 530. But Yahiyā (K. K. Basu, p. 243) says that Muhammad was 'an affable and kind sovereign, with every laudable quality', and does not even allude to his participation in the crime.

[2] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 532. [3] This benefactor was then trying to murder him.

[4] K. K. Basu, pp. 249-50.

[5] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 536. For his early career, see Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part I, pp. 43-4.

[6] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 538. [7] *Op. cit.*, p. 539. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 541-2. [10] Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 540, 542-3.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 543. [12] *Op. cit.*, p. 550.

[13] *Op. cit.*, pp. 550–52. Dorn (pp. 45-6) places this incident *before* 'Alā-ud-dīn's abdication.

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When Bahlūl Lodī became old, he divided his dominions among his sons and relatives.[1] The wisdom of this policy is open to serious doubts. In all probability the Sultān wanted to prevent the distress attendant upon a disputed succession ; but the remedy he proposed would have deprived the kingdom of its unity and strength. Moreover, his remedy was not likely to recommend itself to his nobles and successors. He nominated Nizām Khān, his second surviving son, as his heir ;[2] but immediately after his death 'the nobles met together, and consulted whom they should elevate to the throne'.[3] Some of them favoured the claim of Bahlūl Lodī's grandson, others that of his eldest surviving son—Barbak Khān,[4] but none seemed to think of Nizām Khān. A speech which Nizām Khān's mother delivered from behind a curtain decided the issue in favour of her son, who assumed the name of Sikandar Lodī.[5] He defeated his elder brother, Barbak Khān, but permitted him to retain the government of Jaunpur (which he had been already holding).[6]

The conflict between monarchy and nobility reached its climax during the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī, the son and successor of Sikandar Lodī. We are told that even at the very beginning of his reign the proud and jealous King-makers had tried to punish him by partitioning his empire. The story runs thus : '. . . owing to his irritable temper, several Omras, having great influence in the affairs of the state, agreed upon the arrangement, that the dominions and legislative power of Sultan Ibrahim should reach only as far as the frontier of Joonpoor ; but that from Joonpoor to Behar and Bengal, Jelal Khān . . . should be acknowledged the sovereign'.[7] Though this arrangement could not be put into effect, yet the very fact that it was seriously proposed shows the amount of intervention which the nobles considered themselves entitled to take resort to.

Firishta says that 'contrary to the custom of his father and grand-father, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly, that kings should have

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[1] Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 560-61. Dorn does not refer to this.

[2] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 561.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 563.

[4] Nizām Khān's mother wrote to him that 'all the Omras' of Bahlūl Lodī were 'unanimously' on the side of Barbak Khān, 'in consequence of his being born of an Afghan mother, and enjoying power and authority'. (Dorn, p. 55).

[5] Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 563-64. It seems that the issue was really decided by a group of nobles who acted from personal motives. Dorn (p. 55) does not refer to this incident, and simply says that the nobles placed Nizām Khān on the throne because Barbak Khān was 'at so great a distance' (*i.e.*, at Jaunpur) and 'out of the way'.

[6] Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 567-8.

[7] Dorn, pp. 70-71.

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no relatives nor clansmen, but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the state ; and the Afghan chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them '.[1] This haughty[2] King clearly understood the grave risks inherent in a system which vainly tried to reconcile the claims of an unscrupulous and over-powerful nobility with the rights of a despotic monarchy. He wanted to make the monarchy the supreme factor in the state —supreme in authority as well as in dignity.[3] But he could not go beyond the traditions of three troubled centuries ; he could not convince the nobles that their exaggerated claims had led to the rise of a system which combined the evils of oligarchy with those of monarchy, destroying the best features of both. The result was a bitter struggle between Ibrāhīm Lodī and his nobles, culminating in the destruction of Afghān power in the field of Panipat.

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[1] Briggs, Vol. I, p. 590.

[2] It is interesting to compare his views with those of some of his predecessors. Firishta (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 291) says that Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī ' was in the habit of associating familiarly, even after his accession, with his former acquaintances, and joining their parties, and drinking wine in moderation with them, the same as before '. Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India* Vol. III, p. 228) says that among his Afghān kinsmen Bahlūl Lodī was ' little more than *primus inter pares*, and he was well content with that position . . . . '

[3] Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 249) says : ' Ibrāhīm . . . gave rein to those groundless and unreasonable suspicions of his nobles which prompted acts of capricious tyranny, and at length drove those who might have been the staunchest defenders of his throne into the arms of an invader '. But were the ' suspicions ' really ' groundless and unreasonable ' ?

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# PISCHEL ON CHARACTERISTICS OF PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES (II)

*By* BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

§15. The Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epic poetry, of which two have been as yet published, namely the Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaüḍavaho. The author of the Rāvaṇavaho, which is also called Dahamuhavaho and is mostly quoted under its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, by which probably the king Pravarasena II of Kashmir is meant,[1] at whose instance the poem might have been composed. At the time of Bāṇa, in the 7th century A.D., the poem was already famous, as Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction shows. The fact that Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa 1, 34 refers to it would seem to suggest a still older date. The Rāvaṇavaho is preserved in three recensions; a fourth one is presupposed by the Sanskrit translation Setusaraṇi.[2] Rāmadāsa commented on the Vulgata, who lived at the time of Akbār (1556–1605) and often misunderstood the text. Hoefer was the first to deal with it who already in 1846 announced an edition of it[3]; the first two of the 15 Āśvāsas contained in the poem were however edited by Paul Goldschmidt only in 1873: Specimen des Setubandha. Göttingen, 1873. Siegfried Goldschmidt published the complete text with German translation: Rāvaṇavaha or Setubandha. Strassburg, 1880 (the translation appeared in 1883).[4] A new edition based on Goldschmidt's, but quite indispensable on account of the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa which it contains, has been brought out by Śivadatta and Parab: The Setubandha of Pravarasena. Bombay, 1895 (=Kāvyamālā, 47). —The author of Gaüḍavaho is Bappaïrāa, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under the king Yaśovarman of Kanyākubja and is therefore to be dated towards the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century.[5] He mentions in 799ff. as his predecessors Bhavabhūti,

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[1] Max Müller, Indien in seiner Weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung (Leipzig, 1884), p. 272ff. The assumption that Kālidāsa is the author of the Rāvaṇavaho is based on very late sources.

[2] S. Goldschmidt, Rāvaṇavaho, Einleitung, pp. v ff.

[3] Jahresbericht der DMG. vom Jahre 1845 (Leipzig, 1846), p. 176; Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache 2, 488ff.

[4] Cf. also the recension by Pischel, GGA. 1880, pp. 321ff.

[5] Paṇḍit, Gaüḍavaho, Introduction, pp. lxiv ff. Jacobi's attempt (GGA. 1888, p. 68f.) to fix the year 733 A.D. as the date of Yaśovarman's defeat with the help

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Bhāsa, Jvalanamitra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra. Gaüḍavaho is alone among the Mahākāvyas in enumerating the stanzas continuously, of which it contains 1209 in Āryā-metre. Also of this poem there are several recensions, which often considerably vary from one another in the number and arrangement of the stanzas.[1] The commentary of Haripāla explains only the main points, for which reason it is also called Gaüḍavadhasāraṭīkā.[2] Often it is nothing more than a paraphrase in Sanskrit. Gaüḍavaho with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been edited by Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit: The Gaüḍavaho, a Historical Poem in Prâkṛit, by Vâkpati. Bombay, 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXIV).[3] It has been already mentioned in §13 that Vākpatirāja composed a second artificial epic in Prākrit, the Mahumahavijaa. One stanza out of it is found in Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15, and two others perhaps in the Sarasvatīk. 322, 15; 327, 25 (§14). In Paṇḍit's edition (as in the case of Hemacandra), the Jaina system of orthography has been followed, with *na* at the beginning and reduplicated, and with *yaśruti*, because the MSS. are Jaina manuscripts. The text of the Sattasaī is quoted in the same way in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. In this grammar this mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration, and the words have been quoted in their pure Māhārāṣṭrī form. The Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaüḍavaho are very much influenced by Sanskrit models (§9), and are written in an extravagantly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending composita, as are found also in the dramas of Bhavabhūti, and occasionally also in the Mṛcchakaṭikā.[4] The Gaüḍavaho, the Sattasaī of Hāla and the Rāvaṇavaho are the most important sources for our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭrī. As they are furnished with excellent word-indexes, they will be designated merely by G.H.R., particularly in the chapter on phonology. In H[1], pp. 29ff. Weber gave an outline of the grammar of M. as far as it was possible with the portions of the Sattasaī published till that time.

§16. The two dialects used by the Jainas are usually considered

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of the solar eclipse mentioned in stanza 829, is useless. The context does not permit us to consider it to be a reference to a defeat of Yaśovarman. Such descriptions are very common with writers of Mahākāvyas and are without any historical value.

[1] Paṇḍit, Gaüḍavaho, p. viii f.; 345ff.

[2] Other, but wrong, explanations in Paṇḍit, Gaüḍavaho, pp. vii ff.; Jacobi, GGA. 1888, p. 63.

[3] Review by Jacobi, GGA. 1888, pp. 61ff.

[4] Vākpatirāja is given much more than his due by Paṇḍit, Gaüḍavaho, pp. lii ff. and Jacobi, GGA. 1888, p. 65.

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to be closely connected with Māhārāṣṭrī. Jacobi [1] has called them Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Prākrit respectively. By Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (JM.) he understands the language of the commentators and the poets,[2] and by Jaina Prākrit the language of the older Jaina canonical works,[3] the older Sūtras.[4] The designation Jaina Prākrit, which was adopted by E. Müller,[5] is very unfortunate, and the theory that this Jaina Prākrit is an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī is quite wrong.[6] Indian grammarians usually designate the language of the old Jainasūtras as Ārṣam, i.e. 'the language of the Ṛṣis'. Hc. 1, 3 declares that in the Ārṣa all the rules of his grammar are subjected to exceptions, and in 2, 174 he says that the preceding restrictions are not valid for the Ārṣa, in which everything is allowed. Trivikrama [7] excludes the Ārṣa like the Deśya (§9) from his grammar, for it is of independent origin (*rūḍhatvāt*), i.e. has not Sanskrit as its basis and mostly follows its own rules (*svatantratvāc ca bhūyasā*). In a quotation by Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa on Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa 1, 33 two kinds of Prākrit are distinguished, one derived from Ārṣa and the other which is the same as Ārṣa: *Ārṣottham Ārṣatulyaṃ ca dvividhaṃ Prākṛtaṃ viduḥ*. Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12, derives the name Prākrit from the fact that its basis (*prakṛtiḥ*) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings not fixed by grammar, etc. It is called Prākrit because it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or however *prākṛta* may stand for *prāk kṛta*, i.e. 'created in former times', because it is said: (the Prākrit), which is found in the Ārṣa-canon—the so-called Ardhamāgadhā—is the language of the gods: *ārisavayaṇe siddhaṃ devāṇaṃ Addhamāgahā vāṇī*. Accordingly Prākrit is the language which is easily understood by children, women, etc. and is the basis of all languages. Like the waters of rain they too had formerly but one form, but on account of the difference of the respective countries and the (grammatical) modifications, they have become multifarious and divided into Sanskrit and other languages (§4) mentioned by Rudraṭa 2, 12. Prākrit has therefore been made here the basis also of Sanskrit. This is to be explained by the fact that the Buddhists consider the Māgadhī [8] to be the original language from which all the other languages are derived, whereas the Jainas consider as such the Ardhamāgadhī, the Ārṣa of the grammarians, because Mahāvīra

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[1] Kalpasūtra, p. 17; Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī (Leipzig, 1886), p. xi f.
[2] Kalpasūtra, p. 17.
[3] Erzählungen, p. xii.
[4] Kalpasūtra, p. 17.
[5] Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākrit (Berlin, 1876).
[6] See below §18.
[7] At first in Pischel, De gr. Pr., p. 29.
[8] D'Alwis, An Introduction to Kachchàyana's Grammar of the Pàli Language (Colombo, 1864), p. cvii; Muir. OST. 2², 54; Fryer, Proc. ASB. 1879, 155f.

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is supposed to have preached in this language. Thus it is said in Samavāyaṅgasutta 98[1]: *bhagavaṃ ca ṇaṃ Addhamāgahīe bhāsāe dhammaṃ āikkhaï | sā vi ẏa ṇaṃ Addhamāgahī bhāsā bhāsijjamāṇī tesiṃ savvesiṃ āriya-m-aṇāriẏāṇaṃ duppaẏacaüppaẏamiẏapasupakkhisarīsivāṇaṃ appappaṇo hiẏasivasuhadāẏa bhāsattāe pariṇamaï* 'The lord proclaimed the law in the Ardhamāgadhī language. And this Ardhamāgadhī language changes, when it is spoken, into the idiom (which brings health, happiness and blessing to everybody) of all (creatures), of the Aryans and the non-Aryans, of bipeds and quadrupeds, of wild and tame animals, of birds and worms.' Vāgbhaṭa, Alaṃkāratilaka 1, 1: *sarvārdhamāgadhīṃ sarvabhāṣāsu pariṇāminīm | sārvīyāṃ*[2] *sarvato vācaṃ sārvajñīṃ praṇidadhmahe* 'we bow to Vāc, who is fully Ardhamāgadhī, and who changes herself into all the languages, and is perfect and omniscient.' In the Paṇṇavaṇāsutta 59f. the Āryas are divided into nine classes, the sixth of which is the *bhāsāriyā* 'Aryan by language'. It is said of them, p. 62[3]: *se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriyā? bhāsāriyā je ṇaṃ Addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsanti jattha vi ẏa ṇaṃ bambhī livī pavattaï* 'What is Āryan by speech? They are Aryan by language who speak the Ardhamāgadhī language and with whom the Brāhmī script is customary.' That Mahāvīra preached in Ardhamāgadhī is mentioned, even apart from the passages cited above, also in Ovavāiẏasutta §56: *tae ṇaṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre . . . Addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsaï | arihā dhammaṃ parikahei | tesiṃ savvesiṃ āriẏa-m-aṇāriẏāṇaṃ agilāe dhammaṃ āikkhaï | sā vi ẏa ṇaṃ Addhamāgahā bhāsā tesiṃ savvesiṃ āriẏa-m-aṇāriẏānaṃ appaṇo subhāsāe pariṇāmeṇaṃ pariṇamaï.* The same point is stressed moreover by Abhayadeva on Uvāsagadasāo p. 46 and Malayagiri on Sūriẏapannatti in Weber, Bhagavatī 2, 245; cf. also Hc., Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 59 with commentary. In a quotation in Hc. 4, 287; it is said that the older Suttas are composed in the Addhamāgahabhāsā[4]: *porāṇaṃ Addhamāgahabhāsāniẏaẏaṃ havaï suttaṃ.* Hc. remarks on it that although this is the tradition also of the ancients, yet the Ardhamāgadhī mostly follows its own rules, and not the rules which he would lay down for Māgadhī in the following.[5] The second example

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[1] The text has been published also by Weber, Verzeichniss, 2, 2, 406; cf. the passage out of the Ovavāiẏasutta further below.

[2] So the MSS.; the edited text (Bombay, 1849; =Kāvyamālā 43) reads *sarvapām.*

[3] The text published also by Weber, IS. 16, 399 and Verzeichniss 2, 2, 562.

[4] Leumann, Das Aupapātika Sūtra (Leipzig, 1883), p. 96 s.v. Addhamāghā Bhāsā, suggests *niẏaẏam=nijaka.* But Hc. himself explains it by *niẏata,* and that is demanded also by sense.

[5] Wrongly explained by Hoernle, The Prákṛita-Lakshaṇam or Chaṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Ārsha) Prákṛit (Calcutta, 1880), p. xix, footnote.

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given by him is Dasaviyāliyasutta 633, 19: *se tārise dukkhasahe jiindie.* In Māgadhī it would be: *śe tāliśe dukkhaśahe yidindie.*

§17. It is clear therefore that Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhī are identical, and that according to tradition the language of the older Jaina-Suttas was the Ardhamāgadhī,[1] and, as the quotation from the Dasaveyāliyasutta in Hc. (§16) proves, it was used both in prose and poetry. But inspite of all possible agreement there is still a great difference between the language of prose and that of poetry. Among the chief characteristics of Māghadhī are to be reckoned the change of *ra* into *la*, of *sa* into *śa*, and the nom. sing. ending *-e* (instead of *-o*) of *a*-stems and other consonantal stems which have gone over to the *a*-declension. Ardhamāgadhī retains *ra* and *sa*, but has the nomin. in *-e*, and, according to Abhayadeva on Samav. p. 98[2] and Uvās. p. 46, it is on that account that it is called 'Half-māgadhī': *Ardhamāgadhī bhāṣā yasyāṃ rasor laśau Māgadhyām*[3] *ityādikaṃ Māgadhabhāṣālakṣaṇaṃ paripūrṇaṃ nāsti.* Already Stevenson[4] pointed out and Weber[5] established the fact that the relation between AMg. and Mg. is 'not very close'. Apart from the nomin. in *-e* only *ḍa*=Skt. *ta* in part. pret. pass. of roots in *-ṛ* is common to both, but this too again is not the only possible form in Mg. (§219). The preponderance of *ya* in both the dialects must be regarded as another common characteristic, although it does not appear in the two dialects under the same conditions. Further may be considered the change of *ka* into *ga* (§202), which is however only sporadical in Mg., and the frequent Pluti in the voc. sing. of *a*-stems (§71), which is however found also in Dh. and A. If the literary monuments of Mg. were more numerous and better preserved decidedly many more points of contact could have been discovered. As it is, the issue is mostly decided by accident. Thus AMg. *usiṇa*= Skt. *uṣṇa* corresponds to Mg. *kośiṇa=koṣṇa* (§133), and it is very remarkable that AMg. and Mg. equally use the gen. sing. *tava* of Skt. which however is not found in other dialects (§421). The loc. sing. in *-ṃsi* of *a*-stems is derived from the Lāṭ-dialect.[6] In

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[1] Wilson, Select works 1, 289; Weber, Bhagavatī, 1, 392.

[2] Published by Weber, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 406, note 8.

[3] Weber l.c. rightly says that the quotation is from a grammar which is yet unknown. It is found also in Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12, with *Māgadhikāyām* instead of *Māgadhyām*; in Caṇḍa 3, 39, it is: *Māgadhikāyāṃ rasayor laśau.* Weber's view (Verzeichniss 2, 3, XIV, note 7), that the name *Addhamāgahā bhāsā* 'expresses too little and is qualitatively inadequate' is wrong.

[4] The Kalpa Sútra and Nava Tatva (London, 1848), pp. 137ff.

[5] Bhagavatī 1, 393ff.

[6] E. Müller, Beiträge, p. 3. The other points of resemblance noticed by Müller are found also in other dialects.

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metrical passages in AMg. very often even the nomin. sing. is formed with *-o* instead of *-e* ; in our texts both are often found side by side. Thus Āẏār. p. 41, 1 *abhivāẏamīṇe*, but 2 *haẏapuvvo*, 3 *lūsiẏapuvvo* ; p. 45, 19 *nāo*, but 20 *se Mahāvīre*, 22 again *aladdhapuvvo* and *gāmo* ; p. 46, 3 *dukkhasahe*, *apaḍinne*, 4 *sūro*, 5 *saṃvuḍe*, 6 *paḍisevamāṇo*, 7 *acale*, 14 *apuṭṭhe*, 15 *puṭṭho*, *apuṭṭho*. In such cases the manuscript tradition is faulty, and the editor ought to have made the necessary corrections. The Calc. ed. has 45, 32 *gāme*, 46, 6 *paḍisevamāṇe*, otherwise also *-o*. In all these places *e* should be written. But in other poetical pieces *o* is doubtlessly original, e.g. Āẏār. pp. 127ff. ; instead of *-maüḍe* p. 128, 3 it should have therefore been written *-maüḍo* as in Ms. B. The same is repeated in all the pieces written in verse, as in Sūẏagaḍaṅgasutta, Uttarajjhayanasutta, Dasaveẏāliẏasutta, etc. The language of the verses shows also otherwise many remarkable deviations in phonology and morphology, and often very much resembles M. and JM., the second dialect of the Jainas, without however wholly coinciding with it. Thus for instance Skt. *mleccha* is in the AMg. of prose *milakkhu*, in verses however, just as in M. JM. Ś. A., also *mĕccha* (§84). Only in verses has AMg., as also M. and JM., the flexion *kuṇaï* from *kṛ* (§508), and the absol. in *-tūṇa*, *-ūṇa*, which is supreme in M. and JM., is confined, though not fully, to verses. In the rules of Sandhi, in the flexion and in the vocabulary the metrical works are sharply distinguished from prose ones, so that many grammatical characteristics may be perceived only in Dasav., Uttar. and Sūẏag. The description given by Kramadīśvara 5, 98 that it is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī may be applied to this dialect : *Māhārāṣṭrīmiśrārdhamāgadhī*.[1] It can therefore be regarded as a third separate dialect of the Jainas. But even in Pāli the verses exhibit a series of archaic and peculiar forms unknown in prose, which however are not sufficient to give it the status of a separate dialect, and as it fundamentally agrees doubtlessly with the prose-dialect I have designated both of them with the traditional name Ardhamāgadhī (AMg.). In Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 48 Ardhamāgadhī is mentioned as one of the seven Bhāṣās along with Māgadhī, Āvantī, Prācyā, Śūrasenī, Bāhlikā and Dākṣiṇātyā, and in 17, 50=Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 173, 3 it is said that in the dramas it is the language of servants, Rājputs and bankers : *ceṭānāṃ rājaputrāṇāṃ śreṣṭhināṃ cārdhamāgadhī*. Our dramas however do not confirm this view, and Mārkaṇḍeya condemns, as referred to in §3, the AMg. as a separate dialect beside Mg. It might be expected that where in the dramas the Jainas appear they speak AMg. Lassen Inst., pp. 401ff., even

[1] Hoernle wrongly says that Ardhamāgadhī+Māhārāṣṭrī=Ārṣa (Caṇḍa, p. xix).

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tried to obtain a picture of the characteristics of AMg. from Prab. and Mudrār., and in his opinion the dialect of the barber in Dhūrtas. is AMg. In Mudrār. pp. 174–178 ; 183–187 ; 190–194, the mendicant (*kṣapaṇaka*) Jīvasiddhi makes his appearance about whom the commentator Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, p. 40, expressly remarks : *kṣapaṇako Jainākṛtiḥ*. In his dialect agreement with AMg. is found in the nom. sing. in *-e*, such as *kuvide, bhadante* (178, 4), also in the case of neuter such as *adakkhiṇe ṇakkhatte* (to be read °*kkh*° ; 176, 1. 2) ; further in the change of *ka* to *ga* in *śāvagāṇaṃ* (175, 1 ; 185, 1 ; 190, 10) ; in the voc. sing. *śāvagā* (175, 3 ; 177, 2 ; 183, 5, etc.), where also the lengthening of the final vowel is remarkable (§71), in nom. sing. *śāvage* (178, 2 ; 193, 1 ; it should be so read) and in *hage*= **ahakaḥ* (§142. 194. 417). Otherwise however his dialect is Mg., and Hc. 4, 302 cites passages from it as examples of Mg. In the Prab., pp. 46–64, appears the Kṣapaṇaka who is called a Digambara. Rāmadāsa rightly says that his language is Mg. and remarks, Mg. is spoken by Bhikṣus, Kṣapaṇakas, Rākṣasas and servants in women's apartments. In the Laṭakamelaka, pp. 12–15, 25–28, there also appears a Digambara who likewise speaks Mg. In this connection it should not be overlooked that everywhere it is the Digambaras who appear, and their dialect varies not inessentially from that of the Śvetāmbaras, and in an important phonetic law it agrees with Mg. (§21). There is no trace of AMg. in the dramas.

§18. The language of the Jaina canonical works was called Māgadhī by Colebrooke [1] who was of opinion that it does not differ much from the language which is used by the dramatical authors in their works and is attributed to the women. It is considered to be derived from Sanskrit, as Pāli in Ceylon. Lassen [2] declared it to be identical with Māhārāṣṭrī, and Hoefer [3] held that in the Prākrit of the Jaina works there are certain details which are generally unknown in Prākrit, but on the whole the language is identical with the latter. Jacobi considers it to be an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī,[4] who however remarks that if the Jaina Prākrit, particularly in its oldest form known to us, is compared on the one hand with Pāli and on the other with the Prākrit of Hāla, Setubandha etc., it would appear that it comes closer to Pāli than to the later Prākrit,[5] and that it is an old Indian dialect which is closely related to Pāli but is decidedly later than it.[6] Weber [7] on the other hand does not admit of any close relation between AMg. and M. and is more critical

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[1] Misc. Essays $2^1$, 213. [2] Inst., p. 1, 42, 43. [3] ZWSpr. 3, 371.
[4] Kalpasūtra, p. 18 ; cf. p. 19 and Erz. p. xii ; Weber, Verzeichniss 2, 3, XIV., note 7.
[5] SBE., XXII, p. xli. [6] Āyāraṃga Sutta, p. viii. [7] Bhag. 1, 396f.

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about the relation with Pāli, and declares, like Spiegel [1] before and Jacobi after him, that AMg. is 'considerably later than Pāli'. AMg. differs from M. in phonology, inflexion and vocabulary to such a degree that it is quite impossible to regard it as an older M. Jacobi himself [2] has collected a number of points of difference, and E. Müller [3] has collected still more, who refuses to consider AMg. as a kind of M. and is inclined to connect it with the Māgadhī of the inscriptions. The nominative in *-e* would alone be quite sufficient to separate AMg. from M. It is not a case of phonetic change which may be explained simply on the hypothesis of difference in time, but is due to local dialectical peculiarity, as the history Indian linguistics clearly shows. It assigns the AMg. much farther to the east than the M. It is even possible that when the canon was compiled by the Council of Valabhī under Devarddhigaṇin or by the Council of Mathurā under Skandilācārya [4] the original dialect had received an Western tinge. Contact with M.[5] might well have been possible particularly in Valabhī. But its influence could not have been very great, because the fundamental character of AMg. has not been touched by it. Quite unknown to M. are, for instance, the phonetic laws like the strengthening of *-am* into *-ām* before *eva* (§68), the weakening of *iti* into *i* (§93), dropping of *i* of the prefix *prati* in cases like *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna*, *paḍoyāra* etc. (§163), appearance of dentals in the place of palatals (§215), dropping of *ya* in *ahā=yathā* (§335) and the use of Saṃdhi-consonants (§353); further the dative in *-ttāe* (§364), instrumentals in *-sā* (§364), the locative in *-ṃsi* (§366*a*), the nom. sing. of *t*-stems in *-ṃ* (§396), the instrumentals *kammuṇā* and *āhammuṇā* (§404), the peculiar numerals, inflexion of many verbs, like *āikkhaï* from *khyā* (§492), *pāuṇaï* from *āp* with *pra* (§504), *kuvvaï* from *kṛ* (§508), the strong aorist and *s*-aorist (§516ff.), infinitives in *-ṭṭu*, *-ittu* (§577), in *-ttae* (§578), the absolutives in *-ttā* (§582), *-ttāṇaṃ* (§583), *-ccā*, *-ccāṇaṃ*, *-ccāṇa* (§587), *-ẏāṇaṃ*, *-ẏāṇa* (§592). Cerebralisation has gone much further in AMg. than in M. (§219, 222, 289, 333); likewise the change of *ra* into *la* (§257). Phonetic laws which are common in AMg. are found in M. only very rarely, such as the anaptyctic vowel *a* (§132), preservation of long vowels and simplification of consonant groups in the case of *kṣa* (§323) and the suffix *-tra* (§87), the change of *ka* into *ga* (§202) and of *pa* into *ma* (§248), etc. All this, as well as the Yaśruti (§187), and the vocabulary, which is often quite different,

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[1] Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1849, p. 912.
[2] Kalpasūtra, p. 15f.; Erz., p. xii. [3] Beiträge, pp. 3ff.
[4] Jacobi, Kalpasūtra, pp. 15ff.; SBE., XII, pp. xxxvii ff.; Weber, IS. 16, 218.
[5] Jacobi's suggestion, Erz., p. xii.

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and many other details conclusively prove that AMg. and M. were from the beginning different dialects. AMg. has not escaped the fate of other dialects, because it was raised to the status of a literary language, and it has undergone fundamental changes on account of the dropping of consonants. The nominative in *-e* shows that in defining the region in which AMg. was spoken we can hardly go far to the west of Allāhābād.[1] At present it is impossible to chalk out more accurately the region in which this language was spoken.

§19. Weber IS. 16, 211–479; 17, 1–90, has exhaustively dealt with the sacred books of the Śvetāmbaras. These essays were further supplemented by the elaborate extracts which were given by Weber in Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin 2, 2, 355–823. The editions which had appeared till that time in India and Europe have also been mentioned there.[2] In this grammar the whole literature has been used so far it has been published. Unfortunately, critical editions are still almost wholly wanting. Many of the published texts are almost unusable for grammatical purposes. Linguistically the most important text in prose is the first Aṅga, the Āẏārāṅgasutta,[3] which shows the most archaic language of all. After that comes particularly the second Aṅga, the Sūẏagaḍaṅgasutta, of which the first book, predominantly metrical, is for poetic language what the Āẏār. is for prose. The fourth Aṅga, the Samavāẏanga is important for the knowledge of numerals, the sixth, the Nāẏādhammakahāo, the seventh, the Uvāsagadasāo,[4] the eleventh, the Vivāgasuẏa, as well as particular portions of the fifth, the Vivāhapannatti, contain continuous stories and therefore offer more information about declination and conjugation than the other portions. This may be said also of two of the Upāṅgas, the Ovavāiẏasutta and the Niraẏāvaliẏāo, and of the first part of the Kappasūẏa among the Chedasūtras. Among the Mūlasūtras the highest importance attaches to the Uttarajjhaẏaṇa-sutta which is almost wholly written in verse, and which also contains a large number of archaic and peculiar forms. The Dasaveẏāliẏa-

[1] See §24.

[2] A list of the editions and translations which have been used is given along with the abbreviations at the end of this grammar.

[3] The objectionable practice of designating Jaina texts by Sanskrit titles has become customary, e.g. Kalpasūtra, Aupapātikasūtra, Daśavaikālikasūtra, Bhagavatī, Jitakalpa, etc. Only Hoernle in his edition of Uvāsagadasāo made a notable exception to this rule. In this grammar Sanskrit titles will be used only when reference is made to the remarks of the respective editors, who have used these Sanskrit titles.

[4] Hoernle's edition (Calcutta, 1890; Bibl. Ind.) is, till the present day, the only edition of a Jaina work in which the text and the commentary have been critically edited. Without extracts from the commentaries the texts often appear to be quite incomprehensible.

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sutta too is of importance, although its language has already much degenerated. The unending repetitions of the same words and forms render it possible to ascertain the correct reading even of corrupt texts. In other cases however it was impossible to reach any certainty and much had to be left out of consideration, for the sources were inadequate. Yet however it is possible now to form a clear and correct idea of AMg., which shows that it is the most important Prākrit dialect, because it has been best preserved and is the most copious of all.[1] First of all, Stevenson, Kalpa Sútra, pp. 131ff. gave meagre and very incorrect information about AMg.; somewhat more was given by Hoefer, ZWSpr. 3, 364ff., who already pointed out some of its main characteristics, such as the Yaśruti, anaptyctic vowels, and the change of *ka* into *ga*. Of fundamental importance was the work of Weber: Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī. Theil 1. 2 (Berlin, 1866. 1867) = Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, pp. 367–444; 1866, pp. 155–352. Weber was the first to deal here with the peculiar orthography of Jaina manuscripts, and tried to ascertain the phonetic value of some of the signs (though much of it was wrong), and gave the outlines of a grammar, which is still valuable, as well as specimens of the language. It should be mentioned that the Bhagavatī is the fifth Aṅga, and its canonical designation is Vivāhapannatti, by which name it will be quoted in this grammar, and it will be referred to as Bhagavatī where reference will be made to the above mentioned papers of Weber. E. Müller's work, Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit, Berlin, 1876, although it marks some improvement in phonology, does not take us much farther. Jacobi in Āyār. pp. viii–xiv, gives a cursory sketch of the grammar in comparison with Pāli.

§20. The dialect used in the non-canonical works of the Śvetāmbaras differs a great deal from the AMg. As already mentioned above (§16), Jacobi has called it Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. It would have been more correct perhaps to call it Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, which was formerly suggested by Jacobi,[2] if it could be assumed that Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurāṣṭrī were closely allied dialects. That however cannot be proved, and therefore it may be called Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, for this dialect is doubtlessly very much akin to Māhārāṣṭrī, although it is by no means identical with it. Jacobi[3] is wrong in supposing that the M. of Hc. is the JM. and not identical with the M. of Hāla, Setubandha and the dramas. All the traceable quotations in Hc. are from Hāla, Rāvaṇavaho, Gaüḍavaho, the Viṣamabāṇalīlā and Karpūramañjarī. As in the case of the

[1] Pischel, ZDMG. 52, p. 95. [2] Kalpasūtra, p. 18. [3] Kalpasūtra, p. 19

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manuscripts of the Jainas (§15), Hc. has only extended the orthography of the Jainas also to these works. But in fact Hc. seems to have taken into account also specifically Jaina works in JM. besides those in AMg. At least not a few of his rules may as yet the instanced only in JM. AMg. too was not without any influence on JM. Of the peculiarities of AMg. enumerated in §18 several are met with also in JM., such as the saṃdhi-consonants, the nomin. of *i*-stems in *-ṃ*, the infinitives in *-ittu*, the absol. in *-ttā*, and the change of *ka* into *ga*. JM. is therefore not pure M., but still it is so much akin to M. that it may after all be called M. The most important text in JM. is: the Āvaśyaka-legends, edited by Ernst Leumann, 1. Heft. Leipzig, 1897. As there is no commentary the text is unusually difficult to understand. Many portions remain quite obscure. But even these few formates show that we may still expect much that is new and important out of these JM. texts, particularly from the view-point of lexicography, for in this respect JM. is perhaps the most promising dialect. For the most part later texts are contained in the Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, Zur Einführung in das Studium des Prākṛit. Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch, Herausgegeben von Hermann Jacobi, Leipzig, 1886. The introductory elementary grammar also deals with the syntax, but is confined to the forms occurring in the stories concerned. Besides we have to take into consideration also the Kakkuka-inscription (§10) and smaller pieces such as the Kālakācāryakathānaka, ZDMG., 34, 247ff.; 35, 675; 37, 493ff., the legend of the fall of Dvāravatī, ZDMG. 42, 493ff., the Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā ZDMG. 33, 445ff., and in the Kāvyamālā. Part VII (Bombay, 1890), pp. 124ff., and extracts in the Reports which are mostly unusable. The rhetorical work of Hari was probably also written in JM., out of which one stanza has been quoted by Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra, 2, 19.[1]

§21. As yet we have not sufficient information about the language of the Digambara canon which differs not inconsiderably from that of the Śvetāmbaras.[2] If it may be allowed to draw a conclusion from the language of the non-canonical works, it was more closely allied to Māgadhī than the AMg. of the Śvetāmbaras in an important phonetic law, namely the change of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha*. At all events, the later Digambara works also observe this phonetic law; for instance the Gāthās in the Gurvāvali referred to by Jacobi [3]

[1] Pischel, ZDMG., 39, p. 314. In the commentary on 1, 2 read Hari for Rudra.

[2] Bhāṇḍārkar, Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883–84 (Bombay, 1887), pp. 106ff.; Weber, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 823f.

[3] Kalpasūtra, p. 30.

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and the extracts out of Kundakundācārya's Pavaẏanasāra and Kārttikeyasvāmin's Kattigeẏānuppĕkkhā, which has been, published by Bhāṇḍārkar[1] (§203). The same phonetic law is found also in Śaurasenī, and as the nom. sing. of *a*-stems ends in *-o* in the language of Digambara-scripture this dialect may be called Jaina Śaurasenī. In its case one has to be however even more cautious than in the case of JM. so as not to forget that this designation serves merely as a convenient term which is by no means accurate. Even the few available specimens show that this language contains forms and words which are quite foreign to Śaurasenī, though however they are met with partly in M. and partly in AMg. Thus typically M. is the locative of *a*-stems in *-mmi*, as in *dāṇammi*, *suhammi*, *asuhammi*, *ṇāṇammi*, *daṃsaṇamuhammi* (Pav. 383, 69; 385, 61; 387, 13), *kālammi* (Kattig. 400, 322), and the use of *vva=iva* (Pav. 383, 44). The root *kṛ* is inflected (always *da=ta*) partly according to M. *kuṇadi* (Kattig. 399, 310, 319; 402, 359. 367. 370. 371; 403, 385; 404, 388. 389. 391) and partly according to AMg. *kuvvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340) and *kuvvade* (403, 384), besides forms which are Ś., e.g. *karedi* (Pav. 384, 59; Kattig. 400, 324; 402, 369; 403, 377. 378. 383) and M. JM. AMg. *karadi* (400, 332). The passive is *kīradi* (Kattig. 399, 320; 401, 342. 350), as in M. JM. The absol. mostly ends in *-ttā*, as in AMg.: *cattā=tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *jāṇittā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viẏāṇittā* (Pav. 387, 21); *ṇamaṃsittā*, *niruñjhittā* (Pav. 386, 6. 70); *ṇihaṇittā* (Kattig. 401, 339); also in *-ya*, as in *bhaviẏa* (Pav. 380, 12; 387, 12); *āpiccha=āpṛcchya* (Pav. 386, 1); *ādāẏa* (Pav. 386, 6); *āsijja*, *āsĕjja=āsādya* (Pav. 386, 1. 11); *samāsijja* (Pav. 379, 5); *gahiẏa* (Kattig. 403, 373); *pappa* (Pav. 384, 49) as well as in *-ccā*, as *kiccā* (Pav. 379, 4; Kattig. 402, 356. 357. 358. 375. 376); *ṭhiccā* (Kattig. 402, 355); *sŏccā* (Pav. 386, 6). At their side there are found absol. also in *-dūṇa : kādūṇa*, *ṇedūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 374. 375), wrongly[2] also in *ūṇa : jaiūṇa*, *gamaiūṇa*, *gahiūṇa*, *bhuñjāviūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 373. 374. 375. 376). Such Digambara texts will have been the source according to which Hc. allows also in Ś. *-ttā* and *-dūṇa* as well as forms not found in the Ś. of the dramas (§22. 266. 365. 475. 582. 584). At the side of the AMg. *pappodi=prāpnoti* (Pav. 389, 5) is found the usual *pāvadi* (Pav. 380, 11; Kattig. 400, 326; 403, 370); besides Ś. *jāṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25) there is *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 398, 302. 303; 400, 323) and *ṇādi*

[1] L.c., pp. 379–389; 398–404. The quotations are given according to page and verse. Cf. also Peterson, Fourth Report, pp. 142ff.

[2] In the manuscripts, just as in those of the dramas, often the M.-form is given instead of the Ś.-form.

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(Pav. 382, 25); moreover is used the form *muṇadi* (Kattig. 398, 303; 399, 313. 316. 337), *muṇedavvo* (MS. *muṇeyavvo*; Pav. 380, 8) unknown in Ś. Mg. In this way also other forms from M. AMg. Ś. are found side by side. So far as can be decided at present, the JŚ. has more in common with AMg. than the JM. and is partly more archaic. Both texts are in verse.

§22. The Śaurasenī occupies the first place among the Prākrit dialects which are used in the prose of the dramas.[1] As is clear from its designation, it is based on the language of Śūrasena, of which Mathurā was the capital.[2] According to the Bhāratīyanāṭya-śāstra 17, 46 the dialect of the dramas is said to be based on the Śaurasena, and according to 17, 51, the heroines and their lady-friends should speak Śūrasenī. According to Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 172, 21 cultured ladies of no lowly origin speak Ś., and according to p. 173, 11f. also the maidservants who are not too low, the children, eunuchs, astrologers of low order, the insane and the sick. Daśarūpa 2, 60, too mentions Ś. as the language of women. Acc. to Bharata 17, 51; Sāhityadarpaṇa 173, 4 and Pṛthvīdhara on Mṛcch. p. V ed. Stenzler=p. 493 ed. Goḍabole the Vidūṣaka speaks Prācyā[3] which is prescribed for other merry personages by Mk. fol. 72. Mk. refers to Bharata and remarks that the Prācyā is grammatically derived from Ś.: *Prācyāyāḥ siddhiḥ Śaurasenyāḥ.* The manuscripts are so corrupt that it is not possible to unravel all that Mk. has said on the peculiarities of Prācyā. It is very little, and that mostly of lexicographical nature. It is said that *murukkha* should be used for *mūrkha*; the voc. sing. of *bhavatī* is *bhodi*; for *vakra* any indifferent form is prescribed which differs from Ś.[4] The voc. sing. of *a*-stems may have Pluti; the Vidūṣaka uses the particles *hī hī bho* for the expression of contentment, *hī māṇhe* for the expression of amazement (*adbhute*) and *avida* for consternation. Moreover there seems to be a special law for *ṇaṃ, eva*, and perhaps also for the future. Pṛthvīdhara mentions as characteristic the frequent use of *kaḥ svārthe*. Hc. 4, 285 *hī hī vidūṣakasya* directly prescribes Ś. for the Vidūṣaka, and in 4, 282 *hī māṇahe vismayanirvede* is likewise mentioned as Ś. which is certainly right. Also the language of the Vidūṣaka and many other men appearing in the dramas is Ś. The older grammarians deal with the Ś. very cursorily. Vr. 12, 2 says that its basis is Skt. He gives for it 29 rules which are mostly

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[1] Also Śūrasenī, sometimes wrongly called Sūrasenī.

[2] Lassen, IAlt. $1^2$, 158, note 2; 796 note 2; $2^2$, 512; Cunningham, the Ancient Geography of India, (London 1871) 1, 374.

[3] Pischel, Die Recensionen der Çakuntalā (Breslau, 1875), pp. 16ff.

[4] Pischel on Hc. 1, 26.

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in agreement with the texts[1] and says 12, 32 that all else should be as in M.: *śeṣaṃ Māhārāṣṭrīvat*. Hc. 4, 260–286 has 27 rules, the last of which *śeṣaṃ Prākṛtavat* agrees with Vr. 12, 32. Otherwise Vr. and Hc. greatly differ from each other which is mostly to be explained by the fact that Hc. has taken into consideration also the Śaurasenī of the Digambaras (§21), the peculiarities of which have been carried over to the Ś. of the dramas by the Jainas, with the result that the text of the latter became corrupt and later authors were misled.[2] Little is offered by Kī. 5, 71–85. On the other hand much more copious information is given by the later grammarians Mk., fol. 65–72 and Rv. fol. 34ff. The manuscripts of the works of these authors available in Europe are so corrupt that here too only a part of the material contained in them may be used. The controlling of these texts is rendered difficult on account of the fact that most of the editions of the dramas are very uncritical. Of the editions which have appeared in India only few are usable, such as Bhāṇḍārkar's edition of the Mālatīmādhava (Bombay, 1876), and even of the texts edited by Europeans not many can be turned into account for linguistic purposes.[3] Not all the new editions are advances on the older ones. Thus the edition of Mudrārākṣasa by Telang (Bombay 1884) is much worse than that of Tārānāthatarkavācaspati (Calcutta, saṃvat 1926), and Bollensen's edition of the Mālavikāgnimitra (Leipzig 1879) is a regrettable retrograde step. Very often it was possible to arrive at a decision only after consulting the highest possible number of texts of one and the same drama.[4] Many editions exhibit quite a remarkable mixture of dialects. Thus the first Prākrit words of Kāleyakutūhala 2, 4 *bho kiṃ ti tue hakkārido hage | maṃ khu eṇhiṃ* (Text *ehṇiṃ*) *chuhā bāhei* contain three dialects: *hakkārido* is Ś., *hage* is Mg., *eṇhiṃ* and *bāhei* are M., and in the following the text is much more M. than Ś. In Mukundān. 58, 14, 15, one and the same stanza contains side by side Ś. *kadua* and M. *kāūṇa*. This may be due to the fault of the editor. In other cases however it is quite clear that the

[1] Pischel, KB. 8, 129ff.

[2] That Hc. used the Digambara texts although he was himself a Śvetāmbara is shown by Leumann, IS. 17, 133, note 1.

[3] Pischel, Hemacandra 1, xif. Since 1877 circumstances have but little changed. Now too, as before, one can use for grammatical purposes primarily only the Mṛcchakaṭikā ed. Stenzler, Śakuntalā ed. Pischel, Vikramorvaśī ed. Bollensen, and secondarily the Ratnāvalī ed. Cappeller, which is indeed the best edition of the drama, although it gives no variant readings and is somewhat too schematic. Konow's excellent edition of Karpūramañjarī could be used only in course of the printing of the present work. Rājaśekhara however is no authority for Ś. as shown above.

[4] A list of the texts utilised for this grammar, along with relevant remarks, will be found at the end of this grammar.

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authors themselves did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects. For instance Somadeva (§11) and Rājaśekhara. The critical edition of Karpūramañjarī by Konow shows that the manuscripts are not always responsible for Rājaśekhara's mistakes of dialects, and moreover the same mistakes are found also in the Bālarāmāyaṇa and the Viddhaśālabhañjikā. Thus for Karp. 7, 6 ed. Konow=11, 2 ed. Bomb. all the manuscripts have *ghēṭṭūṇa* instead of the only correct Ś. form *gĕṇhia*,—a mistake which is found also elsewhere (§584) ; in 9, 5=13, 5 ed. Bomb. there is the dative *suhāa* which is wrong in Ś. (§361) ; dialectical inaccuracies are further *tujjha* 10, 9=14, 7 and *majjha* 10, 10=14, 8 (§421, 418), *vva* 14, 3=17, 5 for *via* (§143), locatives such as *majjhammi* 6, 1=9, 5 for *majjhe*, *kavvammi* 16, 8=19, 10 for *kavve* (§366*a*), ablatives such as *pāmarāhiṃto* 20,6=22, 9 for *pāmarādo* (§365) etc. Dialectically incorrect is also the use of many Deśīs by Rājaśekhara, who had his own peculiarities in M. according to Mk. fol. 50 : *Rājaśekharasya Māhārāṣṭryāḥ prayoga ślokeṣv api dṛśyata iti ke cit*, whereby is meant perhaps the use of *da* for *ta* which should have otherwise been dropped. The manuscripts of his dramas on the other hand frequently show forms with elision instead of *da* in Ś. The Devanāgarī and the South Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and the South Indian recension of Vikramorvaśī [1] hopelessly confuse the various dialects and therefore cannot be taken into consideration at all for critical questions. In spite of all these difficulties it is however possible to get on the whole a fairly correct picture of Ś. In phonology the most characteristic feature is the change of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha* (§203) ; in declension and conjugation the great variety of forms of M. AMg. JM. JŚ. has been greatly simplified. Thus in the case of *a*-stems only the abl. sing. in *-do* and the loc. sing. in *-e* are in use ; in plural, in the case of all the stems, only the forms nasalized at the end are used in instr., gen. as well as in loc. ; the *i*- and *u*-stems have in gen. sing. only *-ṇo*, not *-ssa* as well ; in verbal flexion the Ātmanep. has almost completely disappeared ; the opt. has only the endings *-eaṃ* (1. sing.), *-e* ; many verbs have stem-forms different from M. ; the fut. is formed only from stems in *-i*, and the passive only in *-īa*, the absol., in contrast to M., almost exclusively in *-ia*=Skt. *-ya*, etc.[2] Vr. rightly remarked

[1] Pischel, KB. 8, 129ff.; Die Recensionen der Çakuntalā, pp. 19ff.; Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1875, pp. 613ff. Wrongly Weber, IS. 13, 39ff. ; 161ff. A collection of incorrect forms will be found in Burkhard, Flexiones Prācriticae quas editioni suae Sācuntali pro supplemento adjecit. Vratislaviae, 1874.

[2] Pischel, Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, pp. 794ff. ; Jacobi, Erzählungen, pp. lxx ff. Further details will be found in the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

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that Ś. has particularly close relation to Skt. in inflexion and vocabulary. In the latter it often widely differs from M.

§23. Māgadhī has been handed down to us in a much worse condition than Ś. According to Kohala in Mk. fol. 74, Mg. is spoken by Rākṣasas, Bhikṣus, Kṣapaṇakas, servants, etc.; according to Bharata 17, 50=Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 173, 2 Mg. is used also by people frequenting the ladies' apartments of the princes, by which are meant, according to Daśarūpa 2, 42; Sāhityad. 81, eunuchs, Kīrātas, dwarfs, Mlecchas, Ābhīras, the Śakāras, the hump-backed etc., and according to Bharata 24, 50–59 eunuchs, snātakas and valets.[1] According to Daśarūpa, 2, 60 Mg. is spoken by the Piśācas and by the very lowly people, according to Sarasvatīk. 56, 18 by people of the lower order. In the dramas the valets always speak Sanskrit (Śak. 93ff.; Vikr. 37ff.; Veṇīs. 17ff.; Nāgān. 61ff.; Mudrār. 78ff.; 110ff.; Anarghar. 109ff.; Pārvatīp. 36ff.; Priyad. 2f.; 28ff.; Pratāpar. 132ff.). The Śakāra speaks Mg. in Mṛcch., as well as his servant Sthāvaraka; the massager (who becomes a bhikṣu later); Kumbhīlaka, the servant of Vasantasenā; Vardhamānaka, the servant of Cārudatta; the two Cāṇḍālas; Rohasena, the young son of Cārudatta[2]; in Śak. 113ff. the two policemen and the fisherman; in 154ff. Sarvadamana, the young son of Śakuntalā; in Prab. 28–32, the disciple of Cārvāka and the messenger from Orissa; in 46–64 the Digambara Jaina; in Mudrār. 153f. the servant who prepares seats; in 174–178, 183–187, 190–194, the Jaina monk; in 197 the messenger[3]; in 256–269 Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka as Cāṇḍālas, while in 224ff. in another rôle they speak Ś.; in Lalitav. 565–567 the bards and the spy, who however speaks Ś. in another rôle in 567ff.; Rākṣasa and his wife in Veṇīs. 33–36; the watchers of elephants in Mallīkām. 143. 144; the servants in Nāgān. 67. 68 and Cait. 149f.; the vagrant in Caṇḍak. 42. 43; in 60–72 the Cāṇḍāla; the barber in Dhūrtas. 16; Sādhuhiṃsaka in Hāsyārṇava 31; the Digambara Jaina in Laṭakam. 12ff.; 25ff.; the hunch-back in Kaṃsavadha 48–52; the Jaina monk in Amṛtodaya 66. With the exception of Mṛcch., only short pieces are written in Mg., and in the Indian editions they are so much mutilated that very often the dialect can be hardly recognized. The edition of the Prabodhacandrodaya long ago announced by the Bombay Sanskrit Series has

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[1] It is not clear what is meant in Bharata by *aupasthāyikanirmuṇḍāḥ*.

[2] This is attested by Pṛthvīdhara in Stenzler, p. v and Goḍabole, p. 493. In the editions he speaks Ś.; but the MSS. regularly indicate Mg., as in 161, 9 they have *ale ale*, in 161, 16 *māledha*, in 165, 25 *ale*, and Goḍabole's (p. 449, 9) DH too have *māledha*. Wrongly Bloch., Vr. und Hc., p. 4. Cf. §42.

[3] Cf. Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 39, 130.

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unfortunately not yet appeared. The edition by Brockhaus is worthless, the editions of Pūṇā, Madras and Bombay are better, which have therefore been continually consulted by me. Of all these texts only the Lalitav. essentially agrees with the rules of the grammarians. In some other texts, such as the Mṛcch. and Śak., the manuscripts point to the rules of different dialects. Usually however they have been so strongly influenced by Ś., which is the basis of Mg. according to Vr. II, 2, and mostly coincides with it according to Hc. 4, 302, that the characteristics of the dialect have been largely obliterated. Most truly is followed the rule Hc. 4, 288 *rasor laśau*, and then 4, 287, the nom. sing. of *a*-stems in *-e*, and 4, 301=Vr. II, 9 *hage* for *aham*, more rarely for *vayam*. On the other hand no text, excepting Lalitav., observes the rule Hc. 4, 292=Vr. II, 4. 7, according to which *ya* should remain untouched and moreover take the place of *ja*, whereas *yya* is substituted for *dya*, *rya* and *rja*. And yet there can be no doubt that this as well all the other rules of the grammarians have to be followed against the manuscripts. From Vr. downwards all the grammarians are unanimous on the essential points [1]; according to 4, 302, Hc. found these characteristics in Mudrār., Śak., Veṇīs., though in our manuscripts only a part of them is found, and the manuscripts of Hc. leave us in the lurch even in this place. The more manuscripts become available the more variants are found which go against our present texts. For instance Mṛcch. 22, 4 in Stenzler's edition, which is, as usual, followed by Goḍabole 61, 5, reads: *tava jjĕvva haśte ciṣṭadu*. According to the grammarians it ought to have been: *tava yyeva haste ciṣṭhadu*. Goḍabole's manuscripts DH read *ĕvva*, C *jjeva*, almost all the manuscripts have *haste* and *ciṣṭadu*, i.e. *ciṣṭhadu* as in J. This is continually repeated. For Mudrār. 154, 3 E reads (in conformity with Hc. 4, 302) *yyeva*; for 264, 1 the majority of the MSS. has *ĕvva*, as also Veṇīs. 35, 7; 36, 5. The rule in Hc. 4, 295, according to which *śca* comes in the place of medial *cha*, was strictly observed by me in the Śak., for the MSS. suggested the same, and the MSS. of Mṛcch. (§233) too support it which also partially observe the rule of Hc. 4, 291, enjoining *sta* for *stha* and *rtha* (§310, 290). Phonologically characteristic for Mg. is the use of *la* for *ra* and of *śa* for *sa*, the retension of *ya*, the change of *ja* into *ya*, of *dya*, *rja*, *rya* into *yya*, of *ṇya*, *nya*, *ñja*, *ñja* into *ññа*, of *ccha* into *śca*, of *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭha* into *sta*, etc. (§24), in flexional system particularly the nomin. sing. of *a*-stems in *-e*. Otherwise the flexional system exactly corresponds to that of Ś. (§22), with which Mg. has moreover in common also the change of *ta* to *da* and of *tha* to *dha*.

[1] Cf. §24 and the relevant paragraphs in this grammar.

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§24. According to Pṛthvīdhara on Mṛcch. Stenzler, p. v =p. 494 of ed. Goḍabole the brother-in-law of the King speaks Śākārī, a dialect called Apabhraṃśa. It is mentioned also by Kī. 5, 99; Rv. in Lassen, Inst., p. 21; Mk. fol. 76; Bharata 17, 53; Sāhityad. p. 173, 6. Lassen, Inst., pp. 422ff., has tried to ascertain the characteristics of this dialect, and comes to the conclusion (p. 435), that Śākārī is a Māgadhī dialect. This conclusion is certainly right, as Mk. fol. 76 too derives it from Mg.: *Māgadhyāḥ Śākārī | sādhyatīti śeṣaḥ.* | From Pṛthvīdhara on Mṛcch. 9, 22 (Stenzler, p. 240)=p. 500 ed. Goḍabole, it appears that in this dialect a *y* was pronounced before the palatals, e.g. *yciṣṭha=tiṣṭha* (§217); this *y* was so weak that it could not make position in verse. According to Mk. the same phonetic law was found also in Mg. and Vrācaḍa Apabhraṃśa (§28). Other peculiarities such as the use of *ḍa* for *ta* in certain particip. pret. (§219), the gen. sing. of *a*-stems in *-āha* beside *-aśśa* (§366) are found in the language also of other persons; the loc. in *-āhiṃ* (§366*a*) and voc. plur. in *-āho* (§372) are found only in the dialect of Śakāra, but this is perhaps due merely to accident. In the last three forms this dialect coincides with the Apabhraṃśa, so that Pṛthvīdhara's classification is not without justification. The grammarians and the writers on poetics referred to above mention also the Cāṇḍālī as a separate dialect, which, according to Mk. fol. 82, is derived from Māgadhī and Śaurasenī, and is also quite rightly considered by Lassen, Inst., p. 420, to be Mg. Mk., fol. 81, again derives Śābarī from Cāṇḍālī. The basis of Śābarī would be accordingly Ś., Mg. and Śākārī, cf. Lassen, Inst., §162. According to Mk. fol. 3ª to the Mg.-dialects belong also the Bāhlīkī, which is assigned to gamesters by Bharata 17, 52=Sāhityad. p. 173, 7, and by others it is assigned to the Piśāca-countries (§27). Without doubt Mg. was no homogeneous language but was split up into dialects. This explains the fact that for *kṣa* we find partly *ḫka* and partly *śka*, for *rtha* partly *sta* and partly *śta*, for *ṣka* partly *ska* and partly *śka*. All those dialects may be regarded as Mg. which have *ya* for *ja*, *la* for *ra*, *śa* for *sa* and in which the nomin. of *a*-stems ends in *-e*. It has been however already pointed out in §17. 18 that the boundary of *e*-dialects extended beyond the borders of Magadha. Bharata 17, 58 makes the statement that the language of all the countries between the Ganges and the Ocean are rich in *e*. This is however too vague. Hoernle[1] has divided all the Prākrits into the two groups of 'Śaurasenī Prākrit tongue' and the 'Māgadhī Prākrit tongue' and drawn the line of demarcation between them from Khālsī in the north over Bairat, Allāhābād up to

[1] Comp. Grammar, pp. xviiff.

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Jaugaḍa in the south through Rāmagarh.[1] Grierson,[2] who supports Hoernle, assumes that the two Prākrit languages gradually approach each other and as the result of their mixture there arose a third dialect,—the Ardhamāgadhī, which he assigns to the country around Allāhābād and that of the Marāṭhās. I do not believe that this theory can be defended. The Lāṭ-dialect indeed shows clear traces of dialects,—even between Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa there are dialectical differences[3]; but on the whole it appears to be a homogeneous language which was perhaps the language of the empire and was therefore understood rather than spoken very far in the N.W. and the S.[4] The Aśoka-inscriptions of Khālsī, Delhi, Mīrāt, the inscription of Bairāt, and other inscriptions as well, give us therefore no information about the language of the country. In ancient days too it was certainly as it is to-day, that the individual dialects, which however cannot be called Prākrit (§5), very gradually shaded off into each other. The Ardhamāgadhī is a strong proof of this. There is no relation between modern Mg.[5] and that of ancient days.

§25. The name Ḍhakkī points to Ḍhakka in eastern Bengal. Ḍhakkī is spoken in the Mṛcchakaṭikā pp. 29–39 by Māthura, the owner of the gambling house and the gambler accompanying him. Mk. fol. 81, Rv. in Lassen, Inst., p. 5, and Pṛthvīdhara on Mṛcch., p. v=p. 493 ed. Goḍabole include the Ḍhakkī among the Apabhraṃśa-dialects along with Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī and Śābarī. In conformity with its geographical position it is a transition language between Māgadhī and Apabhraṃśa. According to Pṛthvīdhara it is phonetically characterized by the predominance of *la* and the use of two sibilants, the palatal *śa* and the dental *sa: lakāraprāyā*[6] *Ḍhakkavibhāṣā Saṃskṛtaprāyatve dantyatālavyasaśakāradvayayuktā*[7] *ca.* The significance of which is that, as in Mg., *ra* changes into *la* and *ṣa* into *sa; sa* itself however, as well as *śa*, remains unchanged where it occurs in the Sanskrit prototype. In the texts the method of writing is not always consistent, but the manuscripts have often the correct reading. Stenzler reads 29, 15; 30, 1 *are re*, 30, 7 *re*, 30, 11 *are*, Goḍabole however 82, 1; 84, 4; 86, 1 *ale*, 85, 5 *le* as in most of his manuscripts, and as is otherwise read by Stenzler everywhere (30, 16; 31, 4. 9. 16; 35, 7. 12; 36, 15; 39, 16). The rule is further corroborated by *luddhu=ruddhaḥ* (29, 15; 30, 1), *palivevida=pari-*

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[1] Caṇḍa, p. xxi.
[2] Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdialects of the Bihārī Language. Part I (Calcutta, 1883), pp. 5ff.
[3] Senart, Piyadasi 2, 432f.
[4] Senart, Piyadasi 2, 433ff.
[5] Grierson, Seven Grammars. Part III (Calcutta, 1883).
[6] Stenzler gives this correct reading; Goḍabole reads p. 2 and 494 *vakāraprāyā*.
[7] This correct reading is given by Goḍabole.

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*vepita* (30, 7), *kulu kulu=kuru kuru* (31, 16), *dhāledi=dhārayati* (34, 9 ; 39, 13), *puliso=puruṣaḥ* (34, 12). But in more cases there is *ra* in the texts and manuscripts. Thus we have throughout *jūdiara* (29, 15 ; 30, 1. 12 ; 31, 12 ; 36, 18), only in 36, 18=106, 4 ed. Goḍabole are found the variant readings with *la* ; also in the Calcutta ed. of śaka 1792, p. 85, 3, there is *jūdakalassa*, and, as in the Calcutta ed. of 1829, p. 74, 3, *muṭṭhippahāleṇa* instead of °*reṇa* of the others, while all the editions have *ruhirapahaṃ aṇusarĕmha* for the expected reading *luhilapadhaṃ aṇusalĕmha*. In the verses 30, 4. 5, besides *salaṇaṃ*, for which the Calcutta ed. of 1792 rightly reads *śalaṇaṃ*, there is *Ruddo rakkhiduṃ taraï* instead of *Luddo lakkhiduṃ taladi*. Other cases are *aṇusarĕmha* (30, 13), *Māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), *pidaraṃ*, *mādaraṃ* (32, 10. 12), *pasaru* (32, 16), *jajjhara* (34, 11 besides *puliso*!), *uarodheṇa* (36, 24), *ahareṇa raï* (39, 8). The MSS. are equally uncertain as to the use of the sibilants. Beside the correct *daśasuvaṇṇāha* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *daśasuvaṇṇaṃ* (31, 4 ; 32, 3 ; 34, 9. 12, etc.), *śuṇṇu* (30, 11), *śela* (30, 17) there are the incorrect forms *jasaṃ* (30, 9), *ādaṃsaāmi* (34, 25), *paḍissudia* (35, 5) ; the palatal sibilant is wrongly used for instance in *śamaviśamaṃ*, *sakaluśaaṃ* (30, 8. 9). If *la* and *śa* suggest the relationship of Ḍhakkī to Mg., the ending *-u=-aḥ* and *-am* and in the 2. sing. Imperative points to the Apabhraṃśas. Here too the MSS. are however quite untrustworthy. Beside *deulu* (30, 11) there is *deulaṃ* (30, 12) ; beside *esu=eṣaḥ* (31, 12 ; 34, 17 ; 35, 15) there is *eso* (30, 10) ; besides *pasalu=prasara* (32, 16) there is *geṇha* (29, 16 ; 30, 2), *paaccha=prayaccha* (31, 4. 7. 9 ; 32, 8. 12. 14 ; 34, 24 ; 35, 7) ; besides nominatives in *-u*, such as *luddhu=ruddhaḥ* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *vippadīvu pādu=vipratīpaḥ pādaḥ* (30, 11), *dhuttu, Mādhulu, ṇiuṇu=dhūrto, Māthuro, niṗuṇaḥ* (32, 7), *vihavu=vibhavaḥ* (34, 17), the texts have nominatives in *-o*, such as *baddho* (31, 12), °*ppāvudo puliso=°prāvṛtaḥ puruṣaḥ* (34, 12), *ācakkhanto* (§499) (34, 24), °*vutto=°vṛttaḥ* (35, 1), as well as in *-e*, such as *pāḍhe=pāṭhaḥ* (30, 25 ; 31, 1), *laddhe gohe=labdhaḥ puruṣaḥ* (31, 3). That we are concerned here merely with mistakes of manuscript-tradition and not with characteristics of the dialect is clearly proved by *baddho* 31, 14 in Mg. for the correct *baddhe*, which is found in no edition. The *tha* in *Māthuru* is also certainly a mistake (32, 7 ; 34, 25), for which should be read *Mādhulu* ; as for *pāṭhe* of all editions (30, 25 ; 31, 1), also in Mg. (31, 2), Goḍabole's manuscripts DH, p. 88, read *pāḍe*, K *pāḍhe*, which form in its entirety, including the ending, is correct only in Ḍh. Thus in 30, 16 there is *kadhaṃ=katham*, but in 36, 19 *ruhirapahaṃ=rudhirapatham*. The right form would be *ludhilapadhaṃ*. As in the cases of Ś. and Mg., so also in the case of Ḍh., the manuscripts cannot be relied upon, and as the text in

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question is so short there is no hope that we shall ever get a clear idea of the dialect.[1] Cf. §203.

§26. It is equally difficult to get a clear idea of the other dialects mentioned by the grammarians. According to Pṛthvīdhara the two police chiefs Vīraka and Candanaka speak the language of Avanti in Mṛcchakaṭikā, pp. 99–106. Of this dialect he only says that it contains *sa* and *ra* and is rich in adages: *tathā | Śauraseny Avantijā Prācyā | etāsu dantyasakāratā | tatrāvantijā rephavatī lokoktibahulā*. Pṛthvīdhara's quotation is=Bharata 17, 48. According to Bharata 17, 51=Sāhityad. p. 173, 4, the *dhūrtāḥ* should speak the Avantijā in the drama, by which, according to the scholiast in Lassen, Inst., p. 36, gamblers are meant. For that reason Lassen, Inst., pp. 417–419, declared the language of the Māthura to be Āvantī. This is however wrong. Mk. fol. 3, as well as Kī. 5, 99 includes the Āvantī among the *bhāṣāḥ*, and in fol. 73 declares it to be a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This mixture is found in one and the same sentence: *Āvantī syān Māhārāṣṭrī Śaurasenyās tu saṃkarāt || anayoḥ saṃkarād Avantībhāṣā siddhā syāt | saṃkaraś caikasminn eva vākye boddhavyaḥ*. In this dialect are found, for instance, *hoi=bhavati, pĕcchadi=prekṣate, darisedi=darśayati*. This description suits the language of the two policemen as it is given in the MSS. In the stanza 99, 16. 17 there are found side by side Ś. *acchadha* and M. *bhĕttūṇa, vaccaï*; in 99, 24. 25 Ś. *āacchadha* and M. *turiaṃ, jatteha, karĕjjāha, pahavaï*; in 100, 4 there is *darisesi*; in 100, 12 M. *jaha* besides Ś. *khuḍido*; in 100, 19; 101, 7; 105, 9 *vaccadi*, a mixture of M. *vaccaï* (99, 17) and Ś. *vajjadi*, as well as *vajjaï* (100, 15); in 103, 15 *kahijjadi* and in 16 *sahijjaï*,—the second pure M. and the first a mixture of M. *kahijjaï* and Ś. *kadhīadi*. Many other similar forms occur in prose and verses. Pṛthvīdhara's definition might accordingly appear to be right. But with reference to Candanaka, the latter's own statement in 103, 5 goes against him: *vaaṃ dakkhiṇattā avvattabhāsiṇo . . . mlecchajātīnām anekadeśabhāṣābhijñā yatheṣṭaṃ mantrayāmaḥ* 'We Southerners speak indistinctly. As we are familiar with the languages of many barbarian countries, we speak just as we like'. Candanaka thus calls himself a southerner (*dākṣiṇātya*), and his own statement in 103, 16 points to the same conclusion: *kaṇṇāḍakalahappaoaṃ karemi* 'I intend to quarrel in the manner of the Karṇāṭas'. It is therefore very much unlikely that he should have spoken Āvantī. It should rather be assumed that his language is the Dākṣiṇātyā, which Bharata 17, 48 mentions as one of the seven *bhāṣāḥ*, and which according to

[1] Lassen, Inst., pp. 414ff., is of opinion that the gambler speaks Dākṣiṇātyā and the Māthura speaks Āvantī. See §26. Bloch is wrong in Vr. und Hc., p. 4.

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17, 52=Sāhityad., p. 173, 5 is spoken in the dramas by hunters and police-officers. Mk. fol. 3 (cf. fol. 76) does not recognize it as a separate language, because it has no particular characteristics (*lakṣaṇākaraṇāt*). According to Lassen, Inst., pp. 414–416, the unnamed gambler in Mṛcch. speaks Dākṣiṇātyā and he believed to have found traces of this dialect also in the language of the police-officer. Both these views are wrong. The language of the gambler is Dhakkī (§25), and that of the police-officer in Śak. differs in nothing from the usual Ś., as was perceived already by Böhtlingk.[1] As some of the manuscripts of the Bengali recension show the reduplication of aspirates, I thought ago [2] that this must be a characteristic feature of the Dākṣiṇātyā. But this reduplication is found also in Māgadhī in a manuscript, and it is not at all a linguistic but an orthographic phenomenon (§193). In so far as we are at present in a position to give an opinion on the point, the Dākṣiṇātyā, which is spoken by Vīraka, must have been very much akin to Āvantī, and both to Ś. Apart from the mixture of dialects such forms as the following are incorrect in Ś. : *vaaṃ* for *amhe, do=dvau,* and, what is very remarkable, the change of *tya* into *tta* in *dakṣiṇatta* (§281). The form *darisaanti* is found also in Ś. Mṛcch. 70, 25.

§27. Paiśācī is a very archaic dialect. Vr. 10, 1ff. knows only one dialect of this name. Similarly Kī. 5, 96 and Siṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 3, where this dialect is called Paiśācaka, and Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12 who calls it Paiśācika and in a grammatical quotation designates it by Paiśācikī. Hc. 4, 303–324 deals with Paiśācī and appends to it (325–328) the *Cūlikapaiśācikā*. He is followed by Triv. 3, 2, 43ff. and Śr. fol. 63ff., both of whom designate the second dialect as Cūḷikāpaiśācī. An unknown author (§3 note 1) quoted by Mk. fol. 2 speaks of eleven kinds of P. : *kāñcideśīyapāṇḍye ca pāñcālagauḍamāgadham | vrācaḍaṃ dākṣiṇātyaṃ ca śaurasenaṃ ca kaikayam | śābaraṃ drāviḍaṃ caiva ekādaśa piśācakāḥ.* According to fol. 3 Mk. himself deals only with three Paiśācīs, namely *kaikeya, śaurasena* and *pāñcāla,* for only these three were also literary languages: *kaikeyaṃ śaurasenaṃ ca pāñcālam iti ca tridhā | paiśācyo nāgarā yasmāt tenāpy anyā na lakṣitāḥ.* According to Mk. fol. 86 the Kaikeya is based on Sanskrit and the Śaurasena on Śaurasenī. The only difference of Pāñcāla from the Śaurasena is the use of *la* for *ra.* Rv. in Lassen, Inst., p. 22, assumes two classes of Paiśācī,—the Kaikeyapaiśācam and another, the name of which has been handed down in the corrupt form Caska. According to the degree of purity they are again subdivided into smaller groups, of which, according

[1] On Śak., p. 240 of his edition.

[2] GN., 1873, pp. 212ff.

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to Lassen, Inst. Appendix, p. 6, the Māgadha and the Vrācaḍa are called Paiśācikas. Lakṣmīdhara in Lassen, Inst., p. 13, derives the name P. from the lands of the Piśācas where it is spoken, and mentions as such, following the view of the ancients, Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlīka, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala, Gāndhāra and four other countries, the names of which are handed down in the corrupt forms Sudeṣa, Bhota, Haiva and Kanojana. These names point to the north and the west of India. A nation of Paiśācas is mentioned in Mahābhārata 7, 121, 14. The Indians however understood by Piśāca only the demons (*bhūta*) of this name (Kathāsaritsāgara 7, 26. 27). Thus already Bhāmaha on Vr. 10, 1: *piśācānāṃ bhāṣā Paiśācī*, and that is the reason why this dialect is also called *Bhūtabhāṣā* 'language of the demons' (Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa 1, 38; Sarasvatīk. 95, 11. 13; Kathāsaritsāgara 7, 29; 8, 30; Hall, Vāsavadattā, p. 22 note) or *Bhūtabhāṣita* and *Bhautika* (Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 1. 3), *Bhūtavacana* (Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 5 = Sarasvatīk. 57, 11). According to popular belief the invariable sign of a Bhūta is that he speaks through the nose, and Crooke[1] avers from it that, like modern English, this language too on that account has been called Piśācabhāṣā. The grammarians say nothing of this nasalizing tendency, and I hold it to be more probable that like M. Ś. Mg. the Paiśācī language too received its name originally from a people or a country, and this name was similar in sound to 'Piśāca'; the language too was later referred to the demons called Piśāca. The people of Piśācas or Paiśācas is nowhere mentioned excepting in the passage of the Mahābhārata referred to above, but on the other hand the individual tribes have been mentioned very frequently, e.g. Kaikeya or Kekaya, Bāhlīka [to which, at all events, Mk. assigns a Mg.-dialect (§24)], Kuntala and Gāndhāra. According to Daśarūpa 2, 60, Paiśāca or Māgadha is spoken by the Piśācas,—persons of very low origin; Bhojadeva, Sarasvatīk. 57, 25 forbids the use of pure P. by very high personages: *nātyuttamapātraprajojyā Paiśācī śuddhā*. The example given by him occurs in Hc. 4, 326 as an instance of Cūlikāpaiśācika. High personages, who appear not in just the highest rôles, should, according to Sarasvatīk. 58, 15, speak in a language which is Sanskrit and Paiśācī at the same time,—a favourite sport in *bhāṣāśleṣa* which is all the easier in Paiśācī, because of all the Prākrit dialects it has the closest relation to Skt. Vr. 10, 2 however mentions Śaurasenī as the basis of P., and Hc. 4, 323 agrees with this view; but from the point of view of phonology, as Hc. 4, 324 shows, it stands closer to Skt., Pāli and the dialect of Pallava grants.

[1] An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad, 1894), p. 149.

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Characteristic for P., and still more for Cūlikāpaiśācī, which are not strictly kept apart by the grammarians (§191), is the mutation of the mediæ into tenues, e.g. P.CP. *matana=madana ; Tāmotara=Dāmodara* ; P. *patesa=pradeśa* ; CP. *nakara=nagara ; kiri=giri ; mekha=megha ; khamma=gharma ; rācā=rājā ; cīmūta=jīmūta*, etc. (§190. 191). Another characteristic feature of it is the retention of most consonants without any change, as well as of *na*, which is also the substitute of *ṇa*, just as, on the contrary, *la* is changed into *ḷa*. On account of the mutation of the mediæ and of the transformation of *ṇa* into *na* and of *la* into *ḷa*, Hoernle [1] holds that P. is a form of Aryan speech which was formed in the mouth of the Dravidians when they tried to speak an Aryan dialect. Already Senart [2] rightly protested against this theory. Against the statement of Hoernle that the mutation of mediæ to tenues is found in no Aryan dialect of India it has to be noted that sporadical cases of this mutation are found already in the dialect of Shāhbāzgarhī [3] as well as in the Lāṭ-dialect [4] and the Leṇa-dialect.[5] Of the modern languages the mutation of aspirates is found in the dialects of Dardū and Kāfir and in the Gypsy-language,[6]—a fact which suggests that the home of P. is to be sought in the North-West of India.[7] The P. is such a peculiar and independent dialect that it came to be regarded as a fourth language beside Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa (Kathāsarits. 7, 29 ; cf. 6, 148 ; Bṛhatkathām. 6, 52 ; Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 4. 5 ; Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 1). Perhaps P. is meant also by *grāmyabhāṣā* in which the Bhīmakāvya was composed according to Vāgbhaṭa, Alaṃkāratilaka 15, 13. It is all the more regrettable that for the knowledge of this dialect we have to depend solely on the few and insufficient data of the grammarians. The Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya was written in P.,[8] which is placed in the first or the second century of the Christian era by Bühler.[9]

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[1] Comp. Grammar, p. xix f. [2] Piyadasi 2, 501, note 1.

[3] Johansson, Shābāzgarhī 1, 172f.

[4] Senart, Piyadasi 2, 375 (*Kaṃboca*), 376 (*paṭipātayehaṃ* etc.) ; 397 (*tuphe*, etc.).

[5] Hultzsch, ZDMG. 37, 549 ; 40, 66, note 5.

[6] Miklosich, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeunermundarten I. II (Wien, 1874), pp. 15ff. ; IV (Wien, 1878), p. 51. Cf. also Gyp. *khūl*=Hindī *ghūr* in Pischel, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner (Halle a.S. 1894), p. 42, and Kalaṣa *khās*=Gyp. *khas*=Hindī *ghās*=Skt. *ghāsa*.

[7] Pischel, Deutsche Rundschau XXXVI (Berlin, 1883), p. 368. It has been wrongly said there that Guṇāḍhya was an inhabitant of Kashmir. He was a South Indian, his work was, however, particularly popular in Kashmir as the abridgments of Somadeva and Kṣemendra amply prove.

[8] Hall, Vāsavadattā (Calcutta, 1859), p. 22f., Anm. ; Bühler, IA. 1, 302ff. ; Lévi, JA. 1885, VI, 412ff. Cf. Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12.

[9] Detailed Report, p. 47.

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The only connected fragments in this dialect are to be found in Hc. 4, 310. 316. 320. 322. 323,[1] perhaps also 326. According to the traditions of Northern Buddhists, 116 years after the death of Buddha four Sthaviras belonging to the four different castes formed an assembly, and they spoke the languages Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Paiśācī respectively. The Sthaviras, one of the four main schools of Vaibhāṣikas, are said to have used Paiśācī.[2]

§28. Apabhraṃśa, in the widest sense of the term, signifies everything that deviates from the correct language—Sanskrit. Therefore it is also the designation of the popular speeches of India (§4), and only distantly does it signify particular Prākrit dialects, which were raised to the status of literary language from popular dialects as is the rule with Prākrit (§5). Hc. 4, 329–446 deals with the A. as a homogeneous language. But from his rules it appears that very different dialects are comprehended under the title Apabhraṃśa. The forms *dhruṃ*, *traṃ* (4, 360), *tudhra* (4, 372), *prassadi* (4, 393), *brŏppiṇu*, *brŏppi* (4, 391), *gṛhanti*, *gṛṇhĕppiṇu* (4, 341. 394. 438), *Vrāsu* (4, 399) with their *r* and *ṛ* belong to a dialect quite different from what has been taught in most of the other rules. The rule 4, 396, according to which in A. *ka, kha, ta, tha, pa, pha* generally become *ga, gha, da, dha, ba, bha* respectively, stands as much in contradiction to by far the great majority of other rules as to 4, 446, according to which the A. should be mostly dealt with as the Śaurasenī.[3] The language of Piṅgala has gone much farther in the direction of disintegration than the A. in the Vikramorvaśī of Kālidāsa and in Hc. The anonymous author in Mk. fol. 2 assumes 27 kinds of A., among which are found almost all the sub-sections given in the case of Paiśācī (§27). Similarly Rv. in Lassen, Inst. App., p. 5. As the differences are too small (*sūkṣmabhedatvāt*) Mk. confines the A. to the three varieties of *nāgara*, *vrācaḍa* and *upanāgara*. The same varieties are given also by Kramadīśvara, who however calls the second variety *vrācaṭa*. The main variety is the Nāgara A., to which Mk. assigns also the language of Piṅgala in so far as he quotes him under it. From the Nāgara is derived the Vrācaḍa, which is the dialect of Sindh according to Mk. fol. 85 : *Sindhudeśodbhavo vrācaḍo 'pabhraṃśaḥ*. Among its peculiarities Mk. mentions the prothesis of a *y* before *c*, *j* and the change of *ṣa*,

[1] Pischel, De gr. Pr., p. 33. I cannot find where the passage stands in Somadeva's work. Kathāsaritsāgara 11, 48. 49 agrees with some passages, but not sufficiently accurately.

[2] Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literatur. Aus dem Russischen übersetzt [von Th. Benfey] 1, 248, note 3; 295 (St. Petersburg, 1860).

[3] Pischel, Hc. 1, IX.

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*sa* into *śa*. Mk. ascribes these phonetic laws also to Mg., and Pṛthvīdhara ascribes them to the language of the Śakāra (§24). Further characteristics are the facultative mutation of *ta, da* into *ṭa, ḍa*, and, as it appears, the retention of *ṛ* with the exception of *bhṛtya*, etc. The rest is quite corrupt in the MSS. A mixture of Nāgara and Vrācaḍa gives rise to Upanāgara. Kī. 5, 70 is obscure. According to Mk. fol. 81 Hariścandra considered also the Śākkī or Śakkī to be an Apabhraṃśa dialect, but Mk. himself considers Śākkī to be a mixture of Skt. and Ś. and reckons it among the Vibhāṣāḥ in fol. 3. The words *ehu*[1] *je=eṣa yadi* in Piṅgala 1, 4[a] are of Vārendrī bhāṣā (which therefore is located in Bengal[2]) according to Ravikara quoted by Bollensen on Vikr. 527. For Ḍhakkī see §25. The A. is thus attested in the whole region from Sindh to Bengal, and this is in conformity with its nature as popular speech. Only a small portion of the many A. has been remodelled into Prākrit. Lakṣmināthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1, 1. 29. 61 calls the language of Piṅgala Avahaṭṭhabhāṣā[3]=Apabhraṣṭabhāṣā, but on p. 22, 15 he says that he would briefly describe the Varṇamarkaṭī, which is not taken into account by Piṅgala and other teachers, by *śabdaiḥ prākṛtair avahaṭṭakaiḥ*. Hc. in Deśīn. 1, 37 says, he has not mentioned *avajjhāo=upādhyāyaḥ*, because it has *prākṛtaṃ apabhraṣṭam iva rūpam*. In 1, 67 he quotes an opinion according to which *āsiao* is an Apabhraṃśa of *āyasikaḥ*, and in Kathāsaritsāgara 17, 141 the pure Māhārāṣṭrī words *eso ṭhiŏ kkhu majjhāro*[4] are said to be *apabhraṣṭa*. The literary A. is therefore actually *prākṛto 'pabhraṃśaḥ*. In spite of its phonetic confusion and the almost incredible freedom with which the poets change the vowels to suit the rhyme, drop the ending, suppress whole syllables and confuse gender, number, case, passive, active, etc., Apabhraṃśa is still uncommonly important and interesting, and moreover it has not a few things in common with the Vedic (§6).

§29. For the knowledge of A. the most important source up to date is Hc. 4, 329–446, which is followed by Triv. 3, 3, 1ff. Over and above the material used by me in my edition I have used also the Vyutpattidīpikā of Udayasaubhāgyagaṇin in the two Pūṇa-manuscripts.[5] The work is called Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhuṇḍhikā

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[1] Bollensen has *eho* in the text and *eha* in the commentary. The Bombay edition has *eo* in the text.

[2] B.-R. s.v. Varendra and Vārendra.

[3] The Bombay edition has everywhere °*haṭṭa*°, cf. Sarasvatīk. 59, 9.

[4] Brockhaus wrongly reads *majjhāo*, correctly Durgāprasād and Parab (Bombay, 1889), who read *khu*.

[5] Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay, 1888), p. 68, No. 276; p. 118, No. 788.

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and is confined to etymologically explaining the individual words on the ground of Hc.'s rules. It is therefore valueless for the most part. Neither is the text much improved by the two MSS., because they share all the defects of the manuscripts [1] which I used before. But, like Trivikrama, Udayasaubhāgyagaṇin has appended a Skt.-translation to the A.-examples which is very much helpful for the understanding of the text and has been of great benefit to me. It cannot yet be said from where Hc.'s examples are derived. One gets the impression that they are taken from an anthology of the kind of the Sattasaī. The stanzas Hc. 4, 357, 2. 3 are found, along with elaborate gloss, also in Sarasvatīk., p. 76, as was already pointed out by Zachariae.[2] Further Hc. 4, 353 occurs also in Caṇḍa 1, 11[a] (p. 36), 4, 330, 2 also in Caṇḍa 2, 27[g] (p. 47), and in 2, 27[i] (p. 47) he gives an A.-stanza of his own (§34, note 4). Hc. 4, 420, 5 is found also in Sarasvatīk., p. 158 and Hc. 4, 367, 5 occurs also in Śukasaptati, p. 160. Next to Hc. the A.-stanzas in Vikramorvaśī, pp. 55–72, have to be taken into consideration. Shankar P. Paṇḍit [3] and Bloch [4] declared these metrical pieces to be unauthentic. But they are found in all the manuscripts which are not derived from South India, where also other works have been systematically abridged,[5] and which are, on the showing of Konow,[6] free from the suspicion of being unauthentic. The Piṅgalachandaḥsūtra would yield much rich material if we had a critical edition of it. Bollensen made a beginning in this line in the appendix to his edition of the Vikramorvaśī, pp. 52off. His materials have been drawn to Berlin [7] by Siegfried Goldschmidt, who intended to bring out an edition. Other rich materials are to be found in India.[8] The edition: The Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras with the commentary of Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa. Edited by Śivadatta and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab. Bombay, 1894=Kāvyamālā 41 is hardly usable. I have compared with this edition the text of Piṅgala [9] prepared by Goldschmidt up to 2, 140. In some passages this text has been useful to me. On the whole however it agrees with the Bombay edition even in its

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[1] Hc. 1, IX.

[2] GGA. 1884, p. 309.

[3] Vikramorvaśīyam (Bombay, 1879), pp. 9ff.

[4] Vararuci und Hemacandra, pp. 15ff.

[5] Pischel, GN., 1874, 214; Monatsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin, 1875, 613. Also in the case of Pañcatantra and Mahābhārata the South Indian recensions are the shortest, but by no means the oldest.

[6] GGA., 1894, 475.

[7] Weber, Verzeichniss 2, 1, 269ff.

[8] Aufrecht, Cat. Cat. 1, 336ff.; 2, 75, where it has been rightly said that much foreign material is found in our text. As for instance quotations from the Karpūramañjarī, pp. 199. 200. 211.

[9] Weber, Verzeichniss 2, 1, 270 Nr. 1711.

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mistakes, which shows that the material available in Europe is not sufficient for a critical edition. Goldschmidt's text was certainly not meant for publication, but an attempt for private purposes as the MS. amply shows. There is still much to be done, and without an edition with all critical material and the oldest and the best commentators this A. can be used only in a limited measure. Otherwise A.-stanzas are found only very seldom. Thus in the Erz. edited by Jacobi, p. 157f.; in Kk. 260, 43ff.; 272, 34–38; Dvār. 504, 26–32; in the Sarasvatīk., pp. 34. 59. 130. 139. 140. 165. 166. 167. 177. 214. 216. 217. 219. 254. 260f.; in the commentary on Daśarūpa, 139, 11; 162, 3; in the Dhvanyāloka 243, 20 by Ānandavardhana (§14 with note 2); in the Śukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Edited by Richard Schmidt (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 32. 49. 76. 122. 136. 152 note; 160 with note; 170 note; 182 note; 199; in the Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, ed. Uhle, p. 217, No. 13; 220, No 20; in the Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā, IS. 15, 394; in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Bombay, 1888), pp. 17. 46. 56. 59. 61. 62. 63. 70. 80. 109. 112. 121. 141. 157. 158. 159. 204. 228. 236. 238. 248; in Beames, Comp. Grammar 2, 284. The most of these stanzas are so hopelessly corrupt that only particular words out of them may be turned to account. The Abdhimathana is mentioned by Vāgbhaṭa, Alaṃkāratilaka 15, 13 to be a work written in A.

§30. According to the Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 31–44[1]; Daśarūpa 2, 59. 60; Sāhityad. 432, men of position speak Sanskrit in the drama, and, among women, the nuns, the chief queen, the daughters of ministers, and the hetairai (according to Bharata also the female artistes). Other women speak Prākrit, the Apsarasas on the earth speak whatever language they like. Yet the chief queen everywhere speaks Prākrit, the minister's daughters Mālatī and Madayantikā speak Prākrit in the Mālatīmādhava, the hetaira Vasantasenā in Mṛcchakaṭikā speaks mostly Prākrit, but in verses she speaks Sanskrit as in pp. 83–86. It was assumed in the case of the hetairai that they have command over both the languages. It was the sign of a perfect hetaira that she should be an adept in the 64 arts, adorned with the 64 accomplishments and conversant with the 18 popular languages[2]: *gaṇiyā . . . caüsaṭṭhikalāpaṇḍiyā caüsaṭṭhigaṇiyāguṇovaveyā . . . aṭṭhārasadesībhāsāvisārayā* (Nāyādh. 480; Vivāgas. 55f.). That was concomitant in the profession. In

[1] Bharata gives various details which I desist from dealing with more closely, for the text is often uncertain.

[2] The number of popular dialects is set down at 18 also in Ovav. §109; Nāyādh. §121; Rāyap. 291. Only the Deśabhāṣāḥ in general are referred to in Kāmasūtra 33, 9.

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Kumārasambhava 7, 90 Sarasvatī praises the newly married couple Śiva and Pārvatī in two languages,—Śiva in Skt., and Pārvatī in the language which is easily understood, i.e. Prākrit. Rājaśekhara in Karp. 5, 3. 4 says that works in Skt. are rough, and that those in Prākrit are sweet. Their difference is the same as between man and woman. In Mṛcch. 44, 1ff. the Vidūṣaka says that two things provoke him to laughter,—a woman who speaks Skt. and a man who sings in a low voice. A woman speaking Skt. always makes the sound *su su* like a heifer through whose nose a string has been passed, and a man who sings in a low voice resembles a house-priest who mutters his prayers with a dried up wreath of flowers on his head. The actor in the Mṛcch., who later plays in the rôle of the Vidūṣaka, at first speaks Skt.; whenever however he is about to speak to a woman he declares (2, 14) his readiness to speak Pkt. 'according to usage and circumstances'. Pṛthvīdhara (495, 13) gives a quotation, according to which a man should speak Pkt. to women: *strīṣu nā 'prākṛtaṃ vadet.* By all this Pkt. is characterized as the proper language of women, as is prescribed by the writers on poetics. But besides that they not only understand Skt. but even speak it sometimes when they take recourse to verses. Thus Vicakṣaṇā in Viddhaś., pp. 75. 76; Mālatī in Mālatīm., pp. 81. 84; Lavaṅgikā, p. 253; Sītā, Prasannar. 116–118 even in prose, 120. 121. 155 in verses; Kalahaṃsikā, Anarghar., p. 113; the friend of the heroine in Karṇaś., p. 30 and the heroine herself in p. 32; Sindūrikā, Bālar., pp. 120. 121; Chardi, Jīvān. 20; the actress in Subhadrāh., p. 2 and Subhadrā, p. 13; Mallikā in Mallikām., 71, 17; 75, 4; 81, 12; 82, 1; 85, 9; Navamālikā 72, 8; 75, 10; Sārasikā 75, 14; 251, 3; Kālindī 82, 24; 84, 10; 91, 15; Anaṅgasenā, Dhūrtas., p. 11f., even in prose; sometimes women also in Caitanyacandrodaya. In Mālatīmādhava, p. 242, Buddharakṣitā quotes Kāmasūtra 199, 17f. Also men, who otherwise speak Pkt., sometimes go over to Skt. (mostly in verse). Thus the Vidūṣaka, Viddhaś., p. 25, who declares Pkt. to be the proper idiom for his class of people (*amhārisa-jaṇajogge pāudamagge*), Karṇas., p. 14 and Jīvān., pp. 53. 83; the door-keeper in Kaṃsavadha, p. 12; the Snātaka in Dhūrtas., p. 9 and Hāsy., pp. 23. 33, 38, and on p. 28 also the barber. In Jīvān., pp. 6ff., Dhāraṇā speaks to herself in Pkt., but in the disguise of an ascetic she speaks Skt. to the minister; in Mudrār. Virādhagupta speaks Pkt. in the disguise of a snake charmer on pp. 70ff., but he uses Skt. when speaking to himself on p. 73f., 84, and to the minister Rākṣasa on pp. 85ff.; in 82, 2 he describes himself also as a Prākrit poet. An unknown poet complains[1] that even in his time many people

[1] See Pischel, Hc. 2, p. 44 on Hc. 1, 181.

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could not read a Prākrit poem, and another (H. 2=Vajjālagga 324, 20) asks, why should they not be ashamed of themselves who cannot read and understand the nectar-like Prākrit poetry and still pretend to care for true love. It remains undecided whether in Sarasvatīk. 57, 8 the correct reading is Nāṭyarājasya and who is meant by this term. It is equally unknown who is meant by Sāhasāṅka in 57, 9. It is said that in the kingdom of the former there was none who spoke Prākrit, and at the time of the second there is said to have been none who did not speak Skt.[1] In spite of the praise of Pkt. which is found here and there, in comparison to Skt. it was always regarded as a lower language, and for that reason perhaps the word Prākrita, even as the name of a language, signifies 'usual', 'common', 'low', which is also the usual significance of the word. It is useless to try to fix the age and the order of the dialects in which they were developed one after another (§32).

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[1] The two following verses are literally=Bālar. 8, 4. 5; 57, 13 resembles Bālar. 8, 7. As Rājaśekhara lived one century before Bhoja, it is the author of the Sarasvatīk. who is the borrower.

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# THE SUBMARINE FIRE IN INDIAN HISTORY

*By* B. A. Saletore

## I

From earliest times divine visitations have afflicted this land of ours. Earthquakes, floods, famines, and pestilences,—these are some of the forms of frowning Nature with which by now we are familiar. There is another divine punishment which may be added to the above list—the submarine fire called generally *Vaḍavānala* or merely *Vāḍava* in Indian history. The epics, the Purāṇas, and epigraphs refer to this submarine scourge which the ancients cloaked under the garb of a legend. But a close examination of the historical references to this hitherto unnoticed evil seems to point out to a real phenomenon which occurred within the memory of mankind; and that off the western coast of India but originating perhaps in the volcanic regions of the islands of the southern seas. We shall first enumerate the notices of the submarine fire in Hindu literature, and next give references to the same in epigraphs ranging from the eighth century A.D. to the middle of the sixteenth century, followed by an account of the marvellous marine menace as given in the annals of the southern islands of Malaya and Sumatra.

## II

The earliest reference to the submarine fire is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which mentions it in connection with the great white (silver) mountain named Ṛṣabha in the Kṣīroda sea, and refers in unmistakable terms to the volcanoes in the *ghṛta-sāgara*. Here, as the epic remarks, there is a flame with a horse's head called Baḍavānala. Thus in the *Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍa* :—

*Tataḥ pāṇḍura-megha (pāṇḍura-saṅghātaṃ) ābhaṃ Kṣīrodaṃ nāma sāgaraṃ* ।
*gatā(gatvā) dṛkṣatha durdharṣā muktāhāram-iva ūrmibhiḥ* ॥
*tasya-madhye mahān śveta Ṛṣabha-nāma parvataḥ* ।
*divya gandhaiḥ kusumitaiḥ rājataiś-ca nagaiḥ-vṛtaḥ* ॥
. . . . . .
*kṣīrodaṃ sam-atikramya tato dṛkṣata vānarāḥ* ।
*jalodaṃ sāgara śreṣṭaṃ sarva-bhūta bhayā-vahaṃ* ॥

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*tatra tat kopajaṃ tejaḥ kṛtaṃ haya-mukhaṃ mahat ।*
*asyāhuhu tan (atyadbhutaṃ) mahā-vega modanaṃ sa-carācaraṃ ॥*
*tatra vikrośatāṃ nādaḥ bhūtānāṃ sāgara-aukasāṃ ॥*
*śrūyate-ca samarthānāṃ dṛṣṭvā tat-baḍabā-mukhaṃ*[1] ॥

The other name for this submarine danger given in the lexicons is *kāka-dhvaja* which, as will be narrated presently, fits in admirably with a celebrated hot-bed of volcanoes in the south.[2] The *Mahābhārata* gives in detail the story in connection with the origin of Vaḍavānala, while dealing with king Kārtivīrya, thus :—King Kārtivīrya was a disciple of Bhṛgu. On the descendants of Kārtivīrya becoming poor, they went to the Bhārgavas and begged for money. Some of the Brahmans gave them alms out of mercy, and others hid their wealth. Some of the Kṣatriyas, while digging as they pleased in a Brahman's house, came upon a hidden treasure. Enraged at the deceitful nature of the Brahmans, the Kṣatriyas began to slaughter the Bhṛgus with sharp arrows. And the Kṣatriyas wandered over the earth, slaughtering even the embryos that were in the wombs of the women of the Bhṛgu race. And while the Bhṛgu race was thus being exterminated, the women of that tribe fled from fear to the inaccessible mountain of Himavat. And one amongst them of tapering thighs, desiring to perpetuate her husband's race, held in one of her thighs an embryo endowed with great energy. A certain Brahman woman, however, who came to know this fact, went from fear unto the Kṣatriyas and reported it unto them. And the Kṣatriyas went to destroy that embryo. And arriving at the place, they beheld the would-be-mother blazing with inborn energy. And the child that was in her thigh came out tearing open the thigh and dazzling the eyes of those Kṣatriyas like the midday sun. Then deprived of their eyes the Kṣatriyas began to wander over those inaccessible mountains. And being thus distressed they sought the protection of that faultless woman. They promised to refrain from their sinful practice, if she and her child only showed them some mercy. Then she related how it was not she who had robbed them of their eyesight ; how it was the child that was certainly angry with them ; how she had held him for a hundred years in her thigh while they were destroying even the embryos of the Bhṛgu race ; how that child learnt all the Veda with

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Sarga 40, vv. 41-2, pp. 161-2 (Ed. T. R. Krishnamacharya. Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1912).

[2] The dictionary gives a third name for this same evil—*Vaṇijikāḥ*—which we are unable to identify. Does Vaṇijikāḥ mean that it was in the path of or seen by the Vaṇijikas or sea-farers, as the traders were called in early times in India ? (B.A.S.)

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its six *aṅgas* even when he was in the womb, in order to restore the prosperity of the Bhṛgu race; how enraged at the slaughter of his fathers, the child desired to slay them; and how they could have their eyes restored by propitiating him.

And that best of Brahmans in consequence of having been born after tearing open his mother's thigh, came to be called throughout the three worlds by the name of Aurva (thigh-born). The Kṣatriyas regained their sight and went away. The *muni* Aurva resolved upon overcoming the whole world. With this object he performed the severest penances. The Pitṛs learning about this addressed him in meek tones, and begged of him to control his wrath. It was they who told him that being weary with the long periods of life allotted to them, they had sought their own destruction through the instrumentality of the Kṣatriyas. They begged of him not to destroy either the Kṣatriyas or the seven worlds.

But Aurva was obdurate. The vow he had made for the destruction of the whole world must not be in vain. It was impossible for him to comply with their request. At last they said —'Oh throw this fire that is born of thy wrath and that desireth to consume the worlds into the waters. That will do thee good. The worlds, indeed, are all dependent on water . . . Indeed the whole universe is made of water. Therefore, Oh thou best of Brahmans, let this fire born of thy wrath abide in the great ocean, consuming the waters . . . and the world with the gods will not be destroyed'. Then Aurva cast the fire of his wrath into the abode of Varuṇa. And that fire consumeth the waters of the great ocean. And that fire became like unto a large horse's head which persons conversant with the Vedas call by the name Vaḍavā-mukha. And emitting itself from that mouth, it consumeth the waters of the mighty ocean.[1]

In the *Harivaṃśa* we have the following relating to the Horse that entered the (ocean) earth:—Aurva prevents the wife of the exiled king Vahu from committing suicide. She gives birth to the future king named Sāgara. With the fiery weapon which even the immortals could not withstand, given to him by Aurva, Sāgara conquered the whole earth, and deciding upon a *vājapeya* sacrifice, let loose a horse which, while roaming near the south-eastern ocean, was made to enter the earth (ocean ?). King Sāgara had that part of the country dug by his sons. They dug that mighty ocean and came upon Hari in the shape of Kapila sleeping. When Kapila opened his eyes, all except four sons of Sāgara were burnt. But king Sāgara eventually received some boons from Hari Nārāyaṇa and

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[1] *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, CLXIX–CLXXIII, pp. 512–17 (Roy).

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from the ocean the horse destined for the *aśvamedha* sacrifice.[1] Some relationship between the Vaḍavānala of the Hindus and that of the southern seas is perhaps suggested in the statement found in the same work concerning king Kārtivīrya. He is said to have defeated the sons of Nāga Karkōṭaka and to have occupied the latter's city named Māhiśmatī.[2]

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives the following version of the story :— Vāhuka was born in the line of Harita. He repaired to the forest on losing his kingdom at the hands of his enemies. The queen, who was carrying a child, was prevented from committing *sati* by Aurva. She gave birth to Sāgara who, after depriving some races of garments and looks, according to the advice of Aurva, worshipped Hari by means of a *yajña* the horse of which Indra stole. The sons of Sāgara excavated the whole earth, and perceived the horse towards the east by the side of Kapila. Imagining him to be the culprit, they advanced towards him. But when he opened his eyes, they were burnt to ashes. On king Sāgara propitiating Hari, who had taken the form of Kapila, the latter gave him back the sacrificial horse with which Sāgara concluded the sacrifice.[3]

The main point of difference, so far as we are concerned, is that whereas in the *Harivaṃśa* the horse disappears in the south-east, in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* it is merely related that Indra stole the animal which was perceived in the east.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* mentions the Vaḍavānala in a different context. When the demon Pralaṃba carried off Balarāma, who was playing together with Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma cried out to Kṛṣṇa for help. Then Kṛṣṇa reminds Balarāma of the latter's inherent power, and says :—' As the waters of the sea, when swallowed up by the submarine flame, are recovered by the wind, and thrown in the form of snow, upon the Himācala, where coming into contact with the rays of the sun, they reassume their watery nature ; so the world, being devoured by thee, at the period of dissolution, becomes of necessity, at the end of every *kalpa*, the world again, through thy creative efforts '.[4]

Reference to the Vaḍavānala is found in the *Gāthā Saptaśatī* ascribed to Śātavāhana :—Emptying (lit. betraying) the ocean by means of sucking away its waters by his trunk, and then out of mere sport filling the sky with the submarine fire which is beyond control,—thus is Lord Gaṇapati victorious ! (*helākaragga aṭṭahiya*

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[1] *Harivaṃśa*, XIV, 22–25 (Dutt's Ed., Calcutta, 1897).
[2] *Harivaṃśa*, XXXV, v. 26.
[3] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX, viii, cf. Bk. IX, pp. 29-30 (Dutt, Calcutta, 1896).
[4] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, pp. 303-304. (Wilson, 1864.)

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*jalarikkaṃ sāaram pa-āsanto ja'ai aṇigga a Vaḍavaggi bhariyagagaṇo Gaṇāhivaī*).[1]

Amarasiṃha includes the name Vaḍavānala among the names of Agni in his *svargavargaḥ*, thus :—

*Rohitāśvo vāyu-sakhaḥ śikhāvān-āśuśu-kṣaṇiḥ ।*
*hiraṇyaretā hutabhuk-dahanaḥ havya-vāhanaḥ ॥*
*saptārciḥ-damūnāḥ śukraḥ-citrabhānuḥ-vibhāvasuḥ ।*
*sucirappittam-aurvaḥ-tu vāḍavo-vāḍavānalaḥ*[2] ॥

Amara also enumerates another name of the fire which we have to note :—*kṛpīṭayoniḥ jvalanaḥ jātavedaḥ tanunapāt.*[3] On this name Jātavedas, we shall have to dwell at some length presently.

The story as given in the *Mahābhārata* was known to Kālidāsa. On the king Agnimitra telling Maudgalya in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, that the little prince takes after his father like the young elephant imitating the lord of its herd, the chamberlain says that it was not a strange thing at all that the child displayed his heroism : his lofty origin was the king himself, as Aurva, the thigh-born, was of that Fire which was the consumer of water :—

*na-etāvatā vīra-vijrambhitena ।*
*cittasya naḥ vismayam-ādadhāti ॥*
*yasya-apradhṛṣyaḥ prabhavaḥ-tvam-ucchaiḥ ।*
*agneḥ-apāṃ dagdhuḥ-iva-Uru-janmā*[4] ॥

Kālidāsa mentions the submarine fire in more than one place in the *Raghuvaṃśa*. The Emperor Daśaratha, struck with remorse at his having killed Śravaṇa, the son of the blind parents, is cursed by them to die like them—in old age through grief for his son. The ascetic and his wife were burnt on the funeral pyre, and the king retraced his steps with the curse burning in his heart like the

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[1] Śātavāhana, *Gāthā-saptaśati*, V. 3. I am indebted to my colleague Professor Laddu for this and the following reference to the *vaḍavaggi* in the Jain literature. (B.A.S.)

[2] *Amarakośa*, I, 58-59. Mukuṭa, the commentator on Amara, is said to have written thus :—*ūrveṇa kila-ayonija putrārthinaḥ uruḥ-matithaḥ-tatra jvālā-mayaḥ puruṣo jātaḥ tasya ca samudra-ādhāra āsīt iti śrutiḥ.*

[3] *Amarakośa*, I, 56.

[4] *Mālavikāgnimitra*, V, v. 17. Bombay, 1924. Some commentators include a verse in the *Śākuntalam* which, if acceptable, would show that Vaḍavānala was known to the poet. The interpolation is put in Act III where king Duṣyanta appeals to the god of love :—Verily the fire of anger still burns in Cupid like the fire in the ocean. How otherwise could the god of love be so hurtful to one like the king when he was surviving merely in ashes : *adya-api nūnaṃ hara-kopa vahniḥ tvayi jvalati-aurva iva amburāśau tvam anyathā Manmatha mad-vidhānām bhasmam-avaśeṣaḥ katham-iti-uṣṇaḥ.*

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submarine fire in the ocean :— . . . *antarniviṣṭapadaṃ-ātma-vināśa-hetuṃ śāpaṃ dadhat-jvalanaṃ-aurvaṃ-amburāśiḥ.*[1] Then again in the same work, the poet describes how the energy of Jāmadagnya, who had challenged Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, was looked upon as the energy of fire which burns even in the ocean as (it does) in the dry grass :— . . . *pāvakasya mahimā sa gaṇyate kakṣavat-jvalati sāgare'pi yaḥ.*[2]

Kālidāsa's invaluable testimony in regard to the probable region, where, according to current ideas, the submarine fire could be located, will be cited later on when we shall mention the remarkable resemblance between the traditions of India and those of the islands of the southern seas.

For the present we may note that Kālidāsa was also aware of a particular name of the submarine fire which, however, in early ages was given to the omniscient Agni.[3] This was Jātavedas which Kālidāsa mentions in his works *Kumārasambhava* and *Raghuvaṃśa*. The *asura* Tāraka snatched away from the mouth of fire (Jātavedas) the oblation offered by the *ṛsi* sacrificers, while the gods looked helplessly on :—

*Yajvabhiḥ saṃbhṛtaṃ havyaṃ vitateṣu adhvareṣu saḥ ।*
*jātavedaḥ mukhānmāyī miṣatāṃ ācchinatti naḥ*[4] ॥

In the *Raghuvaṃśa* we are told that Raghu accepted his wife who had been purified by fire (*jātavedo-viśuddhāṃ pragṛhya priyāṃ*), and having bestowed the wealth of his enemy on Vibhīṣaṇa, set out for home on an aerial car.[5] The poet refers to the same episode of the chaste wife, whose innocence had been proved by the fire (*śuddha-samakaṣaṃ naḥ snuṣā-te jātavedasi*), in a later context.[6]

We may be permitted to mention one or two more references to Jātavedas before passing on to more direct notices of Vaḍavānala in other Hindu works. Māgha says the following in connection with the Jātavedas in his *Śiśupālavadha* :—

*tejasvī-madhye davīyān-api gaṇyate ।*
*pañcamaḥ pañca-tapasaḥ tapanaḥ jātavedasāṃ*[7] ॥

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* locates the Jātavedas in the Kuśa-dvīpa, thus :—Drinking the waters of the seven sacred rivers (named) of the Kuśa-dvīpa, the inhabitants of that island styled *kuśala, kovinda,*

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[1] *Raghuvaṃśa*, IX, 82.
[2] *Ibid.*, XI, 75.
[3] Griffiths, *Hymns of the Rg. Veda*, pp. 5, 8, 10, 13, 16, 100, *seq.* (Benares, 1897) ; *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, pp. 9, 12, 81, 82, 94, *seq.* (Benares, 1916).
[4] *Kumārasambhava*, II, 46.
[5] *Raghuvaṃśa*, XII, 104.
[6] *Ibid.*, XV, 72.
[7] *Śiśupālavadha*, II, 51.

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*abhijkta*, and *kalaka* worship the Great Fire with ingenious action, thus :—' O Fire ! Thou dost carry the burnt offerings for the great Brahmā ; thou dost adore the Puruṣa with sacrifices of the celestials, the limbs of the Puruṣa '.[1]

Daṇḍin refers to the Vaḍavānala in his *Daśakumāracarita* when he makes Avantisundarī complain to her friend Bālacandrikā, of Cupid's fiery arrows, and when she says that the moon was more distressing than the submarine fire (. . . . *sakhī Candramasam vaḍavānalāt-ati tāpakaram manye*).[2]

Bhavabhūti alludes to the fire issuing from the mouth of the submarine mare (*Vaḍavāvaktrahutabhuk*) when he pictures Lava ready to meet the tumultuous soldiers of Candraketu : just as the submarine fire checks the tumultuous overflow of waves, so will the fierce wrath of Lava put down the uproar of the soldiers of Candraketu.[3]

Bhartṛhari likewise was acquainted with the notions concerning the Vaḍavānala. The ocean bears the sleep of Viṣṇu, he says in his *Śatakas*, and the mountains also take refuge in the ocean after their flight from the demons ; and in addition to this, a great submarine fire continually devours the ocean's depths. What cannot the ocean endure ?[4] Then, again, while contrasting men of low interest with those of noble mind, Bhartṛhari says that the great fire in the ocean absorbs the waters of the sea to slake its insatiable thirst, and the rain cloud replenishes itself from the ocean that it may relieve the drought of the arid earth.[5]

When Candrāpīḍa entered the *himagṛha*, as is described by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*, he found as if it were the refuge of the oceans for removing the heat caused by the submarine fire (*Vaḍavānala-saṁtāpa apanodana-nivāsaṃ-iva*).[6]

Wilson summarizes the great astronomer Bhāskarācārya's views on the subject as given in the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* thus :—Venerable teachers have stated that Jambūdvīpa embraces the whole northern hemisphere, lying to the north of the salt sea, and that the other six *dvīpas* and the seven seas (mentioned in detail) are all situated in the southern hemisphere. To the south of the equator lies the

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[1] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, V, xx ; p. 72 (Dutt, Calcutta, 1896). One of the seven mountains mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. CXXII, vv. 60-63, p. 332 (Taluqdar, Allahabad, 1917), is the Mahiṣa Agni mountain, begotten from the water living in the form of fire. This was in the Kuśa-dvīpa.

[2] *Daśakumāracarita*, Purv. Ucch. V, p. 47 (Bombay, 1926).

[3] *Uttararāmacarita*, Act. V, v. 9 (Bombay, 1924).

[4-5] *Nītiśataka*, Paropakārapaddhati, v. 76, p. 11 ; v. 119, p. 31 (Place ? Year ?). Cf. Kennedy's ed., pp. 76, 88.

[6] Kādambarī, p. 87 (Bombay, 1914).

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salt sea, and to the south of it, the sea of milk (described in detail). And beyond the sea of milk, lie in succession the seas of curds, clarified butter, sugar-cane juice, and last of all that of sweet water which surrounds Vaḍavānala.[1]

Hemacandra (A.D. 1088–1172) argues thus :—The ocean may be dried or it may not be dried—what is that to the submarine fire? Is it not enough that the fire burns up in the waters?

*so-sau ma so-sau cci uahī vaḍavānalassa kim teṇa |*
*jaṃ jalai jale jalaṇo ā-eṇa vi kiṃ na pajjattaṃ*[2] ||

References to the submarine fire in epigraphs pertaining to the Karnāṭaka and Tamil kings range from the end of the eighth century A.D. till the middle of the sixteenth century. The Gaṅga king Mārasimha, son of king Śivamāra, is described thus in a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 797 :—'. . . the flames of his valour threatened to burn up the world which took itself to the ocean' (as the submarine fire) (*yasya pratāpa dahano'hita-buddhi-vārddhāv aurvvāyate narapateḥ atidūrato'pi*).[3] In A.D. 1019 the Western Cāḷukya king Tailapa Deva is called 'a submarine fire to the ocean of kings' (*rāya munnīra baḍavānalam*).[4] Lākuliśvara Paṇḍita is described in a record of A.D. 1036 as 'a submarine fire to the Bauddha ocean'.[5] *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Revarasa, son of Canda II, is styled 'a submarine fire to the ocean which is Mummuni of the Konkan (*Mummuni Koṇgaṇiga jalanidhi baḍavānala*).[6]

In A.D. 1054 the Western Cāḷukya monarch Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla is called 'a submarine fire to the ocean the Nepāḷa army'.[7] Six years later (A.D. 1060) the *Mannevergaḍe Daṇḍanāyaka* Guṇḍamayya, under the same Western Cāḷukya ruler, is said to have been 'a submarine fire to the ocean the Mummuri kingdom'.[8] In about A.D. 1077 the great Jaina teacher Ajitasena Munīndra is represented as 'a submarine fire in drying up the ocean the Bauddha doctrine'.[9] The famous Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva is styled in about A.D. 1103 'a submarine fire to the ocean the Pāṇḍya kula'.[10] In a record dated A.D. 1103 Nanni Sāntāra Deva

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[1] *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, Golādhyāya, III, 21–24, cited by Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, p. 112, n. (1864).
[2] Hemacandra, *Prakrit Vyākaraṇa*, VIII, 4, 365, 2.
[3] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, Nl, 60, p. 78 text.
[4] *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 125, p. 97 text.
[5] *Ibid.*, Sk. 126, p. 98. The same great teacher is called 'a wild fire to the forest Magadha'. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, XII, p. 291.
[7] E.C., VII, Sk. 118, p. 85.
[8] *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1928, p. 69.
[9] E.C., VIII, Nr. 39, p. 144.
[10] *E.C.*, VI, Cm. 160, p. 57.

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Śrīvallabha, the elder brother of Oḍḍuga, is called 'a submarine fire to the ocean (the) other kings' armies'.[1]

The Gaṅga king Vijayāditya is styled a flame of raging fire to hostile kings among the island rulers (*dvīpādhi paraḷ-aṛi-nṛpa kopānaḷa-śikhey-enippa Vijayādityan*) in a record of A.D. 1115.[2] In A.D. 1122 Nanniya Gaṅga is described to be so great that his splendour surpassed that of the submarine fire (*gaṇḍa garvada jasaṃ baḍavāgniya bāyan eyde battisuvudu tejaṃ*).[3]

Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala Deva, about whom we have already said a few details above, is described to have been to Coḷa, 'a fierce fire of the last day', in an inscription of A.D. 1129.[4] The same monarch is styled 'a submarine fire to the ocean the Baṅgāḷa king (*Baṅgāḷa nṛpāḷa baḷa jaḷa nidhi baḍavānalanum*).[5] In A.D. 1141 the same monarch is said to have been a submarine fire to the ocean the enemy's forces (*ripu-baḷa jaḷadhi vaḍavānalam*).[6] Four years later (A.D. 1145), in the reign of his son Narasiṃha Deva, Viṣṇuvardhana Deva is spoken of thus :—'A submarine fire to the ocean of the Pāṇḍya race ; a forest fire to the sprouts of the creeper the fame of Pallava (*Pāṇḍya kuḷa-payodhi-baḍavānaḷa Pallava-yaśo-vatti-pallava-dāvānala*).[7]

The Tuḷuva forces were often associated with the submarine fire in epigraphs. The same great Hoysala monarch is represented as a submarine fire to the ocean the Tuḷuva forces.[8] His son Narasiṃha Deva received the same honour in A.D. 1160, and again in A.D. 1163.[9] In the year A.D. 1164 we are told that Narasiṃha Deva had a son named Baḷḷu (Vīra Ballāḷa) by the queen Mahā Devī. Of this Ballāḷa it is said that he was a submarine fire to the Tuḷuva army, a wild fire to rival claimants (*Tuḷuva-baḷa-jalanidhi baḍavānalam dāyāda dāvānaḷam*).[10] Vīra Ballāḷa is called a submarine fire to the ocean Tuḷuva in A.D. 1182.[11] The same honour is given to him in connection with the same province in A.D. 1189,[12] and again in A.D. 1196.[13] Probably Vīra Ballāḷa took after his father Narasiṃha Deva, who in A.D. 1190 is described to have been like the overwhelming deluge of the last day, like the fire of final destruction

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[1] *Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 192, p. 204.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII, Sh. 57, p. 21, text, p. 58.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sh. 4, p. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI, Mg. 22, p. 62.
[5] *Ibid.*, Cm. 136, p. 54. In a note Rice says that this may have been meant also for Caṅgāḷva. *Ibid* page.
[6] *Ibid.*, Kd. 96, p. 17.
[7] *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 76, pp. 132, 382.
[8] *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 58, p. 54.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, No. 137(*a*), p. 181 (1st ed.) ; XII, Tp. 66, p. 56.
[10] *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 30, pp. 119, 339.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, No. 124, p. 174, (1st ed.).
[12] *Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1928, p. 31.
[13] *E.C.*, II, No. 130, p. 177.

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(*nuḍiva tangenam emba praḷaya-samayadoḷ mēreyaṃ mīri barppa ā-kaḍalennaṃ kālanennaṃ mulida-kuḷikanennam yugāntāgniyennam*).[1]

The Karnāṭaka monarchs were represented to be like the submarine fire to the oceans the Siṃhaḷa, Seuṇa, Mālava, and Pañcāḷa forces in various inscriptions. The Kaḷacuriya king Bijjaḷa Deva is styled a submarine fire to Siṃhaḷa in a record of about A.D. 1180.[2] The wild fire of Vīra Ballāḷa's fury, as is related in A.D. 1196, burnt up the forest (of the) Seuṇa's army with various sounds.[3] In A.D. 1218 Vīra Ballāḷa is called a submarine fire to the Seuṇa army.[4] Concerning the Māḷavas, it is said in A.D. 1180 that the Kaḷacuriya ruler Bijjaḷa Deva was a submarine fire to the Māḷavas.[5] Vīra Ballāḷa II in A.D. 1207 is described to have been a submarine fire to the ocean the Lāṭa king.[6] And in A.D. 1214 the same Hoysala monarch is called a submarine fire to the Pañcāḷas.[7]

An interesting account of the submarine danger is given in a later record dated A.D. 1530 of the reign of the Vijayanagara Emperor Acyuta Rāya. The epigraph recounts the martial and charitable deeds of the Emperor, and relates the following :—The ocean is drunk up by the clouds ; it was swallowed up by Agastya ; it was agitated by the arrows of Rāghava ; and is ever being consumed by the flames of the submarine fire ; it is indeed in process of drying up, but the ocean of his (the Emperor's) bounty is full '.[8]

## III

In the above literary and epigraphical notices of the submarine fire we have indisputable proof of its story having been current in India since the earliest ages. If it were merely an instance of unfounded tradition, it is highly doubtful if the story of the submarine fire would have survived till the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. One is inclined to ask whether there was any region near India which was associated with the submarine fire ; and whether any locality outside India was likewise coupled with the story of the submarine scourge.

As regards the first point, it must have been evident to the reader, especially from the epigraphical evidence we have given above, that the people of the Karnāṭaka pictured frequently the submarine dread in their minds. The pointed reference to the

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[1] *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 93, pp. 137, 394.
[2] *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 44, p. 56.
[3] *Ibid.*, VI, Tk. 45, p. 111.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 29, pp. 118, 337.
[5] *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 50, p. 169.
[6] *Ibid.*, Sk. 235, p. 134.
[7] 126 of 1913 ; *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle* for 1914, p. 103.
[8] *E.C.*, IX, DB. 30, p. 66.

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submarine fire the Tuḷuva forces, for example, as given in the Hoysala records, suggests that the region which the ancients associated with the submarine fire is to be looked for on the west coast of India.

This surmise of ours is strengthened by the detailed explanation of the same point as found in the *Raghuvaṃśa*. Kālidāsa clearly maintains that the southern portion of this region was connected with the Vaḍavānala. While returning home on his aerial car from Laṅkā, Rāghava points out the land below to Sītā, and speaks thus :—Oh ! Vaidehi ! Look at the foaming ocean divided as far as the Malaya mountain by the bridge constructed by me . . . It is said that this (chasm) was enlarged by our ancestors who had dug out the earth (in searching) for the horse, belonging to that elder who was anxious to complete the sacrifice, when it had been taken down to the nether regions by Kapila. It is from this that the rays of the sun acquire water ; here do treasures add to their abundance ; this (the ocean) holds the fire whose fuel is water ; and by him was brought forth the gladdening flames (of the moon). [1]

Although Kālidāsa herein locates the region of the Vaḍavānala in the south-west of India, and thereby annuls the evidence of the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which place the locality where the sacrificial horse entered the ocean in the south-east, yet his testimony seems more reliable not only because it coincides with the assertion made in the epigraphs but also because of his detailed explanation of the subterranean agency which, according to the current notions, was the cause of the submarine fire. This was the submerged mountain range in the same south-western region. Raghu continues to narrate to his wife about the diverse forms assumed by the ocean, and he gives us the following interesting information concerning the submerged mountain range :—' Hundreds of mountains (have been) humbled in their haughtiness by the smiter of mountains (Indra), who had cut off their wings, took shelter under the sea which protected them, just as rulers, harassed by enemies, sought protection under neutral and benevolent suzerain '. [2]

An equally rational account is that which is given *Mānasollāsa* which has been ascribed to the Western Cāḷukya monarch Someśvara Deva III (A.D. 1126–1138). In this work the following is said while dealing with the metals and alchemy :—The places which yield pearls and precious stones in the (western) ocean should be protected by the State. The ocean is the repositary of jewels and

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[1] *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIII, 4.

[2] *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIII, 7. Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XLVII, vv. 44-47, p. 144. (Poona, 1905).

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ambrosial liquids, and a submarine fire which has a net-like crest before which the jewelled hood of the serpent pales (into insignificance) :—

*amarī kṛta gīrvāṇa-nivahasya sudhārasaiḥ ।*
*vaḍavāgni śikhā-jālaiḥ nihnuta ahi-phaṇāmaṇeh* [1] ॥

According to the same author, the fresh branch of coral having the lustre of the submarine fire together with conches, creates the delusion of the existence of a submarine fire :—

*pratyagra-vidrumalatā sandigdha aurvānala tviṣaḥ ।*
*śaṅkaiḥ-ca vaḍavā-vaḥni bhūti bhrāntiṃ vitanvataḥ* [2] ॥

We have now to see how far the story of the Vaḍavānala as given in the Hindu writings and epigraphs can be connected with the traditions and facts of the people of the islands in the southern seas. If Gerini's identification of Kuśa-dvīpa with Sumatra is accepted,[3] then, his remarks on the close resemblance between the silver Ṛṣabha mountain which he reads as 'Ansumat', and which has been mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as having been in the Kṣiroda sea, and the summit of the northern part of Sumatra where 'the white' or silver district is situated, may be taken to be valid. The same scholar then comments on the uncommon similarity between the other name of Vaḍavānala-Kāḳadhvaja- ('Crow Banner') and the name Krakotoa, the famous volcano in the Sunda strait. The fire Jātavedas, according to Gerini, refers to the volcanic character of the Malaya Archipelago, and especially to the worship of the peaks of volcanoes in that island.[4]

Sumatra is said to have been troubled by seven volcanoes.[5] And as regards Krakotoa, we may incidentally observe that that volcano remained inactive from A.D. 1680 till the famous outburst of May 20th A.D. when the island which was about five miles in length and three miles in breadth, was reduced to three and one and a half miles respectively.[6] In A.D. 1882 this volcano blew away two-thirds of the island, with a gigantic wave that washed 20,000 human

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[1] *Mānasollāsa*, I, Adhyāya 4, 364, p. 61 (Ed. G. K. Srigondekar, G.O. Series, Baroda, 1925).

[2] *Ibid.*, 368, p. 62. The word *madodadhau* occurring in verse 362, p. 61 *ibid.*, may be an error for *mahodadhau*, in which case the pearl region would suit very well with the famous pearl centres off Tuticorin. (B.A.S.)

[3] Gerini, *Researches into the Geography of Ptolemy*, pp. 670-671.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 672-73.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 552-553.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 672, n. (1).

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beings. Sixty volcanic eruptions were recorded every minute, in this island in our own days.[1] The story of how a party of twenty Japanese was washed up on the island of Krakotao, as a result of a misadventure while sailing from the west coast of Java to Sumatra in May last, and how they narrowly escaped disaster on the island where sheets of flame lit up the heavens and hot ash rained down on them on July 10th, 1935, because of the same volcano being in eruption, has just reached us from Batavia.[2]

On the mythical marine horse called in Hindu tradition Vaḍavāmukha, we have interesting corroboration from an Arab writer Ibn Khurdādbhih (A.D. 864) who writes thus about Sumatra (called Zabej) :—The king of Zabej is called maharaja ; and among his possessions there is an island named Dhūṭāil (Riau, Rhio, or Bintany) which echoes with the sounds of drums and cymbals. According to the reports of sailors, there exists in those parts a horse with a mane so long that it trails on the ground.[3]

Another writer Kazwini (A.D. 1263–75) also describes it in identical terms.[4]

We may here observe that in the Malaya chronicles the marine horse is called Pars-el-Baḥri (Farasū-l-Baḥri) ; and it is described as the progenitor of that marvellous steed named *semberāni* which, both in the *Sejaraj Malāyu* and the chronicles of Pāsei, is represented as a universal Pegasus, fit for either aerial, terrestrial, or marine journeys.[5]

While the above affords ample testimony to the universality of the legend of the mythical horse of the ocean both in India and in the southern seas, it cannot be determined how far the mountain range mentioned by Kālidāsa, as having been submerged off the south-western coast of India, was connected with the volcanic regions of the islands of the Malaya Archipelago.

There is one little point, too, which cannot be explained. The word *semberāni* given in the Malayan tradition to the marvellous marine steed strikingly recalls a similar name which is met with in an inscription dated A.D. 1403 of the times of the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara Rāya II. This record contains the information that the *Mahānāyakācārya* (name ?), ' having a mind to see a fight with the left foot advanced and right foot in the *sāmbrāṇi* fashion '

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[1] So wrote a correspondent from Batavia in the *Daily Herald*, London, dated June 5th, Thursday, 1930.

[2] As reported in the *Times of India*, Bombay, dated August 10th, 1935.

[3] *Journal Asiatique* for 1865, pp. 290-91, cited by Gerini, *op. cit.*, p. 600, n. (3).

[4] *Journal Asiatique*, *ibid.*, pp. 290-291, n.

[5] Leyden, *Malaya Annals*, p. 17 ; Gerini, *ibid.*, p. 600, n. (3).

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(*yeḍa kāla cāci balada kāla sāmbrāṇi-raṇa*), his servant Cennappa, son of Kameya Nāyaka, fell fighting against the enemy Palasamāmiḍi Canda-bova.[1] Whether the reference here is to the prancing pace of the submarine steed, or to the method of marching (common among the Malayan soldiers ?), cannot be determined. It can be settled only by future research.

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[1] E.C., XI, Ck. 42, p. 102, and *ibid.* n. (1).

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# NEW LIGHT ON BENGAL HISTORY

*By* ADRIS BANERJI

The splendour of the Imperial Guptas vanished in shame and disaster. Hardy barbarians from Central Asia swept over the smiling plains of Āryāvarta. The Indian armies were smitten on the field, the whole land was laid waste, the temples overthrown and the cities sacked and burnt. What is more it put an end to the only powerful government of the country. As a result of this veritable disaster, Northern India broke up into multitudinous small States. Saurāshṭra was ruled over by the Maitrakas of Valabhi, a Chālukya dynasty occupied Gujarat ; while Yaśodharmman, a military adventurer, attempted to build an ephemeral empire in Central India, Rajputana and parts of the Punjab. At Thaneswar the house of Pushpabhuti raised its head, while the Maukharis held sway in Kanauj. In Magadha and Mālava the degenerate descendants of the immortal Guptas continued to exercise uncertain influence. Towards the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, the scene changed ; Mālava became the happy hunting ground of the ambitious monarchs of northern India. Grahavarmman the last of the Maukharis lost his life at the hands of Devagupta. The Pushpabhutis became supreme in Central and parts of northern India ; while one Śaśāṅka of unknown antecedents attempted to gain the paramountcy of eastern India.

In the inevitable chaos that followed the dismemberment of the empire of Samudragupta, Bengal was the worst sufferer. From 6th century onwards to the establishment of the Pāla sovereignty, except for the short lived hegemony of Śaśāṅka, and the restricted dominions of Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva, Bengal saw very little of stable government. The whole country was torn by internal strife and distracted by invasions from outside. The inscriptions of the Pāla emperors proudly proclaim that Gopāla, the founder of the dynasty, was asked to ascend the throne to end *mātsyanyāya*.[1] To understand the full significance of this simple word we have to turn back to the fragmentary pages of history. The so-called empire of Harsha went to pieces soon after his death and his throne was usurped by his minister. During the century that followed eastern India, according to Sylvain Levi and Prof.

[1] A state of affairs like that of fish, in which the smaller and weaker fell prey to the bigger and stronger.

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R. C. Majumdar, was occupied by the Tibetans. It is possible that sometimes between 581–600 A.D., a powerful Tibetan king named Srong-btsan-sgam-po extended his conquests to parts of Bihar and Bengal. His hold over his Indian dominions was maintained till the time of his grandson, Ki-li-pa-pon (*c.* 650–79 A.D.). During the troublesome period that followed this reign, the Indian provinces probably regained independence.[1] Towards the end of the 7th century A.D. we find a dynasty, called Khaḍgas ruling over eastern Bengal.

The extant literary evidence suggests that throughout eighth century A.D., Bengal was overwhelmed by repeated foreign invasions. The Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II indicate that from the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. there existed a line of kings named Śailavaṁśa, who exerted considerable influence in the politics of northern India. Śrīvardhana I was the first historical member of the dynasty. His son Prithuvardhana is reported to have conquered the Gaurjara (Gurjara ?) country. His successor (the exact relation between Prithuvardhana and Sauvardhana is not certain) Sauvardhana had three sons, one of them killed the king of Pauṇḍra, who was very skilled in rending up his powerful enemies and annexed his territory. His third son killed the self conceited and cruel king of Kāśī and occupied his kingdom. His son Jayavardhana I defeated and killed the king of Vindhya and resided there for a time. Jayavardhana I was succeeded by his son, Śrīvardhana II, and the latter's son was Jayavardhana II, donor of the grant under consideration.[2] According to the late Mr. R. D. Banerji the characters of the grant belong to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. It is therefore probable that the king of Pauṇḍra was killed in the second or third quarter of the eighth century.[3] Then came the invasion of Yaśovarmman of Kanauj. According to his court poet Vākpatiraja, the king undertook a *digvijaya* in northern India. The title of the book *Gauḍavaho* (slaughter of the king of Gauḍa) undoubtedly suggests that the Gauḍa monarch was regarded as the most formidable antagonist in eastern India, the king's dominions comprising not only Bengal (Gauḍa) but also Bihar as is suggested by the title *Magadhanātha* (lord of Magadha). The Nalanda inscription of Yaśovarmman[4] and the Ghosrawan inscription of the time of Devapāla referring to a *vihāra* at Yaśovarmmapura testify to the rule of this Kanauj king in the Magadha

[1] R. C. Majumdar—*Early History of Bengal*, Dacca, 1924, p. 20. Levi—*Le Nepal*, tome ii, pp. 146–73.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ix, pp. 41–47.

[3] R. D. Banerji—*Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. i (2nd ed.), pp. 127-28.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xx, pp. 37ff. ; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xvii, p. 311.

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country, but his occupation of Bengal was probably temporary. After defeating the Gauḍa monarch, Yaśovarmman is reported to have defeated the king of Vaṅga. So here we have the mention of two different kingdoms of Bengal—Gauḍa and Vaṅga.

The glories of Yaśovarmman was soon eclipsed by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. The accounts of Lalitāditya's military campaigns are so full of poetical embellishments that it is difficult to make out the historical truth underlying them,[1] but there can be no doubt that the Antarvedī (the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamuna), as also the contiguous territory, was subjugated by the Kashmir prince. An interesting confirmation of Kalhaṇa's account was recently obtained by the find of a huge hoard of over 1,100 coins of this king in digging a canal in the Banda district of the Bundelkhand division of United Province. Years later Jayāpīḍa, a grandson of Lalitāditya, ascended the throne of Kashmir, Kalhaṇa with his poetical genius has recorded the romantic career of this prince. The legends about his conquests and in particular his visit to Puṇḍranagara may rest on a substratum of truth, but they have yet to be corroborated by other contemporary evidence.[2] In addition to these Bengal also suffered by the raids from the kings of Assam. We have the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarmman issued from the victorious camp at Karṇa-suvarṇa.[3] In an inscription dated in 153 (H.E. ?), Harsha of the Bhagadatta dynasty is styled as overlord of Gauḍa, Oḍra and Kaliṅga.[4] This may refer to an invasion, or temporary occupation of Bengal and Orissa, by the Assam potentate in the eighth century, probably soon after the Kanauj forces had retired from the scene.

These constant foreign invasions destroyed the political equilibrium and hastened the disintegration of the country. Meagre literary and epigraphic evidence have so long been the main source of our information about the history of Bengal from the 7th to the 9th centuries of the christian era. Recently a fresh source of information has been tapped by the excavations conducted by the Archæological Department under the guidance of Mr. K. N. Dikshit. Excavation if intelligently carried on may be made to yield many interesting details. This is exactly what Mr. Dikshit seems to have done at Pāhārpur, Mahāsthāngarh and Rāṅgāmātī, in the Rajshahi, Bogra and Murshidabad districts of Bengal, enriching thereby our meagre store of information about the political condition of Bengal, before the rise of the Pāla dynasty.

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[1] M. A. Stein—*Chronicles of Kashmir*, vol. i, p. 90.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 94.
[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xii, pp. 65-79.
[4] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, p. 178.

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The excavations carried out during the last twelve years at Pāhārpur have amply shown that during the Gupta period some sort of structure probably existed at the spot. The happy find of a copperplate grant dated in the Gupta era (159) undoubtedly shows that in the 6th century there was a flourishing Jaina settlement[1] at or near the spot. But later it seems to have fallen from grace till in the last decade of the eighth and first of the ninth century the present temple and the monastery were founded by Dharmmapāla.

Concrete evidence about the misfortunes of Bengal during these centuries is available from Mahāsthāngarh, which was the ancient Puṇḍravardhana one of the main cities, if not the capital of northern Bengal at this time. With limited means at his disposal, Mr. Dikshit was able only to excavate two or three places of the *garh*, but he was fortunate enough to discover valuable stratigraphic evidence relating to the history of Bengal. Excavation at the mound called *Bairāgí-bhitā* resulted in the discovery of huge but fragmentary remains of temples of two different epochs, which were tentatively assigned to the early and late Pāla periods. But the remains of the older temple yielded interesting evidence indicating the existence of a still earlier structure belonging to the Gupta period. To quote Mr. Dikshit, 'Two existing corners in the north-east and north-west have recessed angles on plans, which may indicate the existence of subsidiary shrines. The sanctum must be located in the centre, close to the head of the masonry drain..... This drain which must have carried libation water from the shrine is of exceptional interest, as its length is made up for the most parts of stones utilized from earlier structure, and partly of brick masonry. Besides the stone piece at the discharge end two stones at the head of the drain are rectangular basalt pillars scooped out to a depth of five inches and placed lengthwise so as to form a channel 29′ long and 8″ wide. The sides of the pillars exhibit square sections and chamfered corners, the half lotus medallions, *kīrttimukhas* and scroll work mouldings, in low relief, in characteristic style of pillar decorations of the late Gupta period (6th to 7th century A.D.).[2] This point should be borne in mind for future discussions.

The most imposing structure discovered at Mahāsthān is the ruins of a large temple at *Govinda-bhitā*. Tradition places here the temple of Govinda or Vishṇu, mentioned in the *Karotoyā-māhātmya*. The structures discovered at this mound may be relegated to four periods of constructions beginning from the late Gupta period

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xx, pp. 55ff.
[2] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 90.

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to the Muhammadan occupation. The operations disclosed a huge enclosing wall. The area inside the walls appears to have been occupied by two sets of buildings, which for the sake of convenience, be called eastern and western. At least two periods of construction was discernible in the western structures, earliest of which is now represented by a massive eastern wall of fine masonry, built of 15″ long bricks, strongly resembling in fabric the basement wall of the Pāhārpur temple. In the centre of the wall was found a porch 30′ in length, projecting 5′ from the face of the wall, and standing in close proximity to the compound wall, which thus could not have been built unless the porch had fallen into disuse. According to Mr. Dikshit this structure should be dated in the 7th century A.D., thus being cœval with the main temple of Pāhārpur, while the enclosing wall and the later structure may be assigned to the early Pāla period.[1]

The earliest structure on the eastern side of the enclosing wall at *Govinda-bhitā* is the basement of a temple built of fine brick work. The temple according to the explorer of the site is contemporary of the late Gupta temple on the western side.[2] It is therefore apparent that excavations so far carried out unmistakably indicate that the present Mahāsthāngarh was an important centre of building activity in the late Gupta period. We know from the copperplate grants discovered at Dāmodarpur that Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* was an integral part of the Gupta empire.[3] The *adhishṭhāna* (headquarters) of this *bhukti* was naturally Puṇḍravardhanapura or Puṇḍranagara. It seems to have maintained the same position after the downfall of the Gupta empire. Some time after the seventh century A.D., the city was visited by shame and misfortune. The results of the excavation so far carried on undoubtedly point to the same conclusion. The later Gupta builders were Hindus, so were early Pāla craftsmen. No Hindu would use the materials of an older shrine standing intact and utilize pillars as a drain. The buildings of new temples over basements of older fanes, using materials of earlier structures as steps, etc., unmistakably indicate that some time after the seventh century whole city was razed to the ground. Such a catastrophe could only have been the result of a foreign invasion, and capture of the city by the enemy who gave it up to loot and plunder; this theory receives confirmation from the excavation of a portion of the city walls.

To revert to Mr. Dikshit's report 'The nature of the city walls and its bastions were ascertained by operations carried on at a high

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xv, pp. 113-45.

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jungle covered mound at one of the re-entrant angles of the eastern wall, locally called *Munir-Ghon*, situated not far from *Śīlā Devī's Ghāt*.'[1] The construction of the present wall, according to Mr. Dikshit can be attributed to Pāla period as the bricks used measure 8″ to 9″ in length and 5″ to 6″ in breadth and 2″ in thickness. It is therefore apparent that, if not the whole, part of the city walls had to be rebuilt during the time of the Pāla emperors. What is more, evidence is forthcoming, that after devastation, the city still lay unoccupied for a considerable time ; we are definitely told that at least seven trial pits were dug at various places of *Bairāgī-bhitā*, which in almost every case disclosed the existence of remains of at least two periods (early and late Gupta) underlying the floor level of the early Pāla structures. In places the excavator was struck by the excessive accumulation of debris between the late Gupta and early Pāla period, which must be attributed to the hand of pillage and destruction.

All these as already stated forcibly point to the conclusion, that some time after the 7th century A.D., a great catastrophe befell this ancient city, for which it lost the pre-eminence amongst the cities of Bengal, which it had enjoyed till the eighth century. In the preceding pages we have noted four possible foreign invasions : the invasions from Tibet, Kanauj, Kāmarūpa, and the Śailendra prince. Of these the possibility of the last named is the greatest. Our knowledge of the Tibetan occupation is too meagre to allow us to build any definite hypothesis over the same. The claim that Harsha was overlord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, etc., is of too general a character, to permit any definite conclusion. But with the Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana we are on more safe grounds. It definitely mentions *Pauṇḍrā-dhipaṁ*, evidently different from Gauḍa *cum* Magadhanātha of Vākpatirāja.

We may therefore try to visualize the condition of Bengal during these unhappy centuries. After the unfortunate failure of Śaśāṅka to weld together in one homogeneous unit the different conflicting forces in eastern India ; Bengal gradually became divided into petty principalities, always at variance and fighting with each other. The most prominent of these was the Khaḍgas of east Bengal, whom we know from two inscriptions.[2] The second was the combined kingdom of Gauḍa and Magadha ; and last the principality of Puṇḍravardhana. Some local chief or descendants of the provincial governors of the later Guptas, probably taking advantage of the chaotic condition, established themselves within the fortified

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[1] *Annual Report*, pp. 93-4.
[2] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. i, pp. 85–91.

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city of Puṇḍranagara. It is possible that during their time, some of the later Gupta structures at Mahāsthāngarh were built. But what influence they exerted, beyond the immediate environs of their capital, must for the present remain uncertain. This local dynasty was rudely overthrown by the Śailendra prince, his capital taken, sacked and probably razed to the ground. In that ruined condition the city remained till it was revived after the establishment of a stable government under the early Pāla emperors. But, it never regained its former position. The centre of gravity of the political life of Bengal had shifted elsewhere. Henceforth, shorn of all its ancient grandeur, it carried on a precarious existence, as an unimportant provincial town, till it gradually dwindled away and its very name passed out of people's memory. Mr. Dikshit in his concluding remarks tells us that 'proportion of secular buildings appears to have dwindled away after the town of the late Gupta period fell into ruins'. He has also drawn our attention to the 'poverty of conception and design of the early Pāla craftsmen' who availed themselves of the older materials and used it for inferior purposes in their meaner constructions.

This is not all. At Rāṅgāmāti[1] in the Murshidabad district the excavations revealed the remains of a Buddhist establishment flourishing in the 6th–7th century A.D., fell into ruins soon after and was never occupied. Evidence thus tends to accumulate that 7th and 8th centuries were a period of destruction, and it is but natural, that the conditions of monuments which owed their existence, to the steady growth and settlement of the Imperial Gupta times, reflect the general decline and degeneration characteristic of the troublesome times that preceded the rise of the Pālas.

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[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1928-29, pp. 98–100.

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# THE INSCRIPTION OF TRAWULAN

## No. 1

*By* HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

This inscription was originally incised on about a dozen of copper-plates whereof only five have been recovered so far. Of these five plates, pl. 10 was obtained as early as 1902 from Pĕlĕm (the plain to the south-east of Trawulan), in the division of Mojokerto, residency Surabaya, and was deposited in the Museum of Batavia as E 36.[1] It was then published in *OJO* as No. CXIX, in the year 1913. The four remaining plates have been transcribed in *OV*, 1918, Bijlage K.[2] They measure 36·5 c.m. in length and 10·4 c.m. in breadth and have been described on both the faces. It has been remarked however that the script of the record betrays no peculiarity. These copper-plates of Trawulan which were first taken to the Museum of Batavia were sent back to the Museum of Mojokerto in January 1923, on request of the Regent of that place.[3]

The inscription under review is of great importance for the history of ancient Java. It was issued in 1358 A.D. during the reign of king Rājasanagara, better known as Hayam Wuruk. His mother Tribhuwanottunggadewī was as capable as Sultānā Razia of Indian history and during the minority of her son, she exercised royal authority as a Regent between 1329–1350 A.D. This duty devolved on her just because Jayanagara died without leaving a male issue and Rājapatnī, the widow of Kṛtarājasa and mother of Tribhuwanottunggadewī, being herself a Buddhist nun, did not personally rule though she exercised considerable influence on contemporary Java. So Tribhuwanottunggadewī ruled the country as Queen of Majapahit, though she was also known as Bhre Kahuripan and Queen of Jīwana. The title, viz. Prince of Jīwana was borne by her son Hayam Wuruk. We know from pl. 1 of this inscription that the nickname of Tribhuwanottunggadewī was Gītārjjā, a name that also occurs in the Rembang inscription of King Rājasanagara.[4] She married Cakradhara[5] *alias* Cakreśwara[6] who assumed the name of Kṛtawarddhana and the title 'King of Singhasari'.[7] The

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[1] *Notulen*, 1902, pp. 95, 107ff.; 1903, p. 16. [2] See also *OV*, 1918, pp. 61, 101. [3] *OV*, 1923, p. 104. For some more details regarding these Trawulan plates, see *OV*, 1919, p. 10; *Notulen*, 1919, p. 196; *BKI*, 90, pp. 247-48.
[4] *OV*, 1917, p. 48. [5] *Pararaton*, p. 109. [6] See below, Pl. I, V° 2.
[7] *Nāg.*, 3 and Kern's notes thereon. See *VG*, VII, pp. 259-260.

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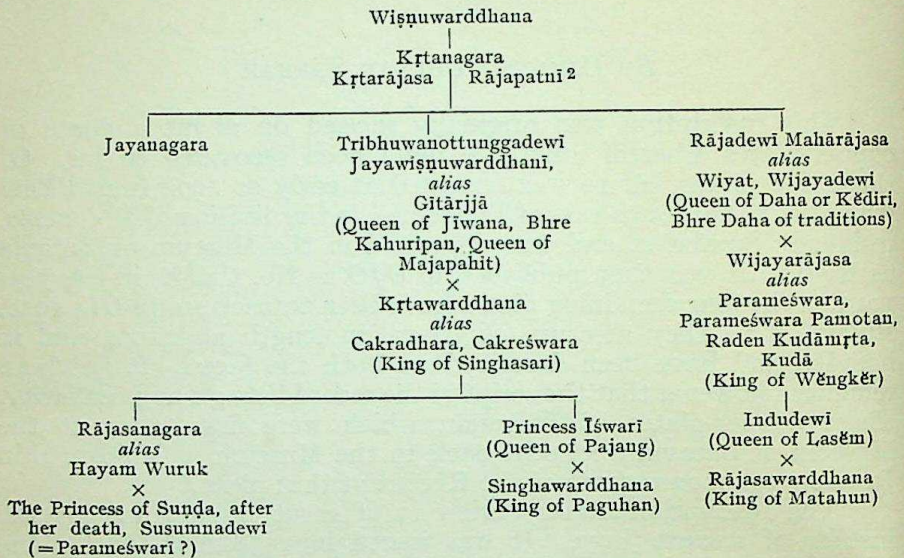
younger sister of the queen was Rājadewī Mahārājasa who was married to Wijayarājasa, the king of Matahun and later on, King of Wĕngkĕr.[1] The genealogical table appended below will give a vivid idea of this royal house :—




Besides gathering some data for political and religious history of contemporary Java which saw her palmy days in this period, we are fortunate that the inscription also throws some light on the geography of the country, as we come across the names of a number of ferry-places in Java that were recipient of the royal favour. Very interesting are the regulations that controlled ferry-crossing even when the privileges were bestowed on them (pl. 9). It is expected that when pl. 8 will be recovered it will also give us some indication regarding the trade and commerce of the country.

As the available five plates of this inscription have neither been published in one place nor translated, I offer both in the present edition of the record with proper diacritical marks.

## Text

*Pl.* 1, *recto*

1. swasti śrī śakawarṣātīta 1280. śrawaṇa māsa. tithi. pratipāda śukla pakṣa. ha. u. śa. wāra. maḍangkungan

[1] *TBG*, 58 (1919), pp. 341–343 ; Krom, *Geschiedenis*[2], pp. 384-385.
[2] She is the daughter of Kṛtanagara.

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2. aiśanyastha grahacāra. puṣya nakṣatra. jīwadewatā. agneya maṇḍala. bajra yoga. rodra muhūrtta. śaśī parwwe
3. śa. nāga karaṇa. karkkaṭa rāśi. irikā diwaśanyājñā pāduka śrī tiktawilwanagareśwara. śrī rājasanagara nāma rājābhiṣe-
4. ka. raṇaprathita mantrinirjjita nrĕpāntaropayana surāngga-ṇopamānāneka warakāminī sevyamāna. garbhotpatti nāma
5. dyaḥ śrī hayāṁwuruk. maka manggalyājña pāduka bhaṭāra śrī tribhuwanottungga rājadewī jayawiṣṇuwarddhanī nāma rājñyābhi
6. ṣeka nrĕtta racanādi guṇa kośalyālaya tīrthodakamaya nirmala-mānasa. sthāpita ngkāne nagare kahuripan. dyah śrī

*Verso*

1. gītārjjā sākṣad arddharājaparameśwarī. muang pāduka bhaṭāra śrī krĕtawarddhana bhupālaka. sasyādi bhawa samrĕddhi-karaṇa wrĕṣṭisya
2. ndana sannibhārthajanasantuṣṭiprasūti janakānawarata dāna. tumapĕlākyā rajyāśrīta. dyah śrī cakreśwara. śrī hariwang-śawarddha-
3. natara sirāmrĕddhyakĕn santāna pratisantāna pāduka bhaṭāra śrī wiṣṇuwarddhana. sang mokteng mandāragiri nhĕr sapra-wrĕttyācāra-
4. lakṣaṇa bhaṭāra śrī wiṣṇuwarddhana kta lana tinirutiru nirā n jagatpālaka. tasmāt matangnyan alung aswö kta kadhar-meṣṭan pādu-
5. ka bhaṭāra śrī krĕtawarddhana mahārāja lakṣaṇanira mangkana. ya ta dwāranirāṅganukāra nāma bhaṭāra śrī wiṣnuwarddhana. ikang pa-
6. ñji smining rāt. yugapat mwang ājñā pāduka bhaṭāra rājadewī mahārājasa nāma rājñyābhiṣeka. kanak maṇiratnā.

*Pl. 3, recto*

1. mahārāja. tan kawuntat sang dharmmaprawaktā wyawahāra-wiccedaka. samgĕt i tirwan, ḍang ācāryya śiwanātha, maka padasthan sang āryya wa-
2. ngśādhipati. nyāya wyakaraṇaśāstra parisamāpta samgĕt i manghuri. ḍang ācāryyāgreśwara. nyāyawyākaraṇaśastra parisamāpta. samgĕt i
3. kaṇḍamuhi. ḍang ācāryya jayasmara, sangkyaśāstra parisamāpta. samgĕt i pamwatan. ḍang ācāryya widyānātha nyāya wyā-karaṇaśāstrapa-

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4. risamāpta. samgĕt i jambi. ḍang ācāryya śiwādhipa nyāya wyākaraṇaśāstra parisamāpta. samgĕt i kaṇḍangan atuha. ḍang ācāryya śrīghana.
5. boddhatarkka parisamāpta. samgĕt i kaṇḍangan rare ḍang ācāryya samatājñāna- boddha-tarka parisamāpta. sarwwe. ika ta kabeh. kuṭā-
6. ramānawādi śāstra wiwecana tatpara. kapwa samasama śakte kawiwāksāning śāstra makādi kuṭāramānawa. makadon niścaya jñāna

*Verso*

1. ri nyāyānyāyani pakṣanikang wyawahārī kālih. muwaḥ dharmmādhyakṣa ring kasogatan. pungkwī padlĕgan. ḍang ācāryya nādendra. boddha
2. tarkka wyākaraṇaśāstra parisamāpta. makanaryyama. dharmmādhyakṣa ring kaśaiwan. nāma puṣpapāta. ḍang ācāryya dharmmarāja. maka padasthan sa-
3. ng āryya rājaparākrama. mahādwija bhujangga sangrakṣaṇa dharmmādhyakṣa sangyojita. sinārabhāra pāduka śrī mahārāja dharmmadhyakṣa, maka-
4. don karakṣan para pungku ring kaśaiwan, makādi mahādwija. i pingsornyājñā pāduka śrī mahārāja. kumonakĕn ikanang anambangi saya-
5. wadwīpamaṇḍala. makādi pañji marggabhaya. makasikasir ajaran rata. sthapita. munggwi canggu. pagawayakna sang hyang ājñāhaji praśā-
7.[1] sti. rājasanagaralañcana. munggwe salaḥ sikining tāmrariptopala. kapangkwa denikang anāmbangi sayawadwīpamaṇḍala. makā

*Pl.* 5 (?), *recto*

1. nuṣa. i tĕmon. i parajĕngan, i pakaṭekan. i wunglu. i rabutri. i bañu mrĕdu. i gocor. i tambak. i pujut.
2. i mirĕng. i ng dmak. i klung. i pagḍangan, i mabuwur i goḍong (?) i ramasan. i canggu. i raṇḍu gowok. i wahas i nagara.
3. i sarba. i waringin pitu, i lagada, i pamotan. i tulangan i panumbangan. i jruk. i trung. i kambang śrī, i tḍa. i gsang. i
4. bukul. i śūrabhaya, muwaḥ prakāraning naditīra pradeśa sthānaning anāmbangi i maḍantĕn. i waringin wok. i bajrapura. i
5. sambo. i jerebeng. i pabulangan. i balawi. i luwayu, i katapang. i pagaran. i kamuḍi. i parijik. i parung. i pasi.

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[1] So the number stands in *OV*, 1918. Is it a printing-mistake for 6? 7 has however been retained in the *corrigenda*.

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6. wuran. i kĕḍal. i bhangkal, i wiḍang. i pakbohan i lowara (?). i ḍuri i rāśi. i rewun, i tgalan i dalangara.

*Verso*

1. sumbang. i malo. i ngijo. i kawangen i suḍaḥ. i kukutu. i balun. i marĕbo. i turan. i jipang. i ngawi. i wangkalang.
2. i pnūḥ. i wulung. i barang. i pakatelan. i wareng. i ng amban. i kĕmbu. i wulayu. sarwwe. ika ta kabeḥ. nadītīrapradeśa. sthā-
3. nanya ng anambangi sayawadwīpamaṇḍala. ngūnī kālanyānghyang sang hyang ājñā haji praśāsti. rājasanagaralañcaṇa. kunĕng tinkahikang a-
4. nambangi sayawadwīpamaṇḍala. makādi pañji marggabhaya. kyajaran rata. mwang pañjyangrakṣāji. kyajaran rāgi. kewala swatantrā. ta-
5. n kaparabyāpāra. tan katamāna deni winawa sang māna katrīṇi lwirnya. pangkur. tawan. tirip. salwiraning nāyaka. parttaya. apinghe.
6. akurug. awajuh. wadihadi. sapuṇḍuhnya kabeḥ makāding raweḥ lawan sahananing mangilala drĕwya haji. wuluwulu parawu(lu)

*Pl. 9, recto*

1. pikulpikulanya. ri sawulu ning dwal. ikang samangkana ikang tan knana drĕwya haji. yapwan lĕwiḥ sakeng pahinga. knana lĕwiḥnya de sang makĕ-
2. kĕranya. sodhara haji tan adhikana. muwaḥ kinawnangakĕnya ng anambangi sayawadwīpamaṇḍala. ri kālani kapūjān sang hyang ājñā ha-
3. ji praśāsti wnang angadwa sawung nīta. jūḍi, acuringa kinangsyan ri kālanyā mūjā daśārddha diwaśa purwwapara ri kālani kapūjān sang hyang ājñā
4. haji praśāsti. kunĕng sangka ri gĕngnyādhimuktinikang anāmbangi sayawadwīpamaṇḍala makādi pañji marggabhaya mwa(ng) pañjyangrakṣāji, kyajaran
5. rāgi. sthāpita. munggwi trung. manghanakĕn ta pamūjāngkĕn sārini puspanyānghaturakĕn sambaḥ ri sang hyang ājñā haji. praśāsti. 400. ring sara-
6. hi mijil angkĕn pūrṇnamāning āṣāḍa muwaḥ anugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja yan hana dāśadāśī bharyyopabhāryya.

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*Verso*

1. kunĕng asing awakanya swāmigata. lungha sangke swāminya. tan bwatana ktekang anambangy angĕntasakĕn sangkeng nadītīra. yadin sā-
2. dhu prawrĕttinya ng anamambangi. kalut sangkeng aṣṭacora, muwaḥ yan hana strī karĕm asing awakanya. kasambut ta ya denya ng anambangi tan sa-
3. nggahĕn strīsanggrahaṇa kteka ng anambangy angĕntasakĕn anambut iriya. muwaḥ yan hana wwang kapūrwwarĕṇan tinambangan aweḥ ta
4. ye ng anambangy asing awakani pawehanya. yadyapin olihanyānyāya. ikang paweḥnya. tan doṣaṇa tekang anambangi ta-
5. n sanggahĕn ananggapi duṣta. muwaḥ ri sḍĕnganikang anambangi. amwata paḍatining akalang. dagangan asing awakanya karĕm pwekang daga-
6. ngan. tan bwatana tekang anambangi, -nda tan wehana ta ya tambangan yan śirṇekang dagangan muwah yan ha-

*Pl.* 10, *recto*

1. na drĕwya kelyasing awakanya, kasambut pwa ya denyang-anambangi, tan doṣan tekang anambangyamalaku phalaśramanyānambut angrakṣa,
2. nda sapawehnyangadrĕwya tanggapĕn ya, mangkanānugraha śrī mahārāja, irikang anambangi sayawadwīpa, makādyajaran rata, paścat
3. , ring wkasan, manghaturakĕn sambaḥ tekang anāmbangi sayawadwīpamaṇḍala, makādi pañji mārggabhaya, kyajaran rata, mwang
4. pañjyangrakṣāji, aneka mahārghyawastrapramukhanamaskara, ikang aneka wastrāngkĕn sārini puṣpanyānghaturakĕn sa
5. mbaḥ ri lbū pāduka śrī mahārāja, sangkarigĕngnyādhimukti nikang anambangi, winehakmitana sang hyang ājñā haji praśāsti, rā
6. jasanagaralañcana, muwaḥ rakryan mantri katrīṇi sinūngan pasök pasök, sayathākrama, muwaḥ rakryan ḍĕmung,

*Verso*

1. rakryan kanuruhan, rakryan rangga, rakryan tumĕnggung kapwa wineḥ pasök pasök, sayathākrama, makanaryyama, sang dharmmadhya

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2. kṣa ring kaśaiwa(n sang) dharmmadhyakṣa ring kasogatan kapwa wineḥ pasök pasök, sayathākrama, sang dharmmopapatti samudāya, kapwa
3. wineḥ pasök pasök, sayathākrama, makaphala, mratisubaddhāknānugraha pāduka śrī mahārāja, irikang anambangi sayawadwī
4. pamaṇḍala, makādi pañji mārggabhaya, kyajaran, rata, mwang pañjyangrakṣāji, kyajaran rāgi, tlas labdhāpagĕḥ, kunĕng yan hana u
5. mulahulaḥ sarasa sang hyang ājñā haji praśāsti, kmitanikang anambangi sayawadwipa maṇḍala, makādi pañji marggabhaya, kya
6. jaran rata, mwang pañjyangrakṣaji, kyajaran rāgi, nguniweḥ yan panglbura kaswatantranikang anambangi sayawadwīpamaṇḍala, a

## Translation

*Pl.* 1, *recto*

1. Hail! The auspicious Śaka year past, 1280, the month of Śrāvaṇa, first day of the bright half of the month, *Haryang*,[1] *Umanis*,[2] Saturday, (the *wuku* is) *Maḍangkungan*, while
2. the planet was in the north-east and the lunar mansion of Puṣya whereof the deity was Jīwa, belonged to the zone of Agni, in the *Yoga* Bajra, the *muhūrtta* of Rudra, with the president of the orb as Moon,
3. the *Karaṇa* Nāga, (the Sun in) the zodiacal house of Karkkaṭa. On this day (arrived the time) of the orders of H.M. the illustrious King of the city of Tiktawilwa,[3] of the coronation-name of Śrī Rājasanagara,
4. famous in the war-field, unrestrained by ministers,[4] waited upon by a bevy of excellent women who probe into the mind of the King and are comparable to celestial damsels, of the birth-name of
5. *dyaḥ* Śrī Hayāṁwuruk, under the auspices of Her Majesty, Bhaṭāra Śrī Tribhuwanottungga, of the coronation-name of Rājadewī Jayawiṣṇuwarddhanī,

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[1] The day of the six-day week.
[2] The day of the five-day week.
[3] This is the Sanskrit name of Majapahit. It was also called Śrīphalatikta, Tiktaśrīphala, Tiktamālūra, etc.
[4] Does this offer an example of benevolent despotism?

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6. expert in such qualities as dancing,[1] artistic work, etc., having a dwelling-place that is filled with the water of holy places, of clear conscience, famous in each city of Kahuripan[2] as *dyah* Śrī

*Verso*

1. Gītārjjā who is truly the supreme Queen for the half, and H.M. the Bhaṭāra Śrī Kṛtawarddhana[3] who is the protector of the earth, and is like the rushing rain that makes the crops, etc., and the world luxuriant, who is
2. the cause of satisfaction to the supplicants, and constantly gives to wet-mothers and the fathers, who resides in the kingdom called Tumapĕl[4] and is (known as) *dyah* Śrī Cakreśwara. Śrī Hariwangśawarddhana (i.e. Wiṣṇuwarddhana)
3. was a mighty one who was the originator of children and grandchildren. Pāduka Bhaṭāra Śrī Wiṣṇuwarddhana died at Mandāragiri. Thenceforward Bhaṭāra
4. Śrī Wiṣṇuwarddhana, having the emblems of all right conduct was, as men say, always imitated as being an example of (the best) world-protector. For that reason (of imitating him), always spread forth the good deeds of Pādu-
5. ka Bhaṭāra Śrī Kṛtawarddhana, the great King. Such were his signs! That was the way of his following the name (i.e. reputation) of Bhaṭāra Śrī Wiṣṇuwarddhana. He was (also called) Pa-
6. ñji Smining rāt.[5] At the same time also (issued) the orders of Pāduka Bhaṭāra Rājadewī who had the coronation-name of Mahārājasa, having (. . . . . ) of gold, jewel and (other) precious metals . . . . .

*Pl. 3, recto*

1. the great King, without leaving behind (in consideration) the Hon. propounders of the law and the judges, (viz.), the *samgĕt*

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[1] That dancing was highly appreciated in the royal house also appears from *OJO*, LXXXIV, first face, l. 6.

[2] Kahuripan is the old capital of Janggala.

[3] On him, see *Nāg.* 3/1-2 and Kern's notes thereon.

[4] i.e., Singhasari.

[5] This name was borne both by Wiṣṇuwarddhana as well as Kṛtawarddhana. In the present inscription, the text has used the word 'ikang' which may refer to any one of them. I think however that King Kṛtawarddhana has been intended here.

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*i tirwan*[1] (who is) ḍang ācāryya[2] Śiwanātha bearing the official name of Āryya Wa-

2. ngśādhipati, who has finished the lore of logic and grammar; *samgĕt i manghuri* (viz.) ḍang ācāryya Agreśwara who has finished the lore of logic and grammar; *samgĕt i*

3. *kaṇḍamuhi* (viz.) ḍang ācāryya Jayasmara who has finished the lore of Sāṅkhya (Philosophy); *samgĕt i pamwatan* (viz.) ḍang ācāryya Widyānātha who has finished the lore of logic and grammar;

4. *samgĕt i jambi* (viz.) ḍang ācāryya Śiwādhipa who has finished the lore of logic and grammar; *samgĕt i kaṇḍangan atuha* (viz.) ḍang ācāryya Śrīghana

5. who has finished the Buddhist logic; *samgĕt i kaṇḍangan rare* (viz.) ḍang ācāryya Samatājñāna who has finished the Buddhist logic; all (of them). Indeed all these

6. are versed in the discussion of the lore of *Kuṭāramānava*[3] and others. All are similarly proficient in the controversy of the sacred writings, beginning with *Kuṭāramānava*, with the aim of deepening their knowledge

*Verso*

1. regarding the justice or otherwise of both the litigant parties.[4] Further, the Superintendent of the Buddhist institutions (who is) my lord of the *Padĕlĕgan* (of the name of) ḍang ācāryya Nādendra,[5] who has

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[1] This and the following six officers formed the *Saptopapatti*, whereof five were Śaivite *pamĕgĕts*, viz., *tirwan*, *kaṇḍamuhi*, *manghuri*, *jambi* and *pamwatan*, and two were Buddhist *Samĕgĕts*, viz., *Kaṇḍangan atuha* and *Kaṇḍangan rare*. Dr. Van Naerssen has contributed an important paper on these terms in *BKI*, 90, pp. 239–258. For a comparative list of persons holding these offices in contemporary Java, see *ibid.*, Bijlage A.

[2] Lit. the Rev. teacher.

[3] In different places of Old-Javanese literature and inscriptions, this book has been given the highest place of honour as being the source of Indo-Javanese legal systems. See Jonker, *Een Oudjavaansch wetboek vergeleken met Indische rechtsbronnen* (1885).

[4] Regarding law-suits in ancient Javanese courts we have some documentary evidence, e.g., *OJO*, No. LXXXV; *KO*, XVI and XIX. From the record in *KO* we learn that law-suits were conducted according to holy texts, local custom, precedents, the opinion of spiritual teachers, etc. See further, *TBG*, XXXII (1889), pp. 98–149; *OV*, 1925, pp. 57–60. For similar systems in Bali, see Korn, *Het adatrecht van Bali*, 1924, p. 25.

[5] On him see Krom in *TBG*, 1916, p. 30 and Poerbatjaraka in *BKI*, 1922, pp. 446–462.

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2. finished the lore of Buddhist logic and grammar, functioning as the supreme authority (among the Buddhist spiritual ?) ; and the Superintendent of the Śaiva institutions, with the consecration-name of ḍang ācāryya Dharmma-
3. rāja, bearing the official name of *Āryya Rājaparākrama*,[1] charged with the work of supervision for the protection of the great Brāhmaṇas and the learned. The superintendent(s) of religion is (are) engaged and entrusted (with work) by Pāduka Śrī Mahārāja,
4. the aim of the superintendent(s) of religion being the protection of men and (of) my 'masters' in the Śaivite institutions, to begin with the great Brāhmaṇas. And, pursuant to the command of Pāduka Śrī Mahārāja ordained for the ferry-places of the whole
5. circle of the island of Java, beginning with Pañji [2] Marggabhaya, named Ajaran Rata, a sacred royal command contained in an edict is to be placed at Canggu [3] and promulgated
7. with the seal of Rājasanagara on the one or the other of the copper-plates and on stone, to be respected (?) by the ferry-places in the whole circle of the island of Java,

*Pl.* 5 (?), *recto* [4]

1. (at) Nuṣa,[5] at Tĕmon, at Parajĕngan, at Pakaṭekan, at Wunglu, at Rabutri, at Bañu mrĕdu, at Gocor, at Tambak, at Pujut,
2. at Mirĕng, at Dmak,[6] at Klung, at Pagḍangan, at Mabuwur, at Goḍong (?), at Ramasan, at Canggu, at Raṇḍu Gowok, at Wahas, at Nagara,
3. at Sarba, at Waringin pitu,[7] at Lagada, at Pamotan,[8] at Tulan-

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[1] For a detailed note on *rājaparākrama*, see *OV*, 1921, pp. 28–34.

[2] Pañji means 'surnamed'.

[3] *Vide* Brandes-Krom, *Pararaton*, pp. 108ff. ; *KO*, IV. The credit of identifying this place belongs to Dr. Van Stein Callenfels. The place was on the old course of the Brantas river and is probably identical with the mod. Pĕlabuhan near Mojokerto. For details, see *OV*, 1919, pp. 69–72.

[4] From the opening words of this inscription it appears that some portion of the preceding lost plate must have contained further names of ferry-places.

[5] These are the names of the ferry-places. For particulars regarding these ferry-places, see *Tidschr. Aardr. Gen.* 41 (1924), pp. 67–75. I could not utilise this paper.

[6] This is probably the same river found running by Dĕmak in Sĕmarang.

[7] Old-Jav. *Pitu*=Skt. *Sapta*. This is probably the same Waringin Sapta which, in the reign of Airlangga, caused a devastating flood by breaking through the *cariks* or *dams*. See *OJO*, LXI.

[8] There are many places of this name in Java and it is difficult to say which one is intended here. Verbeek sums up the number in the *Notulen*, 1889, p. 9.

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gan, at Panumbangan,[1] at Jruk, at Trung,[2] at Kambang Srī,[3] at Ṭḍa, at Gsang,[4] at

4. Bukul, at Śūrabhaya[5]; further places on the banks of rivers which are the spots of ferry-crossing are at Maḍantĕn, at Waringin wok, at Bajrapura, at

5. Sambo, at Jerebeng, at Pabulangan, at Balawi, at Luwayu, at Katapang, at Pagaran, at Kamuḍi, at Parijik, at Parung, at Pasi,

6. at Wran, at Kĕḍal,[6] at Bhangkal, at Wiḍang, at Pakbohan, at Lowara (?), at Ḍuri, at Rāśi, at Rewun, at Tgalan, at Dalangara, at

*Verso*

1. Sumbang, at Malo, at Ngijo, at Kawangen, at Suḍaḥ, at Kukutu, at Balun, at Marĕbo, at Turan, at Jipang, at Ngawi, at Wangkalang,

2. at Pnūḥ at Wulung, at Barang, at Pakatelan, at Wareng, at Amban, at Kĕmbu, at Wulayu. Total. All these places by the side of rivers—the

3. places of ferry-crossing in the whole circle of the island of Java—had requested before for a sacred royal command contained in an edict with the seal of Rājasanagara. Now the regulations are that the ferry-

4. places of the whole circle of the island of Java, beginning with Pañji Marggabhaya (named) Ki Ajaran rata and Pañji Angrakṣāji (named) Ki Ajaran rāgi, are only free and may

5. not be interfered with or trod upon by being brought under the Hon. three, such as, *pangkur*,[7] *tawan*, *tirip*, all sorts of *nāyaka*, *pratyaya*, *apinghe*,

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It is evident however that the one mentioned here must have been situated on the bank of some river. So it may be Pamwatan apajŏg, the mod. Pamotan. See also pl. 4*b* of the inscription of Gunung Butak in *Pararaton*, pp. 93ff.

[1] A place of this name is found in the subdivision of Blitar, residency Kĕdiri. In the *Oudheidkundige Kaart* of Verbeek, a river called Pĕnambangan has been shown to run by Wanagiri in Surakarta.

[2] It is probably the place to the North-West of Pamotan near the Brantas river.

[3] It is evidently the place mentioned in the inscription of Gunung Butak. A river has been described near it. See pl. 5*b* of this inscription in *Pararaton*, pp. 93ff. The place is now known as Bangsri.

[4] A place of this name is found in the lower course of the Surabaya river. See *KO*, V, pl. 6*b*, 1.

[5] Surabaya.

[6] Kiḍal?

[7] This and the following terms denote classes of officers.

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6. *akurug, awajuh, wadihati,* all their *puṇḍuḥ-s,* to begin with the *raweḥ* and all the collectors of taxes, (such as) *wuluwulu, parawu(lu)* [1] . . . . .

*Pl. 9, recto*

1. of *pikul* for each person in transaction. Such as these cannot be touched by royal taxes. If there are things beyond this limit, all of them may be touched
2. by their *makĕkĕran-s,*[2] (but) the royal dues cannot be increased [3] and the ferry-places of the whole circle of the island of Java controlled. At the time of showing respects for the sacred royal command of the
3. edict, (all) can vie (with one another) at the festal gathering, lay a wager in gambling, use footbells and play *kangsi* musical instruments on the occasion of adoring, in the fifth day, before and after the time of showing respects for the sacred royal
4. command of the edict. What now concerns is this : on account of the great freedom of the ferry-places in the whole circle of the island of Java, firstly, Pañji Marggabhaya and Panji Angrakṣāji named Ki Ajaran
5. rāgi have been stationed at Trung to facilitate a religious service with the best of flowers and to show respects for the sacred royal command of the edict. 400 (best flowers)
6. per head shall be brought in each Full Moon in (the month of) Āṣāḍha. Further favours of Pāduka śrī Mahārāja are : if there are male and female slaves,[4] wives and concubines

*Verso*

1. who are attached to (their) masters, if they run away from their masters, they can never be carried over the ferry-*ghāṭ* and released from the bank of the river. If (persons) of religious bearing

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[1] From the last words of this plate it is certain that the following lost portion of the text must have contained a further description of privileges of the ferry-places and also, I should add, business regulations in respect of them, as is evident from the opening line of pl. 9.

[2] Evidently subordinate officers under the royal tax-collectors.

[3] The phrase *soddhāra haji* also occurs in the Wanagiri inscription of 825 Śaka (Inscr. 1, *b* 10) published in the *TBG*, 74 (1934), pp. 269–295. See also *ibid.*, p. 294, f.n. 2.

[4] See Jonker, *Een Oudjavaansch Wetboek Vergeleken met Indische rechtsbronnen* (1885), art. 3, 10, 153-154, 163-164, 252.

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2. (come) at the ferry-*ghāṭ* they should be guarded against (?) the eight thieves.[1] Further, when women have drowned themselves, they can be carried to the ferry-*ghāṭ* without this being recognized
3. as a case of abduction[2]: always the ferry-*ghāṭ* is absolved (of responsibilities) for seizing them. Moreover, when men who have incurred debts previously are ferried over, they shall pay to the ferry-*ghāṭs* and these (will receive) their
4. gifts. Though the receipt of their gift is not proper, this will bring no blame to the ferry-*ghāṭs*,
5. this will not be considered and held back as illegal. Further, while the ferries transport the footmen of the *akalang*, the marchants who have drowned themselves, these merchants
6. cannot be carried by the ferry and the ferry-boat cannot be charged when that merchant has died. Further, when there are

*Pl.* 10, *recto.*

1. things that are drifted away by the stream itself, they should be taken to the ferry-*ghāṭ* (and), without (any) stigma, the ferry-*ghāṭ* can desire for, take and protect the fruits of its labour,
2. and receive the reward for possessing it. Such is the favour of Śrī Mahārāja to the ferry-*ghāṭs* in the whole of the island of Java, under the leadership of Ajaran rata. And then,
3. lastly, the ferry-*ghāṭs* of the whole circle of the island of Java, under the leadership of Pañji Marggabhaya (named) Ki Ajaran rata, and Pañji Angrakṣāji, tendered homage in the first instance,
4. with many valuable clothes, and salutation. Each of these presented with respects many clothes and the best of flowers
5. to the dust of the feet of Pāduka Śrī Mahārāja. On account of the great freedom of the ferry-*ghāṭs*, the sacred royal command of the edict with the seal of Rājasanagara was bestowed (on them) for their protection.
6. Further, the three *rakryan mantri*-s received different sums, according to their rank. Moreover, the *rakryan dĕmung*,

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[1] About the *lakṣaṇa* of eight thieves, see *ibid.*, art. 21.
[2] For regulations on *Strīsanggrahana*, see Jonker, *Een Oudjavaansch wetboek vergeleken met Indische rechtsbronnen* (1885), Introd., p. 24 and art. 14, 134–142, 247–251; *Yājña*, II, 283-284; *Manu*, VIII, 352–385, particularly v. 356.

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*Verso*

1. the *rakryan kanuruhan, rakryan rangga, rakryan tumĕnggung*,[1] all received different sums, according to their rank. Function-
2. ing as supreme (spiritual) authority, the Superintendent of the Śaivite institutions and the Superintendent of the Buddhist institutions similarly received different sums, according to their rank. All the spiritual *upapattis* similarly
3. received different sums, according to their rank,[2] (all these) having the result of confirming the favour of Pāduka Śrī Mahārāja to the ferry-*ghāṭs* of
4. the whole circle of the island of Java under the leadership of Pañji Marggabhaya (named) Ki Ajaran rata and Pañji Angrakṣāji (named) Ki Ajaran rāgi. After the attainment of confirmation, if there is still anybody who
5. disturbs the contents of the sacred royal command of the edict which is for the protection of the ferry-*ghāṭs* of the whole circle of the island of Java under the leadership of Pañji Marggabhaya (named) Ki
6. Ajaran rata and Pañji Angrakṣāji (named) Ki Ajaran rāgi, and further, who destroys the freedom of the ferry-*ghāṭs* in the whole circle of the island of Java . . . . . [3]

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[1] We miss here the reference to *rakryan mapatih*.

[2] The above gradation of ranks is noteworthy. First of all, we find mention of the *rakryan (maha)mantri-s* (who were *rakryan mantri hino, rakryan mantri sirikan* and *rakryan mantri halu*) ; these officers were almost figure-heads. Next in rank, we find the heads of the various departments who practically ran the administration of the Majapahit Kingdom. Then we find reference to the two supreme spiritual authorities of the State charged to look after Śaivite and Buddhist institutions. The *upapatti-s* are mentioned last of all.

[3] It appears from the closing portion of the text that the following portion of the lost plate(s) must have contained curse-formulas.

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# A HISTORICAL ASPECT OF NIRVĀṆA

*By* MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

Dr. Law has once more rendered good yeoman service to Indian research by the way in which, in his recent article in this Journal, he has collected and grouped a mass of material from which the historian of Indian religion can profitably draw. If, to my word of appreciation I go on to supplement, with his permission, one of his Groups: the Historical Aspect (vol. II, 2, pp. 330–332), it is because of something I fail to find in it. What we do find is (*a*) that nirvāṇa as 'an innovation or invention on the part of the Buddha' is (rightly) scouted, (*b*) nirvāṇa, as a distinct term of religious thought, 'is undoubtedly due to the greatest importance attached to it .... by the Buddha, and his immediate disciples;' that 'to contemplate *dhamma* as propounded by him is to contemplate *nibbāna*'.... 'the ultimate of all that a Buddha taught or would teach'. What we do *not* find in this group (or this article) is (*a*) that the question in two Suttas: 'What is this that is being called *nibbāna*?' may very possibly betray a *new emergence* of this term in religion, not necessarily as early as the lifetime of the Founder or his disciple to whom the question appears as put, but *when those two Suttas were included as authorized recensions in the Canon*; (*b*) the more truly original term for the ultimate, or *summum bonum* which, coexisting in usage for a time with the (?) newly emerged term, was by it gradually ousted and dropped; (*c*) that this older term was dropped from its high estate because of a new bifurcation in values, in meaning, which had befallen the term, the one change appearing in Sanskrit literature, the other in Pali literature.

My object here and now is to make clear what I mean by the (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) which I do not find in Dr. Law's article. His meanwhile be the merit of my starting to discuss on the basis of his labours.

In dealing with my (*b*), I shall incidentally discuss (*a*) and (*c*).

The whole history of religion is largely an evolution in values: an evolution of what is either a growth in value, or—and this is far oftener the case—a worsening in value. If what I have to show in these fluctuations may seem to the wise very simple, I apologize for the simplicity, the while I affirm that I have not as yet (so backward is historical work on Buddhism) found this particular fluctuation adequately treated.

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I have been for years trying to get at what was really the message, the evangel of the first Śākyan missioners (not called Buddhists till centuries later). Now that message was clearly from the first intended for the people, for him we call Everyman—alas! how much is that not forgotten! And that message took for granted that Everyman, in his religion, was bent on a quest: something that he needed, through which he could evolve into (India said 'become') a More than he in his earth-life amounted to, a something that he sought to win. In a 'folk-gospel' like that message, we should expect to find its quest something which was (1) the man seeking to attain, and finally attaining, his welfare as man; not a welfare without the man; the man must be in it; (2) a quest which is positive, not negative; (3) a quest which is not something as yet inconceivable by man, but is something which he can even now comprehend, or at least conceive. Now in nirvāṇa we have not (1), not (2), not (3). Nirvāṇa is an end without the man in it.[1] Nirvāṇa is an end in negative terms. Nirvāṇa is a word prejudging what is as yet inconceivable, let alone comprehensible. Hence I believe, without going further, that nirvāṇa cannot have been the quest and end set before man in the folk-gospel which Buddhism appears to have been, when, as we read, its first charge to its missioners was to go on tour and teach 'devas and men out of compassion (or sympathy)', not to aim at nirvāṇa, but to lead the 'God-life.' Here was no message sent to philosophers or mystics or ascetics, but just to men and women in this world, or for a while in the next. And here therefore I protest against Heinrich Zimmer's recent assertion in his *Indische Sphären*, that 'from the outset the Buddha-teaching is shown as a way for the few'. He cannot possibly have studied his Vinaya and Suttas to have arrived at such a conclusion! It is yet another libel heaped upon the head of a great friend and helper of 'Everyman'.

Well then, if not nirvāṇa, what was the word first used for the quest, its way and its end or goal?

It is a curious fact, how many vitally important things about this religion are to be gleaned, not so much from openly asserted mantras and from formulas, as from topics which, as to their title and subject-matter, would seem to be quite irrelevant and unimportant. Contrast with this an instance from Christianity. There is perhaps in the story of Jesus no more touching object-lesson of the heart of his mission as one of the duty of man to ward, to tend his fellowman than the way in which he washed his disciples' feet.

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[1] Cf. *Paṭisambhidāmagga Commentary* and *Visuddhimagga* XVI. 'There is nibbāna, but no man-who-wanes.'

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'I have given you an example that ye should do unto one another as I have done unto you.' That object-lesson is, as we know, carried out, as such, today, every year, in the chief centre of the Christian Church, by the head of the Church. It is not handed down in a different, an irrelevant context. It is not put in a corner.

When, then, we ask ourselves whether, in the mission of another great Friend of man, we find anything similar, we may look in vain if we pay heed to what Buddhists call the central teachings of their Founder, to Suttas, to formulas. Then perhaps one day we may be turning over the pages of the endless often finicky rules in the Book of the Discipline. And we see as we go a chapter of 32 rules about the robes of monks. How dull! we say, and make to pass on —when look! in an account introducing the 26th rule we find the 'Blessed One', with his cousin and attendant Ānanda, going about the monks' beds and there finding one occupied by a sick monk suffering from dysentery and left neglected and filthy. 'Why are they not looking after you?' 'Sir, I am of no use to them.' In a moment Ānanda is dispatched to fetch hot water, and the two lift the man from the foul bed, do the needed cleaning and put him back to rest. Then Gotama summons the monks and tells them what he thinks of them. 'You have no mothers and fathers to wait on you. If you wait not on one another, who indeed is there who will? Whoever would wait on me, let him wait on the sick.'

How like the words ascribed to Jesus: 'Inasmuch as ye have not done this to the least among my brethren, ye did it not unto me.' But just perhaps because this little object-lesson is hidden away in Vinaya rules, I never heard or read any Buddhist alluding to it, save once when a layman did so, who had some acquaintance with what we were saying about it.

Now there is another very important saying in those same Vinaya rules, which has nothing whatever to do with the particular rule, which, moreover, is never cited, but which is very pertinent to my subject. Possibly monks teach the rule and its context to monks in South Asia. But it is never quoted by Buddhists, monk or lay, when they address us Europeans about their creed. It is this:

Among the rules on shoes, seats, etc. there is one permitting men who easily got blisters to wear a lining in their sandals. This is led up to by a foolish sort of narrative, bringing in a visit paid at the same time to the place called Campā, now Bhagalpore on the Ganges below Patna, by both Gotama on tour and also Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, also on tour. The king after convening and addressing village headmen, dismisses them with these words: 'You have been instructed by me in the aims, the objects of this life.

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Now go and wait upon the Blessed One; he will instruct you in the aims, the objects of the life hereafter.'

The words 'aims and objects' are in Pali the one word *attha* (*artha*). 'Of this life is the usual term *diṭṭhadhamme*': seen things; of the life hereafter is the less usual, but current Sutta term *samparāyike*. *Attha*, as aim, object, quest could thus be applied to mean things worldly and otherworldly.

Now unless my readers' experience in things said and written by Buddhists be very different from mine, they will not have been told, that Buddhism is a religion the aim or quest of which is 'otherworldly'. Much more likely are they to have learnt, that Buddhism is so essentially in touch with modern ideals, because it is concerned mainly with the good life here and now, a life which is to be led without care as to its being *mainly* and rightly a fitting oneself for otherworld life. And further, no Buddhist save a Mahāyānist will be prepared to admit, that his own present teaching differs from that of these earlier scriptures in that it is a higher and better gospel, withheld for centuries by apostolic tradition till the earth should be ready for it. The Hīnayānist of Ceylon, Burma, Siam will on the contrary contend, that he has and now holds the original teaching 'in its pristine purity'. He says this lightly, because his much ignorance of his scriptures, unknown as yet in the vernacular, prevents him from seeing how, in many things, he accepts as orthodox much that is discrepant with the earlier teaching. He ought for instance to see his teaching as *samparāyika*, but he does not.

To get, if get we can, at that earliest teaching, I contend that we must use a better historical lens than is usually employed. We must not only weigh the date of one book against that of another; we must see, in each book, a history in little. We must see that it is not only with us that words come to acquire different values, a different meaning down the centuries. I mean, for instance, that our 'wilful', in Chaucer's day, meant just wished, voluntary; two centuries later it had come to mean stubborn of will. 'What! trow ye that I would live in povert wilfully?' This, of the Pardoner's Tale, is not the same as the 'To wilful men the injuries that they themselves procure must be their schoolmasters', of King Lear. When are we going to see writers on Buddhism in East and West recognizing, that this sort of thing can also be seen taking place in early Buddhism, not only in different books, but in one and the same book?

To take a recent instance: my late lamented friend and helper Charles Eliot, a man as all know of great parts, industry, sympathy and learning. In his posthumous work *Japanese Buddhism*, he for

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some reason thought fit to traverse again the field of 'Indian Buddhism' already handled at length in his earlier work. In this chapter he *knows nothing* of *samparāyika attha*, declared in my citation to have been just 'what the "Buddha" did teach'. He assumes, infers, from certain selected passages, that nirvāṇa is the one word for the religious quest; sees no history going on in the emergence of this term; sees not that a scripture, which took a long time to reach its present bulk and form—a scripture which for centuries was oral only, was amassed at different centres, each with its own traditions of exposition—would certainly, when the day came for collecting all the scattered sayings at one head-quarters and revising them, undergo much editing, much revising, so that all the provincial recensions might be brought into harmony with the later outlook and ideals *which had come to be held by the metropolitan editors*.

Let me for a few minutes go a little into the history of these rival terms: *attha* and *nibbāna*, and weigh whether, as name for the supreme quest, *attha* did not precede *nibbāna*.

We have seen the way in which a contemporary of Gotama is said to have associated him, not with *nibbāna*, but with *attha*, *attha* of a special kind. If we turn to the First Utterance, called 'of Benares', which was a chart or outline agreed upon as nucleus of mission teaching, we come upon, not *attha* as the right quest but *nibbāna*. Does not this settle matters in favour of the latter term? (I cannot trace any reference to this in Dr. Law's 'Historical Aspect', or elsewhere.) Let us recall the mantra. Critically read, I think it calls on us to vote for *attha*.

It was a call to man as seeking, as one willing to seek, as one able to seek, his own salvation. As such it was a new thing in Indian literature. The man was free to choose which way he would take. (Much has it got obscured by 'the man' being identified with a superbeing who had understood all about it.) The choice before the man is exemplified by a threefold way, a device used also for other subjects. He is warned that Way A and Way C alone do 'not belong to *attha*', that is to what he wants, what he seeks. These are *an-attha-saṃhita*. But the middle Way B, as middle, is different. Implicitly it combines the two things, wherein the other two, each pursued solely, may be harmful. To give your will free play (essential though it be that you 'will') is dangerous. To tie your will up in rules, ever living as the creature of a code, is also dangerous. In B you walk with a strong but regulated will.

Is not in the context the conclusion logically inevitable, that Way B is *attha-saṃhita*? The two terms are not seldom used in the Suttas; hence the positive form was as current as the negative.

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But somehow *attha-saṃhita* has got left out. We find instead four other terms 'barging in' as it were, in discordance with the context.

What do they mean? How and why did they get there? Why is *attha* not there?

The four are *sambodhi*: enlightenment, *abhiññā*: higher knowledge *upasamā*: quiet, *nibbāna*: waning out. The value in the word *attha* had changed *between the day* when the first missioners drew up their plan and the final (?) Patna revision of versions of the mantra. It no longer meant the religious, the other-world aim. It had undergone a curiously bifurcated value. In Brahmanic literature it was coming to mean 'man's business', *affaires* worldly profit; in Buddhist literature it was coming to mean, not only 'matter' (that probably came in earlier), but 'meaning', 'connotation'. With the long growth of a great thesaurus of Sayings, the linguistic, the literary aspect of these had been becoming ever more complicated. Much, as we tend to forget, had been left to free exposition of a given text or *uddesa*, embodying the *attha*. The specific form, spoken, and eventually written: the *vyañjana*, was, of that, the complement. We even see this late compound inserted in one Sutta: the *attha-vyañjana*, where *attha*, separately survives in its older sense in another Sutta close by. In the Commentaries we are incessantly reminded that such and such is the 'meaning' (*attha*) of the text.

Now the first utterance remaining ever a mantra of the first importance, it could not be fit to leave in it, especially concerning the supreme quest, a term which had become ambiguous, and in a way worsened. So here the editors got busy, and the result is the odd feature that, with two things, both called 'not-X' we have a third opposed thing called not 'X', but 'D,E,F,G.'

But why those four terms? They too are part of the history of Buddhism. The *former* pair shows a preoccupation with the new Indian psychology, which men were calling *sānkhya*, Pali: *sankhā, sankhānaṃ*, analysis namely of mind. The gradual growth of this is visible in the Upaniṣads, both in those preceding, and in those contemporaneous with, the birth of Buddhism. The *latter* pair betrays the growth of the monastic vogue. Thus the former pair give us intellectual superiority; the latter, religious or 'mystic' attainment. All four show us what had been engrossing religious attention during the few centuries following the death of the first missioners. We shall never understand the history of early Buddhism, if we do not see how these two influences were the main currents which swept it along and down.

A word on that other bifurcation of *attha*. We may recall the opening of the Mahābhārata: 'This is the excellent śāstra of what

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is duty (*dharma*); this is the best *śāstra* of *artha*, and is also a *śāstra* of *mokṣa*'. Here we have *mokṣa* as the ideal, not *artha*. This had emerged by about the 3rd century B.C. *Artha* had come to mean what it means in the *Arthaśāstra* ascribed to Kautīlya, who is said to have been brahman minister to Aśoka's grandfather. Dr. Winternitz (*Ind. Rel. Gesch.* I, 272) translates *artha* here by 'das praktische Leben', and claims that *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* are 'gewissermassen das Um und Auf des menschlichen Daseins, nach der Indischen Ethik' (i.e. of that date).

Now whatever be the inclusive date of the great epic, I should put these brief opening lines late, since the author of them has evidently before him an acquaintance with the work as a finished compilation. They may even be of the date when the epic came to take written form, namely, in our era. And between that time and the birth of Buddhism great changes in values had come over these three terms: *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*. In the Vedas we do not find this trinity of institutes, nor in any Indian literature, if I err not, till the Mahābhārata itself. In the Rig-Veda *artha* means just object, aim: Indra bethought him of that aim (*arthaṃ cetati*). Agni accomplishing his purpose (*arthaṃ hi-asya taraṇī*). In the early Upaniṣads it is used with this same meaning, and in the middle Upaniṣads it also means just object of sense (*indriyānam artha*). This last meaning it never has in Buddhism, probably just because it had been pre-empted for a higher purpose, and then, because of the literary divergence in meaning of which I have spoken.

But in the Gītā episode—also a work of some duration in time—we are presented with a history in little of the word *artha*. Thus in Book II, *artha* is profit, namely, 'which there is in a well-fed pool'. In Book III it is object of sense, and again aim: 'he has no object here, etc.' Then in Book XIII we are lifted to *artha* as ideal: 'knowledge and vision of the *artha* of truth'. Finally, *at the end of the last chapter* we come upon *artha* in that threefold institutional meaning: 'the persistence with which anyone eager for reward pursues *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*, O Arjuna, that is the duration of *rajas*'.

However used, the word is closely akin to the active will of man seeking the needed More. (This is true even of objects of sense.) And this is after all the root meaning of *ṛ*, *arta*, a reaching out after. But it is only in the earliest Buddhism, that we find it raised persistently to the goal of man's religious quest, to a quest that is infinite, is otherworldly. That religion is a quest: this had been repeatedly insisted upon in the early Upaniṣads. Ever recurs the refrain: 'This it is Who should be sought after, Who should be

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desired....' And following this, the teaching of his day, Gotama is shown beginning his teaching with the same injunction: 'Were it not better that you sought thoroughly after the Self?' And one who so seeks is in the Sutta-Nipāta called

*āraddhaviriyo paramatthapattiyā*: (ver. 68, cf. 2, 9):

one who has stirred up effort to win the *attha* supreme.

From all this we get two deeply important, and, I hold, true conclusions: that man in religion is a seeker, essentially and before all else a seeker; that man, in this seeking, may word his quest not necessarily in a word which tries to convey something he cannot yet conceive, but as a Better which, for the time being, is for him a Best. And we now see how in *attha* we get those three features suitable for a folk-evangel, which we did not get in nirvāṇa. *Attha* is essentially a standpoint of the man, not of one who in gaining it ceases somehow to be a man. It is the man who is valuing: this is my aim. It becomes meaningless if, in winning it he wane out. It is he who, as the Suttas say is *atthiko*, as is the man in the forest *sār'atthiko*. Secondly, the word is positive, not a negation. It is that which *is* sought for, *is* to be won. It is not something that is a NOT. Lastly it is not something which having won, a man judges to be so 'void', that he cannot value. It is ever true as being that which man, in seeking, ever figures as the Best, the Most he can as yet conceive.

In translating it I have sometimes used the word 'goal' (=*pariyosāna*), a word derived, I read, from the *gaule* or pole set up at the terminus of a race. Now that terminus need not always be final; it may be but to mark a 'lap' in the full stadiam of a longer competition. As such it is the runner's next objective. So *attha* in its admirable elasticity can mean either ideally the final goal, or that nearer objective in his quest which the man can yet conceive as the 'best'. So wise indeed were the great Helpers of men. According to them, if we have their very words: 'In my father's house are many mansions: *monai pollai*, stopping places, the homes of many a schoolboy of to-day, which, as he knows, his family may quit even before he leaves school'. And: 'Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise' —no one looks on 'paradise' as final. Here is no finality taught, no ultimate inconceivable ending. As with the wine at the Cana feast: 'the best is yet to come'. All betters, mores, highers have their logically ideal point in consummation, in best, most, highest. Man can never rest long in a 'better' with any sense of real uttermost achievement therein. I have tried and found it wanting.

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A word on the obscure history of the word *nibbāna, nirvāṇa.* When and how did this curious word find its way into India's religious culture? As yet no one knows. As verb, with the confused stem *vā*, to blow, *vṛ*, to cover. With *nir*, *nis*, the prefix of diminishing, ending, ejection, the word is unknown in Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, emerging first in the Mahābhārata and in the Pali Piṭakas. In the latter it can mean 'put a stop to, extinguish'. Dr. Law might here have added the lines in the Therīgāthā, which an English literary scholar told me he found strangely moving:

> Then going to my cell I take my lamp,
> And seated on my couch I watch the flame.
> Grasping the pin, I pull the wick right down
> Into the oil . . . .
> Lo! the nibbāna of the little lamp!
> Emancipation dawns! My heart is free!

As meaning a religious ideal, as in this simile, it emerges full-blown in the Gītā or the Epic three or four times, with the prefix Brahma-. 'he attains when the end is at hand extinction in Brahman (*brahmanirvāṇaṃ*) . . . . 'become Brahman he attains *Brahmanirvāṇaṃ*'. Or here without it: 'the yogī wins the peace that is rooted in me, the last end of which is *nirvāṇa*'.

Did the Gītā, *in its final recension*, precede the Pali Suttas and Gāthās in *their* final recension? Here is part of the problem. In it we must keep this in view: in the Gītā the term is clearly understood and accepted. In the Piṭakas this is also the case *with the one exception* alluded to above, where it is asked 'What is *nibbāna*?' The answer, as we know, is not that *nibbāna* is anything of the nature of a goal or ultimate, but that it is a cathartic discipline in ejection of evil; hence a *means* only to the attainment of a Better. This remarkable silence about a goal, and apparent curiosity as to 'what' was *nibbāna*, is flanked, in the great thesaurus of the Suttas, by very many contexts, where *nibbāna* is unquestionably used to mean a *summum bonum*, as may be seen in Dr. Law's article. And it is only a vivid reconstruction of the circumstances I refer to above, under which this body of literature came to take its final shape, which will discern how, in a superstructure, certain older stones were left in, built into that structure as being, in tradition, of venerable associations. One thing only is clear: the word *nibbāna* had somehow got in to stay, and the word *attha*, which for me is an old stone, gradually got dropped out.

This too is very significant, noticed I think as yet by no one. The dropping out of *attha* is preceded by that tragic worsening in

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values: the dropping out of 'the man', that is, 'the self'. We know that, in drifting apart from the mother-teaching of Brahmanism:—the immanence of God as in and of the man—early Buddhism first cut out Deity from the term *attā*, then cut out the reality of the *attā* himself, a decadent process covering centuries. In the Vinaya episodes, in the second context quoted above, we find this: 'Thus do clansmen tell of what has come to them: in declaring *aññā* (gnosis), they refer to *attha*, they do not bring in *attā*'. Now India was, as we know, partial to punning: a feature natural in an oral teaching, going by sound, not sight. In this saying we have a palpable, though not a brilliant pun. I have had to spell out for scholars not Indologists, the difference between *attha* and *attā*, and hence perhaps can see here the pun which Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, in their Vinaya translation, pass over.

With *attā* and then *attha* dropped from its quest of the ideal, Buddhism built over these buried stones the rococo superstructure, which the founders of the movement would have had pain and difficulty in recognizing, and of which they would certainly not have approved. The *attha* which, for one, they taught was *not nibbāna*, a vanishing Less in a vanishing *attā*. It was a persistent living on in that More which saw the quest as a man becoming more in the worlds: the *attho samparāyiko*. 'Is there any one thing', we read of a brahman asking Gotama, 'which compasses and establishes both kinds of *attha*: that of this life and that of life hereafter'? 'There is.' 'What is it?' 'Earnestness': lit. the not being slack (*appamādo*). 'Make this become, and you will get both *attha's*.'[1]

And in what did this *appamādo* consist? So to live as to become more fit for the 'companionship' (*sahavyatā*) of what is *samparāyiko*, namely, not by any means as yet for 'union with', or 'extinction in Brahman', but for the society of those gone before who were very worthy: the Brahma devas,[2] who have seen behind the veil, have learnt the things that are truly worth while, as you have not yet learnt them, who are waiting near to help you to that *attha*, that lap in the long way to consummation, which is all that they have as yet attained.

I have come then to a conclusion very different from that to which the much edited Pali Suttas and Pali exegetical works have brought the writer of 'Aspects of Nirvāṇa'. This is, that the founder, the founders, of Buddhism, those Sakyan missioners, with their gospel for Everyman, did not teach the religious quest

[1] *Anguttara*, iii, 364 (so that one *can* 'have it both ways').
[2] Digha, No. XIII.

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with the word *nirvāṇa*, did not equate it with *dhamma* (which for them had not come to mean any 'code of teaching'), had no use for it save as riddance of the undesirable. I have come to see, that to speak of 'what Buddhism teaches' is divided by centuries from what 'the Buddha taught'. For most of us, the two still mean the same. In the latter term, I see a word taken up during those centuries to mean what his church called him and 'made him say'. Him I see as Gotama of the Śākyas, a dim but tremendously real figure of India of the 7th-6th centuries B.C., giving to his world a new, genuinely 'inspired' word, expanding, deepening the religion of his day: the teaching man how, as wayfarer in the worlds he might, seeking his *attha*, finally *become* That.

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# THE SATIYAPUTRAS, ŚĀTAKARṆIS, SĀTVATAS AND NĀSATYAS

*By* V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

In a note under the caption 'Who were the Satiyaputras?' in the *Indian Culture*, Calcutta,[1] I have tried to identify them with the Tamil tribe Kośar who figure in ancient classical Tamil literature. I have not examined therein the validity of identifications attempted by Professor Jean Przyluski, and I propose to take up the question in this paper.[2]

Dr. Barnett threw out a suggestion that the Satiyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions may be compared with the Śātakarṇis, the Setæ being described by Pliny immediately after the Andhras.[3] This observation has evoked support recently from Professor J. Przyluski. In his article in the original French under the caption '*Hippokoura et Satakarni*'[4] an attempt is made to show that the Satiyaputras are probably Śātakarṇis. In this connection the term Hippokoura of Ptolemy[5] is rendered 'town of the horse', Gk. hippos=horse, and Indian Kūra=town. Then the expression Satiyaputra and its hypothetical equivalent Śātakarṇi are examined, and the equation putra=karṇi is made, meaning 'son', Karṇi being taken to be derived from the Muṇḍa Kōn, and the whole thing is rendered as 'Son of Sata'. We are further told that *han*, and *hapan*, of the Muṇḍa languages mean 'son' and the Andhra word *Satapahana* was perhaps sanskritized into Śātavāhana. The forms Sadām, Sādam, Sādām in the Muṇḍa languages mean horse, and hence the terms Śātavāhana, Śātakarṇa, Satiyaputra, all mean 'son of a horse'. It is then contended that the Andhras worshipped the God under the form of the horse or having celebrated the *aśvamedha* sacrifices, the princes born of the magic union between the premier queen and sacrificial horse came to be called 'Son of the Horse'. Next the names Viḷivāyakura and Śivalakura occurring in some of the Andhra coins are explained so that both Viḷivāya and Śivala should be understood as designating their capital towns, and

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[1] Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. 493–496.

[2] I am thankful to Professor K. Sundararama Aiyar, M.A., who looked into this paper in MS. and offered valuable suggestions.

[3] C.H.I., I, p. 599.

[4] J.R.A.S., 1929, pp. 273–79 translated by Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar in the *Jour. of And. His. R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 49–53.

[5] VII. 1. 83.

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the kings, who inscribed these names of theirs on their coins, should have adopted them as their own names. Though the authority of the Greek writers is cited in support of this usage, it cannot be shown to receive confirmation from Indian sources. In ancient India the towns were founded after the name of the king, and no such practice existed as that of the king taking the name of the capital for his title.

Assuming that this was an ancient Indian usage, Professor Przyluski has put forth his theory that the Śaiva king Māḍharīputra gave the name of Śivalakura to his capital and also took for himself a name similarly derived, i.e. from the name of the God Śiva. This cannot be accepted for a moment. The theory is doubly inconclusive. First, according to South Indian practice as revealed by the Pallava and Coḷa inscriptions, it was the king who gave the God his own name, the god enshrined in the temple which he built. To cite a similar case, the deity enshrined in the Tanjore temple is named after its patron-founder, Rājarāja, the Coḷa king. Secondly, it is stretching the imagination too far to understand Śivala to denote the God Śiva. Having thus disposed of the name Śivalakura Prof. Przyluski assumes that Hippokoura, Baleokoura and Viḷivāyakoura are three names of the same capital. It is said that phonetically the equation *baḍava vaḷava=beleo* is possible, and *vaḍava* means horse, while *viḷi* may be made to correspond to *bele*. This is indeed ingenious, but unfortunately does not stand criticism.

First, if Hippokoura and Baleokoura are names of the same capital, there is no reason why Ptolemy should mention both. It is argued that while the first was the Greek name, the second was the popular commercial name.

Secondly, we are not able to judge why the Indian word *kura* has been added to the so-called Greek Hippo. To make the suffix belong to one language and the prefix to another is not always happy, and is itself liable to lead us into error.

Thirdly, what perplexes one is that the Professor himself quotes the Tables of Ptolemy which state that Hippokoura is the capital of king Baleokouros. If Baleokoura is the king's name, it cannot be the name of the capital. Ptolemy says that the name of the capital was Hippokoura. It is thus established that Baleokoura cannot be the name of the capital.

Fourthly, as we find the names of kings together with the names of their parents, in the colophons in the treatises forming the Tamil classic *Paḍiṟṟupattu*, so also the early Śātavāhana kings seem to have their coins struck with their names preceded by the names of their parents. We have, therefore, to interpret Śivalakura,

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which, as we shall show in the sequel, corresponds to Sanskrit Śivakumāra. He was the son of Māḍharī, as were Viḷivāyakura, the son of Gautamī, Śri Pulumavi, the son of Vāsiṣṭhī, and Śivaśriśātakarṇi, the son again of Vāsiṣṭhī. This must be the case wherever two names are given together in the Andhra coins. Otherwise we cannot explain other similar names occurring in this same context such as Vāsiṣṭhī Śri Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhī Śivaśriśātakarṇi.

Fifthly, the term *Koura* is a variant of Kumāra. It cannot be contended that the term *kura* is an Indian word meaning town. To our knowledge there is no such Indian word meaning a town. On the other hand *Koura* may be the Kanarese term *Kora* or the Malayalam *Kōrān*, both being variants of the Sanskrit Kumāra. Hence Baleokoura of Ptolemy has been elsewhere identified with Balakumāra mentioned in the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*. In the same way Śivala Koura is Śiva Kumāra and Viḷivāya Koura is Viḷivāya Kumāra, the suffix Kumāra not being used in the sense of a son but forming a part of the full name. In literature we meet frequently with names like Udayakumāra, Nāgakumāra, not in the sense of the son of Udaya, or son of Nāga, but as wholes forming the proper names of individuals. Similarly Śivalakoura and other names ending in *Koura*, which are the names of monarchs themselves, cannot be also their titles as hitherto maintained, or the name of the capital city as is now contended.

This is not all. There is no corroborative evidence of the Horse having been worshipped by the Andhras. The argument of the Aśvamedha sacrifice has no force, as every Kṣatriya king from the pre-historic times down to the first few centuries of the Christian era has performed such a sacrifice, and that, by kings in every part of India, not to speak of other ancient countries. If this theory is universally applied, all the princes of ancient India must be termed 'Sons of the Horse', and there is no purpose in singling out the Śātakarṇis for the sake of an argument.

Proceeding to examine the term Hippokoura, it seems to stand for the name of a prince, and not of a capital as Ptolemy's evidence would at first sight seem to imply. We see no reason also why this explanation should be pressed. For, it cannot be assumed that every statement of Ptolemy should be correct. To quote Mc-Crindle, the translator of the Ptolemy original: 'The work lost of course much of its old authority as soon as the discoveries of the modern times had brought its grave and manifold errors to light'.[1]

1 Preface, ed. 1885.

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Even if the argument is assumed to have any force, it will be safer to conclude that the town adopted the name of the prince who was a predecessor of Balakumāra, or rather it was founded by the prince himself in his name. *Hippo* need not therefore necessarily be a Greek word, but a variant or a corruption of some Indian expression.[1] Hence we can regard Hippokumāra as the name of a predecessor of king Balakumāra.

Let us now examine the terms Śata or Śāta which are sought to be identified with the Munda words Sadam or Sādam meaning a horse. We regard this too as unacceptable. The term Śātakarṇi has been interpreted by a Tamil writer who flourished roughly 1800 years ago, as *nūrruvakaṇṇar*, a term occurring in the *Śilappadikāram*. *Śata* meant to its author, Iḷaṅgo-Aḍigaḷ, one hundred, and not horse. Surely this interpretation must be accepted as he lived very near the Andhra country when the Śātakarṇis flourished as an imperial power. In the light of this important testimony the meaning of Śata as horse falls to the ground.

The next question is who are these Śātakarṇis? Different interpretations have been attempted but nothing conclusive has yet been reached. The whole difficulty is due to the corrupt texts of the Purāṇas which furnish us a list of the Andhra kings. Before we attempt an answer, one thing is clear, viz. the term Śātakarṇis does not stand for a tribe but denotes a geneological group forming the members of a royal line among the Andhras. Which of such a line is the enquiry we now enter upon?

The Śātakarṇis are the lineal descendants of a certain Śatakarṇa. And who is this great Śatakarṇa? The answer is furnished by the Matsya Purāṇa and the Vāyu Purāṇa. Śri Śatakarṇi or Śatakarṇi according to the Vāyu texts is the son and successor of Kṛṣṇa, the brother of king Sindhuka. According to the Matsya texts Śatakarṇi becomes the great grandson of the king Kṛṣṇa. Both the Purāṇas agree that Sindhuka (wrongly spelt Śiśuka in the Matsya) is a member of the Andhra tribe by the significant phrase *Andhrajātīya*.[2] This establishes beyond all doubt that the Śātakarṇis are also Andhra-jātīyas. Taking up this single expression Śatakarṇi we find it misspelt as Śāntikarṇi, Śāntikarṇa, Svātikarṇa, Śāntikarṇika, Śatakarṇi, Śatakarṇa, etc. in the Purāṇas. The correct expression should be Śatakarṇa when it first occurs as the son or great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa; but when it occurs subsequently along with other names among his descendants the expression should be Śātakarṇi. This

[1] There is a Tamil word *Hippar* meaning a trader or a merchant.
[2] Vā. Ch. 99. 348; Matsya, 273, 2.

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also satisfies the grammatical demand. There was a king by name Śatakarṇa, possibly a contemporary of Kharavela of Kalinga, and some of his successors styled themselves Śātakarṇis after the name of their celebrated ancestor. This will become clear if we take the ancient Ikṣvāku line reigning from Ayōdhyā. Many kings of this line called themselves Aikṣvākus. Rāma speaks of the Kiṣkindha country as ruled by the Ikṣvākus. Also some of the successors of Raghu, another celebrated king of the line, called themselves as Rāghavas. Some kings attached significance to a great ancestor Kakustha, and after him they styled themselves Kākusthas. Rāma was a Dāśarathi being a son of Daśaratha. In this way we have also to understand Śātakarṇi as derived from the proper name Śatakarṇa. A member of the line became prominent and it was Śatakarṇa, and some of his successors took pride in calling themselves descendants of Śatakarṇa, by using the title Śātakarṇi. We retain the term Śatakarṇa, and not Sata or Sāṇtakarṇa, because as already pointed out, an almost contemporary work has given a literal rendering as *Nūrruvakaṇṇar*,[1] and *nūru* is certainly śata in Sanskrit. If it be the name of a tribe, or a mere title to be appended to the name, then the Purāṇa ought to have added a name before the term when it first introduced that expression. For, when it names various successors, the Purāṇa adds the title Śātakarṇi. It cannot give such a title to the first whose name itself is Śatakarṇa.[2] Such names are not unfrequently met with in Indian literature. To quote an instance or two. We have Kumbhakarṇa, Lambakarṇa and Hastikarṇa. Such proper names were common then, and it is idle to seek explanations for them.[3] In the light of the foregoing evidence the identification of Śātakarṇis with Satiyaputras has no leg to stand on.

In a note to the *Indian Historical Quarterly*[4] Prof. J. Przyluski continues his study on the identification of Satiyaputras. Here he endeavours to identify them with Satvants, Sātvatas, and Nāsatyas. Here again as we shall soon see his conclusion is far from acceptable. The term Satvan referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[5] is taken by Sāyana to mean 'a charioteer' and in the *Rig Veda*[6] 'an enemy'. No doubt in Book VIII. 28 of the *Aitareya*

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[1] See *Śilappadikāram*, XXVI, l. 149.

[2] In this connection it is interesting to note Śatakarṇika as the name of a town in the Buddhist text *Mahāvagga*, V, 13-12. This bears test to the fact that a city was founded after this renowned king. See *S.B.E.*, XVII.

[3] In discussing the name Kauṭalya I have expressed a similar opinion: See my *Mauryan Polity*, 1932, p. 311.

[4] Vol. IX, pp. 88–91.

[5] II. 25.

[6] I. 62. 2.

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*Brāhmaṇa* a king Satvan by name is mentioned, but what was his relationship to the Satvants or Sātvatas of the Epics, we are not in a position to discover from the available records. It is significant that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to Kṛṣṇa of Dvāraka as Sātvata-ṛṣabha.[1] This means undoubtedly that Kṛṣṇa was the best of the kings of Satvanta or Sātvata line. A critical study of the passages in the Epics and the Purāṇas shows that the royal dynasty of the Satvants or Sātvatas was flourishing in Dvāraka. It is a far cry to identify them with a people of the extreme south. Again the Bhagavata Purāṇa mentions the Sātvatas as a distinct branch and different from other branches, Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis—all belonging to the common Yādava group.[2] It cannot, therefore, be maintained that Sātvata was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race or more correctly the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Yādava group.

The main contention of the learned Professor is that the terms Satvant, Sātvata, Satiyaputra are components of a word, formed by a non-aryan radical *sat* and the aryan suffix *vant*, cannot stand in the light of more sober evidence. As has been already pointed out in the case of Hippokoura, either the whole name must be treated as non-aryan or as aryan. Nothing is served by splitting a name in the manner attempted, simply for the sake of an argument. Sat, satya and śata are unambiguously Sanskrit words, meaning the good, the truthful, and a hundred respectively. Granting for the sake of argument that *sata* is the non-aryan radical equivalent to Munda *sadam*, how *sat* and *satya* could be equivalent to *sadam* is beyond one's comprehension. If it were contended that such forms may be allowed as radical variants to the Munda *sadam*, then our answer is that it is a flimsy foundation to build any stable superstructure upon. For, other circumstances which we must need take into account in considering this question militate against such a view. Let us take, for example, the geographical data. The Satiyaputras were a people living in a place adjoining to the ancient Kerala. The Śātakarṇis were kings of the Andhra country lying more towards the east coast. The home of the Sātvatas was in the North-West corner of the Peninsula, very near modern Bombay. And the Nāsatyas must have been originally residents of the plains of the Punjab. Thus the geographical location of these different peoples and dynasties is primarily, and perhaps definitely, against the identification of these absolutely different royal lines and tribes. In one case it is a tribe, in the other it is a royal line, and in the third it is a branch of the larger Yādava group. Thus the distinction among them is strikingly clear.

[1] X. 58-42: XI. 27. 5.

[2] I. 14. 25; IV. 1. 29.

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Let me now proceed to examine the interpretation offered to the Vedic term Nāsatya, by which name also the Aśvins were known. The remark that 'Nāsatya' has no satisfactory etymology in Indo-Aryan has no foundation. According to the Professor 'To analyse it into Na and asatya, na (netaru) and satya or nāsā+tya is impossible or fanciful'. Barring the first analysis, the other two offered are really fanciful. Still more fanciful it is to make the words Patana and Varuṇa non-aryan by getting the suffix *na* isolated. It may be noted here that in the case of Varuṇa it is not *na* but *ṇa*. The learned Professor applies it in the case of nāsatya. What is isolated is, it must be noted, the affix *na* and not the suffix *na* as in *Patana*. The contention that the word should have been originally Nasatya and extended into Nāsatya later on, is to unnecessarily tamper with a correct Vedic text. The correct term is *nā* and *nā* only. Even the Avestan equivalent Naonhaidya furnished by the Professor is Nāsatya and not Nasatya. The following etymology of the Nāsatya is satisfactory enough, and shows that it cannot be non-aryan term, as it is made out to be. Commenting on the term Nāsatya occurring in the sūtra of Pāṇini [1]

नभ्राण्नपान्नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनख

नपुंसक नक्षत्र नक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ।

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Siddhānta Kaumudi* analyses it thus :

न सत्या असत्याः

न असत्याः नासत्याः ।

(Bombay, Nirnayasagar edition).

We fail to see any impossibility or fancifulness in this analysis. Had the learned Indologist been aware of the existence of support of an authority so high as that of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, he would not have suggested such impossible etymological analysis as mentioned above.

We shall take these in order for criticism. With the first analysis we agree. The next question is, can Nāsatya be analysed *na* (netar)+satya ? We hold, not. For, the resulting compound word, would, according to the rule of grammar, be *nṛsatya*, meaning the truthful among men, and not Nāsatya. The third suggestion nāsā+tya is not only fanciful but an impossible formation according to Sanskrit etymology. In Vedic literature the Nāsatyas are the reputed divine physicians and cannot, by any amount of grammatical jugglery, be interpreted to mean a horse. If it were so, how are

[1] 6. 3. 75.

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names like Śatarūpa, Śataguṇa, Śatagrīva, Śatajit, Śatadamṣṭra to be explained? These are names like Śatakarṇa, Balakumāra and Sātvata. To subject these names to etymological analysis is, to say the least, unconvincing, and it does not find favour with ancient Indian traditional interpretation. Śata or hundred and satya or truth are Sanskrit words as also Patana and Varuṇa. *Pata* and *Varu* are derived from Sanskrit roots *Pat* to fall and *Varu* to envelop or cover.

We shall now discuss from another aspect, the application of the chronological test. While the Nāsatyas are the Vedic divinities occurring in the early Samhita portions of the Vedas, the Sātvatas seem to be the Purāṇic ancestors or contemporaries of Kṛṣṇa of Dvāraka, and so they are related to one of the numerous epic dynasties. The Satiyaputras are a South Indian tribe flourishing in the Mauryan epoch or a little earlier. They seem to have belonged to the early Dravidian stock of the Tamils. The Śātakarṇis are members of a royal dynasty which belonged to an Andhra tribe and which came into predominance a considerable time after Aśoka. They occur in history chronologically after the Śungas and Kaṇvas who succeeded the Mauryas. About the Satiyaputras our chief source of information must be found in ancient Tamil literature, and there they are mentioned as nānmoḷikośar or people speaking the truth, and so the Tamil equivalent of the word Satiyaputras. In the case of Śātakarṇi also we have already shown how it has the same signification.

In conclusion, we may say that the Tamil writers who flourished 2,000 years ago, of whom some too, were neighbours and contemporaries of the Sātakarṇis and Satiyaputras, have also no tradition of the Satiyaputras or Śātakarṇis having been worshippers of the horse, and hence also it is impossible to accept this theory of Jean Przyluski. It is true that we can bring philology to the aid of history, but philological reasoning should not outrun all canons of historical accuracy. All decision must ultimately rest on the basis of historical inquiry.

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# SOME PROBLEMS OF EARLY MAURYA HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY

*By* H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

The early history of the Maurya dynasty is a subject which has been dealt with by competent scholars since the beginning of the study of Indian antiquities. Nevertheless a good deal of confusion still exists both in regard to the early history of the first of the Imperial Mauryas and the date of his rise to power. In this short paper an attempt has been made to give, along with a short summary of known facts, such details about Chandragupta Maurya as may enable the reader to appraise properly the divergent views in regard to the ancestry of the king, his date, his wars and conquests and lastly his religious proclivities. Want of space forbids a more detailed treatment of the subject and accounts for the exclusion of references to his administrative arrangements which are well know to students of Indian Antiquity.

In 326 B.C. the people of India might well have despaired of the fate of their country. The imperial throne of the Ganges valley was occupied by a king who was 'detested and held cheap by his subjects'. The Indus valley was overrun by fierce adventurers from the land of the *Yavanas* in the Far West who resolved to incorporate it permanently into their growing empire. The great king of the *Yavanas* withdrew, it is true, to Babylon where he died in 323 B.C. But the surviving generals who met to partition the *Yavana* empire in 323 B.C. had no desire to relinquish the Indian conquests altogether. They had however to introduce certain changes in the administrative arrangements which left the country to the east of the Indus virtually in the hands of the Indian *Rājās*. But Macedonian satraps were retained in the trans-Indus provinces and between 321 and 317 B.C. Eudemos, an officer appointed to command the garrison in the western Punjab after the murder of the satrap in 324 B.C., put an end, by treachery, to the rule of his Indian colleague, probably the great Paurava prince, who had fought valiantly against Alexander on the Hydaspes. The Yavanas were, however, torn by internal dissensions and both Eudemos and the satrap of the North-West borderland left their Indian provinces to fling themselves into a fray nearer home. The Indians in the meantime had at last found a leader who knew how to take advantage of the weakness of the foreign invaders and "shake the yoke of servitude from the neck" of his country.

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Signs of disaffection against Macedonian rule appeared as early as 326 B.C. when Alexander was still in the Punjab. An Indian chief named Samaxus headed a revolt in the country about Kandahar. There was another upheaval in the Swat valley and a more formidable insurrection in the Lower Indus valley which was fomented by the Brāhmaṇas of the locality. But all these risings seem to have been suppressed and the hand of the ruthless conqueror fell heavily on the instigators. Retribution came swiftly and, if tradition is to be believed, it was a Taxilian Brāhmaṇa who raised to power the great avenger to whose strong arms "the earth, long harassed by outlanders now turned for protection and refuge".

The new Indian leader was a young man who bore the name of Chandragupta. He is described by the classical writers as a man of humble origin who was prompted to aspire to regal power by an omen significant of an august destiny immediately after an encounter with Alexander himself. The visit to the Macedonian king is referred to by at least two writers, but strange to say, some modern scholars emend the text of one passage and propose to read 'Nandrum' (Nanda) in place of Alexandrum (Alexander). Such conjectural emendations often mislead students who have no access to original sources and make the confusion regarding the early career of Chandragupta worse confounded. The family to which the young leader belonged is named Maurya by Indian writers and is identified by some with the tribe of Morieis mentioned by the Greeks. According to certain Brāhmaṇical authors of a late date the name is derived from Murā, the mother or grand-mother of Chandragupta, who was the wife of a Nanda king. Mediaeval inscriptions on the other hand represent the Mauryas as *Kshatriyas* of the solar race.[1] Buddhist tradition of an early date also knows them as Kshatriyas and mentions them as the ruling clan of the little republic of Pipphalivana, probably lying between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district, in the days of the Buddha. The epithet *Vṛishala* applied to Chandragupta in the Sanskrit play called the *Mudrārākshasa* does not invariably mean a man of Śūdra extraction. It is also used of Kshatriyas and others who deviated from strict orthodoxy.[2] The appellation *Vṛishala* applied to the Maurya is on a par with the designation *Vrātya* given to the clan of Kṛishṇa in the *Mahābhārata*

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[1] Ep. Ind. II, 222.

[2] Manu X, 43, Śanakaistu kriyālopād imāḥ Kshatriyajātayaḥ
Vṛishalatvam gatāloke Brāhmaṇādarśanenacha.
Cf. IHQ, 1930, 271, ff.

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vii, 141,15 [1] and to the Lichchhavis and Mallas in the legal code of Manu. That Chandragupta did deviate from strict orthodoxy is proved by his matrimonial alliance with the Yavanas and the predilection possibly shown for Jainism in his later years.

Tradition avers that the Maurya clan was reduced to great straits in the fourth century B.C. and Chandragupta grew up among peacock-tamers, herdsmen, and hunters. While still a lad he met Alexander in the Punjab but, having offended the king by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by a speedy flight. Another illustrious fugitive from Alexander's wrath was apparently the younger Paurava who had to flee to the 'Gandaridae', identified with the Gangaridae or the people of the Ganges region. He does not appear to have met Chandragupta. But tradition knows of another person who left his home in Taxila and joined the young Maurya. This was the famous Chāṇakya or Kauṭilya who went at first to Pāṭaliputra but, being insulted by the reigning Nanda king, repaired to the Vindhyan forest where he met Chandragupta. He gathered for the young Maurya an army with the help of buried treasure.[2] The classical writers do not mention Chāṇakya but allude to Chandragupta's encounter with a lion and an elephant which accords well with his residence in the Vindhyan forest, and refer to the collection of a body of armed men who are characterised as robbers by modern historians. But the original expression used by Justin,[3] a Latin historian, to whom we owe the account of the rise of Chandragupta, has the sense of 'mercenary soldier' as well as that of 'free-booter'. And the former sense is in consonance with Indian tradition recorded by Hemachandra and others. Having drawn together an army Chandragupta 'solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty' or, according to another interpretation 'instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government'. *Thereafter* (*deinde*) he went to war with the prefects of Alexander and fought vigorously with them. Having thus acquired the throne Chandragupta was in possession of India when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos was a general of Alexander who obtained as his share of his master's empire the satrapy of Babylon first after the agreement of Triparadeisos (321 B.C.) and afterwards in 312 B.C. from which year his era is dated[4]. In 306 B.C. he

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[1] Vrātyāḥ saṁślishṭa karmānaḥ prakṛityaivachagarhitāḥ
Vṛishṇyandhakāḥ kathaṁ Pārtha pramāṇaṁbhavatā kṛitāḥ.

[2] Pariśishtaparvan, VIII, 253-54.
Dhātuvādopārjitena dravinena Chaṇiprasūḥ
chakrepattyādi sāmagrīṁ Nandamuchchettumudyataḥ.

[3] Contractis "*Latronibus*".

[4] Camb Anc. Hist., VII, 161.

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assumed the title of king[1]. As Chandragupta had acquired the throne and was in possession of India when Seleukos was on the threshold of his career, his accession took place certainly before 306 B.C. and probably before 312 B.C. It may have taken place even before 321 B.C. Buddhist tradition of Ceylon puts the date 162 years after the *Parinirvāna* of the Buddha i.e., in 382 B.C. if we take 544 B.C. to be the year of the Great Decease, and 324 B.C. if we prefer the Cantonese date 486 B.C. for the death of the Buddha[2]. The earlier date is opposed to Greek evidence and is clearly untenable. The date 324 B.C. accords with the testimony of Greek writers. It should however be noted that the Ceylonese chronicle styled the *Dīpavaṁsa* has a verse[3] which places king *Priyadarśana* 218 years after the *Parinirvāṇa*. This *Priyadarśana* is invariably identified by the chroniclers with Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta. But it is not altogether improbable that in some *original gāthā* it referred to Chandragupta who receives the epithet *Priyadarśana* in the *Mudrārākshasa*, Act VI. The Buddhist chroniclers may have confounded this Priyadarśana with his more famous namesake. This surmise can alone reconcile the chronology current in Ceylon with Greek evidence by placing the enthronement of Chandragupta in or about (544−218=) i.e., 326 B.C.

A Jaina tradition[4] fixes the date of Chandragupta's enthronement at 313 B.C. It is however difficult to reconcile this tradition with the statement of the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon and Burma that the coronation of Aśoka took place 24+27 (or 28)+4 =55 or 56 years after the accession of Chandragupta. The *Purāṇas* agree with the Buddhist chronicles in assigning a period of 24 years to Chandragupta. They give a smaller figure, 25, instead of 28 of the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon and 27 of the chroniclers of Burma, for the reign of Bindusāra and ignore the interval between the accession and the coronation of Aśoka. But, as pointed out by Smith[5], though they assign 137 years to the Maurya dynasty, the total of the lengths of reigns, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, is however only 133. The difference of four years may be accounted for by the period of *interregnum* before the formal coronation of Aśoka. That emperor mentions certain *Yavana* kings as alive in the thirteenth Rock Edict which must have been written certainly after the twelfth year from his coronation when he caused rescripts of morality to be written apparently for the first time[6]. Among the

[1] Camb Hist. Ind., I, 433.
[2] Smith, EHI[4], 49.
[3] 6, I dve satāni chavassāni aṭṭhārasa vassānicha
Sambuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Piyadassana.
[4] Merutuṅga, IA., 11, 362, XLIII, 1914, p. 118 ff.
[5] EHI[4], 207.
[6] Pillar Edict VI.

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Yavana kings there is no reference to Diodotos I of Bactria who rose to power in the middle of the third century B.C. At least one of the kings named by Aśoka viz., Magas of Cyrene died according to the best authorities in 258 B.C. Beloch, it is true, places his reign in the period c. 300 to c. 250 B.C. But he gives only round numbers. There is no evidence to show that he died later than 258 B.C. On the other hand his successor Demetrios the Fair occupied the throne and, according to tradition recorded by classical writers [1], met with his doom in that year. If 258 B.C. is the latest date possible for the thirteenth Rock Edict the coronation of Aśoka must have taken place certainly not later than 269 B.C. The accession of Chandragupta must have taken place according to Buddhist evidence not later than 269+55=324 B.C. and according to the Purāṇic statements, not later than 269+25+24=318 B.C. or, including the period of interregnum before Aśoka, not later than 322 B.C.

The Jaina date 313 B.C. is, however, said to find support in the statement of Justin, a Latin historian, who, referring to Chandragupta's preparations for the war with the prefects of Alexander and a miraculous incident in connection with the war, adds that "having *thus* won the throne Chandragupta was reigning over India" implying that the acquisition of the throne followed the war with the prefects and as Eudemos, a *Yavana* commander, is known to have retained some power in the valleys of the Indus and the Hydaspes till about 317 B.C. the enthronement of Chandragupta, according to a recent writer, must have taken place after that date. But the words "having thus acquired the throne" are not to be construed merely with the preceding sentence describing certain incidents in connection with the war with the prefects. They refer also to the events that preceded the clash of arms with the Macedonian commanders and in fact sum up the whole passage relating to the rise of Chandragupta. In the detailed account of the events given by Justin we are expressly told that Chandragupta was stimulated to aspire to royalty by an incident that happened immediately after his flight from the camp of Alexander, in 326 B.C., and the use of the term *deinde* ('thereafter' 'sometime after') suggests that acquiescence of Indians in a change of government and the establishment of a new sovereignty is quite distinct from the war with the Macedonian prefects. There was an interval between the two events and the Macedonian war came sometime after the change of government among Indians. In the *Mudrā-rākshasa*, too, the destruction of some of the Mlechchha chieftains

[1] Camb Anc. Hist., VII, 713. Cf. a recent note contributed by my pupil S. Ray in IHQ, 1935, 217 f.

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and troops *follow* the dynastic revolution. But even if we accept the interpretation that the enthronement followed the war with the prefects there is no reason to postpone it till the departure of Eudemos in c. 317 B.C. The presence of this commander in the Punjab was not found incompatible with the virtual independence of the Indian *Rājās*, Āmbhi and the Paurava, and, without striking a blow for the maintenance of the Macedonian hegemony he (Eudemos) retired of his own accord to fling himself into a-fray in Western Asia. More important is the fact that the Indian *Rājās* named above were still ruling in the Western and Central Punjab as Macedonian vassals at the time of the Triparadeisos agreement in 321 B.C. But it is significant that the Macedonian satrap of Sind had already been transferred to the north-west borderland beyond the Indus and no new satrap was appointed in his place. The successors of Alexander in 321 B.C. confessed their inability to remove the Indian *Rājās* without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general. The abandonment of Sind, the complaint about the inadequacy of troops and the wholesome respect for the power of the Indian *Rājās* must have been due to now developments in politics. Greek military power to the east of the Indus was virtually extinguished as early as 321 B.C. The result could not have been due to Āmbhi or the Paurava. Had they been instrumental in emancipating their country from foreign thraldom, they and not Chandragupta and his followers, would have been mentioned by the classical writers as the great liberators. Moreover, if the destruction or expulsion of Greek commanders had already been effected by them, then whence did come the prefects against whom Chandragupta went to war and fought so vigorously as narrated by Justin? From the account of Justin it is clear that Macedonian prefects were not a negligible factor when Chandragupta went to war with them. But we know that the Greeks had abandoned Sind and virtually retired beyond the Indus by 321 B.C. At that date the central authorities of the Macedonian empire confessed their inability to remove even the vassal princes. They testified to the absence or inadequacy of royal troops on the spot and felt that the situation required the presence of some distinguished general. Such a situation could have arisen only after the destruction of most of the Greek commanders on the spot by Chandragupta and is unthinkable when the prefects against whom the great Maurya fought were still on Indian soil. It is true that Chandragupta is not mentioned in connection with the partition agreements of Babylon and Triparadeisos. But we have a similar reticence in regard to Eudemos. The presence of this Yavana officer and his Indian colleagues in the western and central parts of the Punjab

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up to about B.C. 317 does not preclude the possibility of the assumption of sovereignty by Chandragupta in the Lower Indus valley or the plains of the Eastern Punjab and the Ganges sometime before 321 B.C.

Greek writers do not throw much light on the dynastic revolution in the Indian interior. Tradition avers that in overthrowing the iniquitous rule of the last Nanda Chandragupta was greatly helped by the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya who became his chief minister. A direct attack on the heart of the Nanda empire is said to have failed. Next time the young Maurya is said to have commenced from the frontiers and met with success. The Nanda troops led by general Bhadrasāla were defeated with great slaughter and Chandragupta seized the sovereignty of Pāṭaliputra.

Chandragupta is also known to have conquered Mālwa and Kāthiāwād. The Jaina date 313 B.C., if it is based on correct tradition, may refer to his acquisition of Avanti in Malwa, as the chronological datum is found in a verse where Chandragupta's name occurs in a list of successors of Pālaka, king of Avanti.[1] Chandragupta's rule extended as far as Surāshṭra which was governed by a Vaiśya official (*rāshṭriya*) named Pushyagupta. High office was as yet not the monopoly of any particular caste and men of all castes co-operated to make the imperial administration popular and efficient. Tamil tradition refers to the advance of 'Maurya upstarts' as far south as the Tinnevelly District. But the achievement is attributed by certain scholars to the Konkani Mauryas of a much later date. Even if the earlier Mauryas had really pushed on to Tinnevelly they must have relinquished their conquests within a short time, because the Maurya frontier in the days of Aśoka, grandson of Chandragupta, did not extend beyond North Mysore, and the Pāṇḍya country which included the Tinnevelly District is referred to in the records of that emperor as a frontier kingdom.

Towards the close of his reign the Maurya empire received a further extension in the North-West. Seleukos, the general of Alexander, who had made himself master of Babylon, gradually extended his empire from the Aegean Sea to the Indus and even tried to regain the provinces to the east of that river. He failed and had to conclude a treaty with Chandragupta by which he surrendered the satrapies of Paropanisadai (Kabul), Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar), and Gedrosia (Baluchistan) in return for 500 elephants. The treaty was cemented by a matrimonial alliance and a Greek envoy was received at the court of Pāṭaliputra.

[1] Cf. IHQ, 1929, 402.

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Thus was ushered in a policy of philhellenism which bore fruit in the succeeding reigns. In the days of Bindusāra and Aśoka there was not only an exchange of embassies with the Hellenistic powers of the West but the services of Greek philosophers and administrators were eagerly sought by the imperial government at Pāṭaliputra.

If Jaina tradition is to be believed Chandragupta was a follower of the religion of Mahāvīra. He is said to have abdicated his throne and passed his last days at Sravana Belgola in Mysore. Greek evidence however suggests that the first Maurya did not give up the performance of sacrificial rites and was far from following the Jaina creed of *Ahimsā* or non-injury to animals. He took delight in hunting, a practice that was continued by his son and is also alluded to by his grandson Aśoka in the eighth Rock edict. It is however possible that in his later years the emperor, though officially a Brāhmaṇical Hindu, paid some reverence to the Tîrthankaras as the imperial patrons of Vasubandhu and Hiuen Tsang did to the Buddha.

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# MISCELLANEA

## A CURIOUS CULT IN NORTH BENGAL

About two miles from Chatmohar, a station on the Eastern Bengal Railway (Ishurdi-Serajgunge line), and near a meeting point of two roads there stands a big banyan tree on a plot of land adjacent to the District Board road. This tree has been always used as a convenient landmark by pedestrians, drivers of bullock and buffalo carts, people going to and returning from *hat*, and other travelling public on account of the curious appellation it bears. It is called by the strange name of *Tenāchorā Vatagācha*, i.e. the banyan tree which steals or appropriates rags. Innumerable little pieces of rag hang from the lower branches of the tree. I have also seen pieces of white and red strings twisted round some twigs.

This tree stands in a Moslem locality. The men whom I questioned about this curious practice of hanging rags round the banyun tree belonged to the locality and were Moslem peasants, and it should be added that I met them casually while they were returning home after the day's work in the field. Asked why rags were hung on the tree, some of the men replied that the rags were tied in *manat*.[1] Asked whether any offerings were made when a votary obtained the asked for relief they replied that they had never seen any offerings being actually made ; offerings were merely promised, perhaps, suggested a wag. Some men, however, declared emphatically that this was wholly a woman's affair and remarked that malefolk having much to do had no time to devote to the study of a feminine business.

In short, the people I questioned were not informative or were ignorant of the meaning of a practice which seems to be widely prevalent as is attested by the unfailing supply of rag decorations to the big tree. I could not obtain any information as to why such a curious name as ' a thief of rags ' was given to it. I could not get out of them any story or legend which traced this practice of hanging rags to some holy man or any other legend connected with it. The people seemed to be quite indifferent about it and yet the practice, probably very old, still continued in vigour as was apparent. Evidently, it derived its vitality from some secret source, probably some feminine belief or custom as was suggested, but this I failed to find out.

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[1] *Manat*. The meaning of the term is explained later on.

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This ignorance of the local people about a custom followed by them need not cause any surprise. I had personally seen this particular tree a lot of times and heard reference being made to it constantly as a landmark by all sorts of people. It was always spoken of as 'Tenāchorā Vatgācha' and to us it conveyed no more than a recognition of a particular landmark on the way to the railway station. This strangely named tree never aroused our curiosity and until I began to take an interest in anthropological studies and came across instances of rag offering no suspicion ever arose in my mind that behind this curious practice there might be a long, long history dating, in fact, from time immemorial. The practice is not only prevalent among different races and in different lands but it is also highly significant in its bearing on the evolution and survival of certain primitive beliefs and customs.

It may be stated in the first instance that the custom of hanging rags on trees is almost universal as we shall just see. It is found in Bengal but we have to regret that little attention has been paid in Bengal to the collection of data. The practice prevails in Bihar and in the Punjab, in Berar, Bombay, and the Central Provinces, among the Pre-Dravidian tribes living in the hilly tracts in the United Provinces and in many parts of South India. Instances of its existence have been noted in Persia, among the Polynesian people, in Africa, and among different races and countries of Europe such as in Russia, Italy, Greece, Ireland, etc.[1]

In so far as India is concerned the available data would appear to show that the custom is more noticeable among the primitive peoples. Although tree-worship in various forms seems to be universal among the Hindus of all classes, instances of offering of rags from the idea of worship to sacred trees is scarcely to be found among them. The only custom so far known among them somewhat resembling rag-offering is the practice of offering flags or streamers to shrines and particular trees considered sacred. The practice of fastening a red flag to a long bamboo post and sticking this post by the side of the sacred pipal shading shrines to godlings is quite common in upcountry. Cotton and metallic flags are often suspended from or put up on the top of shrines. It is difficult to suppose that this practice of orthodox and caste Hindus is an outgrowth of the custom of rag-offering as it is found among the Pre-Dravidian tribes or that it was at the root of the former. Unless fresh data are forthcoming which would reverse the position

[1] E. B. Tylor—Primitive culture, 2 vols. Sir J. George Frazer—Golden Bough. J. Fergusson—Tree and Serpent worship, etc.

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we have to accept that the two customs are quite independent of each other.

A good deal of light has been thrown on the curious custom of hanging rags on trees by the researches of eminent scholars. From the mass of evidence collected from different parts of the world it is possible to distinguish between two distinct motives which are generally supposed to have given rise to and spread the custom. These two motives are described as (1) worship of tree, and (2) transference of disease and evil. Tree-worship, as is known, is widely prevalent in this country. It is necessary, however, for this very reason to carefully distinguish tree-worship as it exists among the primitive people from the same as it prevails among the orthodox Hindus in India. Tree-worship would appear to occupy a recognised place in the orthodox Hindu religion, that is, in the code of beliefs and practices resting on the authority of the Śāstras. It is outside the scope of the present essay to attempt any study of this form of tree-worship. Similarly, it is outside the scope of the present essay to enter into a discussion of tree-worship as a phase of animism as well as of totemistic worship of the tree. So as we trun to instances of tree-worship as it exists among the primitive people with special reference to rag-offering it appears that the motive of the rite is the propitiation of the indwelling or temporarily associated deity or spirit of tree either in order to obtain some positive benefit or to get out of some apprehended difficulty or danger.[1] The act of propitiation implies the offering of some gifts, or to be more precise, offering of some sacrifice pleasing and acceptable to the god. How the tree-god came to be reduced to the desperate strait of being compelled to be satisfied with an offering of dirty rags it is difficult to guess.

This leads to the consideration of the other principle supposed to lie behind the custom of offering rags to trees, namely, transference of disease or evil. That it is possible for us to get rid of an evil which has fallen to our lot, or any disease, or even the burden of any guilt committed by ourselves by transferring the same to some other person or object is held to be firmly believed by the primitive mind. The belief, it is explained by Frazer, ' arises from an obvious confusion between the physical and the mental. Because it is possible to shift a load of wood or stones, etc. from our own back to the back of another, the savage fancies that it is possible to shift the burden of his pains and sorrows to another who suffers in his stead '. This faith in the principle of vicarious suffering has led to a number of highly interesting developments noticeable not only among the primitive

[1] Primitive Culture, vol. 2.

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but also among the civilized races ; to these, however, we need not refer at present. From a study of the practices of different races for such transference it is seen that the object utilized for this purpose may be a person, an animal, an inanimate object, or a tree. From the data available for comparison it appears that the procedure adopted with regard to tree is generally to tie a thread worn by a suffering person to the branch of a specially selected tree and thereby to pass on to it his own ailment. This is an interesting illustration of contagious magic. Underlying the procedure is the belief that a piece of thread or cloth once worn by a person comes to imbibe, in some measure, his essential qualities and retains the same even when it is removed. Similarly, parts of our person such as hair, nails, etc. retain sympathetic connection with us even when they are cut off and cast away. The thread, in the present instance serves as a medium for transference. There are also other devices.

We may now cite some instances illustrating the principles stated above. To take up first the principle of worship. The practice of hanging rags on trees prevails among the Korwas and several other Pre-Dravidian tribes in the hilly tracts of Mirzapur. The *Baiga* or the village priest hangs rags on the tree which shades the village shrine as a spell to bring good luck and health. Similarly the Pataris of Mirzapur often tie a cotton thread round the trunk of a pipal tree and hang rags from its branches when fever or some other form of malady prevails. The Kharwars of the same region tie threads round a *mahua* tree, often, one specially selected for the purpose, at marriages in order to ensure good luck and happiness. In the Punjab the trees on which rags are hung are stated to be known as *Lingri Pir* or the Rag-saint. In Berar the same custom prevails and the idea behind hanging a rag on the selected tree is stated to be a desire of getting an exchange of good clothes for the rags presented.[1] At a village called Kumarbhog in Vikrampur (Dacca) there stand a sacred banyan and a sacred pipal growing together. This pair of sacred trees are said to be the recipients of a curious offering which consists in *nara* (straw). I am informed that a sheaf of straw is thrown at the pair and sometimes tied to the branches by the passers-by. This is done, it is stated, in obedience to the orders of a holy man with whom the trees are somehow associated. This holy man called Monai Faqir was a local celebrity and by working a number of miracles had gained the esteem and reverence of both Hindus and Moslems. Why he had wanted bundles of straw to be offered to the sacred banyan and pipal of Hindus is not known

[1] W. Crooke—Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.

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or remembered. The idea behind the custom which still prevails is said to be that by offering a sheaf of straw to the trees a man is enabled to obtain immunity from certain evils. This sheaf of straw might be considered, under these circumstances, to be a votive offering. The offering is made, it is stated, both by Hindus and Moslems.[1] In Madura pieces of rag and cloth are tied to the branches of a Mimosa tree in order to propitiate a malignant spirit who resides in the tree. The practice of hanging rags on the sacred Bo-tree at Bodh-Gaya is well known.

These practices appear to be inspired by the idea of worship. The underlying motive in these cases seems to be a desire to propitiate the indwelling or temporarily associated spirit or deity of the tree with the object of obtaining some specific relief or benefit, e.g. good luck, health, new clothes, immunity from evils, etc.

To come now to the next group of instances illustrating the other principle, namely transference of disease or evil. While discussing the custom of hanging rags on trees as prevailing among the jungle tribes of the Vindhyan region Mr. W. Crooke writes that many of these rag shrines are situated on jungle pathways and are intended as a means of transferring disease to some passer-by. 'In the Greek Island of Karpathos', writes Frazer, 'the priest ties a red thread round the neck of a sick person. Next morning the friends of the patient remove the thread, go out to hill-side, where they tie the thread to the tree'. 'Among the Italians,' he goes on, 'the sufferer ties a thread round his left wrist at night, and hangs the thread on a tree next morning. The fever is thus believed to be tied up to the tree and the patient to be rid of it'. Again, 'In Sonnenberg, if you would rid of gout you should go to a young fir tree and tie a knot to one of its twigs'.[2] In South America, it is stated, the Indians hang to selected trees, pieces of cloth and thread along with other things 'pulled from his poncho by the poor wayfarer who has nothing better to give.' The Dyaks are said to fasten rags of their cloths on trees at crossroads fearing for their health if they neglect the custom. Among West African Negro tribe, rags are hung on trees by passers-by from the same idea.[3] Sir George Grierson mentions a rather curious instance of the custom of rag offering to a local or village godling described as Chirkutwā Pir or Dihwar, that is Rag-saint, prevailing in North Bihar. His account, it is to be regretted, suffers from incompleteness and fails

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[1] My informant is an educated gentleman who belongs to the place.
[2] Golden Bough—Abridged edition, Chapter LV.
[3] Tylor—Primitive Culture, vol. II.

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to mention many essential details which might have supplied the clue to a full understanding of the custom.[1]

We may now return to the rag-stealing banyan. Let us state in full the peculiar circumstances about it. In the first instance, it may be noted that some of my informants (Moslems) told me that rags were offered in *manat*. Secondly, the tree selected is a banyan tree well known to be sacred to Hindus. Thirdly, it may be noted that the tree stands in a Moslem locality and the votaries are generally Moslems. Fourthly, no other offerings except rags are known to be made.

These facts may now be considered in the light of the foregoing remarks.

I was told by some of my informants that rags were hung on the tree in *manat*. Now *manat* means an offering which is promised to a god in order to be cured of some malady, generally chronic or fatal, to get out of some apprehended difficulty or danger and also to obtain the fulfilment of some particular desire (an offspring, success in some undertaking, etc.) *Manat* is thus closely connected, it appears, with the idea of sacrifice. It is, in short, a promise or lure of sacrifice held out to the god to induce him to grant some specific relief. If we take this view of *manat*, taking our stand on the information supplied by the local people, the hanging of rags on this banyan tree would appear to be an instance of tree-worship. The fact that the tree selected in this case is a banyan tree held sacred and worshipped by the Hindus would also lend support in favour of this hypothesis.

But it has already been mentioned that the locality in which the tree stands is a Moslem locality. Tree-worship is not, of course, unknown to the Moslem community. We may refer to the Vikrampur instance. But it may be stated on the strength of evidence available on the subject that not infrequently, where the idea of worship is important in connection with a tree, offerings in the shape of food, drink, etc. are made. These offerings are intended either for the tree-god or the god to whom it serves as a shrine or an altar or the spirits of the dead who takes up temporary residence in it. Considering that no offerings are known to be made in this case to the tree one might be inclined to discount the idea of worship. The fact that the tree stands in an almost entirely Moslem locality and receives rags from Moslems is significant. It would be more likely that an illiterate body of Moslems living on conditions not far removed from primitive conditions should be more prone to a

[1] Sir G. Grierson—Bihar Peasant Life Chapter XIV ; J.A.S.B., N.S., vol. XXX, 1934, No. 1.

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common superstition which is found to be prevailing amongst different communities all over the world, living under similar conditions than to any magico-religious conception underlying a particular custom which happens to be the special property of an antagonistic community, viz. the Hindu. If such a view be taken then one might, perhaps, explain the hanging of rags on the banyan tree as an instance of rag-offering for transference of evil or malady from the actual sufferer to the tree or passers-by.

I have used the word 'perhaps' deliberately, because the selection of the banyan tree which is well known to be sacred to Hindus makes it impossible to dismiss altogether the suspicion that the idea of worship or propitiation may be associated here with the idea of transference of disease, etc. The use of the word *manat* is also suggestive, for, granting that the idea has been borrowed from Hindus and is used without discrimination, it is hardly possible for any community to borrow from its neighbour a word without borrowing a part at least of its meaning or what it stands for.

As I have already said the people did not tell me of the existence of any local legend connected with the custom which would explain its origin. In the absence of facts, it is equally impossible to say whether the custom is due simply to imitation or is the survival of a local practice in an area the population of which has completely changed its character.

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURY.

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## ETHICS OF THE JĀTAKAS

The *Jātakas*, as is well-known, are a rich storehouse of information regarding Ancient Indian Life and Thought. It is generally accepted that, they represent the period just preceding the Buddha.[1] My aim, in this paper, is to give a glimpse of the ethical teachings embodied in these stories.

Of course there is nothing strikingly original in these stories so far as these ethics are concerned. The same rules, principles, admonitions and wise sayings which run throughout Indian Literature are also to be found here. Only that they give very apt and charming instances, in their own, of course original way, which taken as they

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[1] I have discussed this point in detail in my forthcoming book, '*Ancient India in the Jātakas*'.

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are from the ordinary local surroundings, lively characters and actions, greatly impress on the minds of the common people. We are not going into details here. We shall briefly take notice of some of the beautiful and bold reflections on life and its activities which must have gone a long way to ennoble the everyday thoughts and actions of the people at large, before whom these were constantly placed, and over and over again.

The five *kurudhammas* appear frequently, as do the *dasa-rājadhammas*: Slay not the living, take not what is not given, walk not evilly in lust, speak no lies and drink no strong drink.[1] Four virtues are constantly preached: Truth, Wisdom, Self-control and Piety.[2] And four vices are similarly mentioned as to be shunned: hatred, malice, covetiousness and lust.[3] There are four things which, if circumstances arise, prove injurious: never lend cow, ox or car to your neighbour, nor trust your wife to the house of your neighbour or friend: the car they break through want of skill, the ox by over-driving kill, the cow is over-milked ere long, the wife in kinsman's house goes wrong.[4] A wise man should not dwell near his foe. And who is his worst foe? A fool. A foolish chief, wise in his own conceit, comes ever, like the monkey, to defeat. A strong fool is not good to guard the herd. Wisdom is required [5]; keeping to one's own ground is helpful.[6] It is always good to guard against the coming danger.[7] Weeping over the dead and gone is constantly and repeatedly denounced: 'it is useless to weep over the dead'. All creatures taking a mortal form tread the same path. That which has the quality of dissolution must dissolve. A man may be standing, sitting still, moving or resting, but in the twinkling of an eye, in a moment, death is nigh. Our tears would not prevail against the grave. Nor mystic charm, nor magic roots, nor herbs, nor money spent, can bring the dead to life again. Weep for the living, rather than for the dead: cherish all that are alive.[8] Happiness and misery ever on each other's footsteps press. The fruit of hope is sweet. Feelings of joy and woe, there are many. But thought alone does not avail. Toil on, my brother; let not thy courage tire.[10] The fool may watch for lucky

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[1] e.g. *Jātaka*, II, pp. 372-3.
[2] e.g. *J.*, II, p. 206-*Gathas*, 146-7.
[3] e.g. *J.*, IV, p. 11-*G.* 15-9.
[4] *J.*, V, pp. 432-3-*G.* 293-4.
[5] *J.*, III, pp. 367-8, 61-7.
[6] *J.*, II, p. 60-*G.* 36.
[7] *J.*, III, pp. 35ff.-*G.* 44; 210-*G.* 104; 399-*G.* 127.
[8] *J.*, III, pp. 57-*G.* 65-8; 95-*G.* 109-12; 157-*G.* 10-13; 214-*G.* 113-17; 390-*G.* 109-13; IV, p. 86-*G.* 147-8.
[9] *J.*, III, p. 464-*G.* 61.
[10] *J.*, I, pp. 267-*G.* 50; 450-*G.* 120; III, p. 251-*G.* 26-8; IV, pp. 269-70, 134-9; VI, p. 43-*G.* 134-9.

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days, yet luck shall always miss ; it is luck itself in luck's own star. What can mere stars achieve ?[1] To succeed in worldly affairs, one must be ever ready, as the monkey says to the crocodile. He that to great occasion fails to rise lies prostrate in sorrow beneath foeman's feet.[2] Endure troubles bravely. But for love of lusts, for hopes of gain, for miseries great and small, do not undo your saintly past.[3] You must say : 'Let my hearer scatter chaff, or let him take offence or not, Righteousness, when I am speaking, sin on me can leave no spot. I will speak the truth, and the only truth, no matter what consequences'.[4] Man's duty in the world is to strive his utmost while he can : failure or success, he should not care for.[5] 'Over the past I do not moan', says Prince Temiya, 'nor for the future weep : I meet the present as it comes and so my colour deep'.[6] Content of mind and happiness with little care of heart : a standard easily attained, that life's the better part.[7] The beauty that from purest hearts doth shine is marred by lust, born of this mortal frame.[8] Too much familiarity indeed breeds contempt (*aticiranivāsena piyo bhavati appiyo*).[9] There are grave dangers in paying honour to the unworthy, as we see the wise Brāhmana pulled down by a ram, for honouring.[10] Change is this world's law : sorrow should not cause pain : even joy itself soon turns to woe.[11] All quarrelling should be eschewed.[12] Strength of mind (*manabalam*) is much more helpful than that of body.[13] Knowledge of every kind be apt to learn : any time it will help you.[14] But do not follow blindly (*parapatti*) : a ripe bel fruit fell on a palm leaf, and a hare thought that the earth was collapsing, and scampered off. Seeing him flee, all the animals joined in the head-long flight, till a lion enquired the reason and scolded them for idle gossip and foolish fear.[15] Wisdom is more than you have seen or heard.[16] Were not wisdom (*buddhi*) and good conduct (*vinaya*) trained in some men's lives to grow, many would go wandering idly like the blinded buffalo.[17] A virtuous man (*sīlavanto*) is he who refrains from thievish act, speaks the truth, and reaching dizzy heights of fame, still keeps his head, pursues honest wealth, eschews riches gained by fraud (*nikatyā*), shuns gross excess in pleasure, never swerves from his

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[1] *J.*, I, p. 258-*G.* 48.
[2] *J.*, III, pp. 133-4-*G.* 161–4 ; 366-*G.* 62.
[3] *J.*, III, pp. 465-6-*G.* 62-3.
[4] *J.*, III, p. 368-*G.* 80–2 ; 499.
[5] *J.*, VI, pp. 35-6-*G.* 121–9.
[6] *J.*, VI, p. 25-*G.* 89.
[7] *J.*, III, p. 313-*G.* 134-5.
[8] *J.*, III, p. 500-*G.* 47.
[9] *J.*, II, p. 28 ; IV, p. 217 ; V, p. 233.
[10] *J.*, III, pp. 82-3 ; 231-2 ; also 11, p. 449-*G.* 147.
[11] *J.*, III, pp. 153-4-*G.* 1–5.
[12] *J.*, III, p. 177-*G.* 43.
[13] *J.*, III, p. 175.
[14] *J.*, III, p. 218-*G.* 122.
[15] *J.*, III, pp. 75ff. ; V, p. 414.
[16] *J.*, III, p. 233-G. 8.
[17] *J.*, III, p. 368-G. 81.

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purpose (*cittam ahāliddam*), and preserves his unchanging faith (*saddhā avirāginī*) and fulfils indeed all that he says.[1] Power that is attained by a man of violence is short-lived : when his power is gone from him, he is like a ship that is wrecked at sea (*bhinnaplavo*).[2] Sacrifice and such other things won't give you release. Take thought of life hereafter when you seek release : for this release is strict bondage, it is a fool's release.[3] Whoever for his pleasure would kill harmless creatures, would only pine away themselves : on the other hand who never do any harm are happy, vigorous and charming.[4] Not hate, but love alone makes hate to cease : this is the everlasting law of peace.[5]

The above are only a few drops from the great storehouse of ethical teachings of the *Jātakas*. We have only tried to reproduce some of the selected passages in order to represent the general tone of the ethics of the stories, the general attitude of mind which they reflect. This tone, as we have felt it, is decidedly bold and practical: it rings amidst the daily life of the people and it is meant for the people ; the attitude of mind, as we grasp it, is not at all pessimistic: it takes for granted the transitoriness of the world and recognizes its ills, but it, nevertheless, sticks to this earth, strives to find a way out of the miseries and preaches the ennobling—may be rather incomprehensible—ideals of *satya* and *ahimsā*, to attain the everlasting bliss, to reach *nirvāṇa*. And the people tried, to the best of their ability, to follow these ideals, to put them into practice.[6]

RATILAL N. MEHTA

## A NOTE ON YAVANA

A short note on the term, *Yavana*, has appeared on page 7[illegible] of the *Indian Culture*, contributed by Miss Bhramar Ghosh, who questions the validity of the identification of *Yavanas* with Greeks, assumed by Dr. O. Stein. As the writer says, it will certainly be interesting to determine the exact original significance of this term if indeed such a thing is possible.

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[1] *J.*, III, pp. 87–9-*G.* 101–4.
[2] *J.*, III, p. 158-*G.* 14.
[3] *J.*, I, p. 169-*G.* (?).
[4] *J.*, III, p. 523-*G.* 77-8.
[5] *J.*, III, pp. 212-*G.* 110; 488-*G.* 14: *'nahi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanam, averena sammanti, esa dhammo sanantano'.*
[6] And Aśoka's *dhamma*, preserved through all these dreary centuries, is nothing else than pure ethical code : see *Rock-Edicts*, II and VII ; Bhandarker, *Aśoka*, pp. 101ff.

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An attempt in this direction was long ago made by Prof. Horrwitz in his *Indian Theatre*. *Yavena gacchatīti Yavanaḥ* is the derivation he suggests and from that point of view he understands the term as referring to those who used a quick mode of conveyance —the Persians who came on horsebacks and then the Grecians, and latterly the Romans and the Arabs, who came in sailing ships. He therefore holds that the term *Yavana* need not necessarily refer to the Grecians who never called themselves *Ionians* with which alone can the term *Yavana* be equated ; and hence concludes that because there is the term *Yavanikā* in Sanskrit Dramas, Indian dramaturgy need not be assumed to be post-Grecian in origin.

This interpretation of the term gains additional strength from the fact that the term Jōnōn, (also *Jōnaka*) is still in current use on the West Coast. There it refers to the Mohamedans and in its Tamilised form, the term *Conaka* is used on the East Coast to refer to those who are considered to be descended from the Arabs and, according to another tradition, to those who are compulsory converts to Mohamedanism. Mr. Francis in his District Gazetteer of South Arcot records that this term was also applied to sea-fishermen and boatmen. A variant of this term, *Dzonangi* is stated to have been current in Telugu also, as could be seen from Dr.McLean's *The Madras Manual of Administration*. The author of this volume, as well as Wilson in his *Glossary* of *Indian Terms*, traces this word *Conaka* to Sennar-Arabia. This is evidently far-fetched and was probably the result of the study of the Tamilised form of the word. A more sensible identification will be to connect the word with *Jōnōn* or *Jōnaka* current on the West Coast : and as was already done by Mr. K. P. P. Menon, connect this latter with *Yavana* or *Yavanaka*. In the light of such an identification the version recorded by Mr. Francis becomes very significant. And this only strengthens the derivation given by Prof. Horrwitz.

If, indeed, *Jōnōn* and *Yavana* are identical, one cannot see any Grecian contact in its application to the Mohamedans. Evidently it had reference to the ancient Arab traders who carried on a flourishing trade with the West Coast and ultimately settled down in that new home and latterly to all those who embraced their religion, namely Mohamedanism. Those original traders were *Jōnōns* or *Jōnakas*, because they came in their quickly sailing vessels. In this term, then, we may not justifiably see any connection or reference to their native land or their native religion.

The question, however, deserves to be raised why we do not use the same term with reference to the Christians. The obvious answer is that so far as we know, there have been no Christian colonies as such in Kerala, no waves of Christian immigrants

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coming and settling in the land, but only the coming of certain Saints and Apostles who preached the faith of Christ and converted the native population. On the other hand available evidence goes to prove that there was a large element of floating Moorish population in the land who for a long time monopolised and controlled the rich trade of the West Coast and ultimately settled down in the land. In this respect the original Christians stand on a footing quite different from that of the Mohamedans. The former was mainly a native element, converted into a foreign religion ; but the latter mainly a foreign element with a foreign religion.

In the same way then as the term *Bauddha*, applied to Buddhists, Christians and Mohamedans, has reference to a non-Hindu, and hence heterodox, religion ; the term *Mappila*, applied to Jews, Christians and Mohamedans, has reference to their local profession, namely, trade ; the term Paranhi, originally applied to the Portuguese and later to all Europeans, has reference to the land whence they came ; so in the same way, the term *Jōnōn* or *Jōnaka*=*Yavana* or *Yavanaka*, applied to Mohamedan traders from Arabia, may have had original reference to their quick mode of conveyance—their coming and going in sailing ships. It is, indeed, possible this term might have been used also with reference to the Romans and the Jews ; and if any references could be found in support of such usage, it will be an excellent corroboration of Prof. Horrwitz's view. But unfortunately no such reference is so far available. The version recorded by Mr. Francis is indeed in support of such a derivation. In any case the use of the term *Jōnōn* or *Jōnaka* in central Kerala even to-day to refer to Mohamedans may help the elucidation of the exact original significance of the term *Yavana*.

K. R. Pisharoti.

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## ŚRĪHARṢA MIŚRA AND VIJAYASĒNA

Śrīharṣa, the poet of the *Naiṣadhîya*, who was also a Vêdantist, is mentioned as 'Harṣa Miśra' in the *Pañcadaśî* of Vidyâranya (*Harṣa-Miśrâdibhistêtu Khaṇḍanâdau Suśikṣitâḥ . . .*, VI, 102). The poet's real name was, however, Śrīharṣa, and not Harṣa,[1] but it is interesting to note that the title of 'Miśra' is given herein to him.

[1] See Peterson's Introduction to the *Subhâṣitâvalî*, Bombay, 1886, p. 136.

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In Varada Paṇḍita's commentary on the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khâdya* also, the same title is given to him, and he is called 'Śrîharṣa Miśra'.[1]

Hîra was the name, as we know from the colophon of the Naiṣadhîya, of the father of the poet, and Mâmalla-Dêvî, that of his mother. In Gôvinda-Kavi's commentary, entitled *Kâvya-Pradîpa*, on the *Kâvya-Prakâśa* of Mammaṭa, the commentator, who in the beginning of his commentary describes himself as the first son of Sônamma or Sônô-Devî and Kêśava, and consanguine brother of Rucikara-Kavi, bewails in a verse at the end of it, the death of a Śrîharṣa :

*Śrîharṣê tridivaṁ gatê mayi manôhînê ca kaḥ Sodhayê-*
*-datrâśuddhamahô mahatsu vidhinâ bhârôh' yam=ârôpitaḥ*

'He has passed into the sky, Śrî-Harsha, who was first in all virtues, in age alone taking a second place, full of wisdom, lovelier than Cupid's self, and I am left lamenting'. (Peterson's tr.).

Prof. Peterson remarks on it, 'The end of the Kâvya-Pradîpa has an interest of its own, as showing that the poet Rouchikara, of whom Govinda, his younger brother by another mother, speaks so lovingly, was no other than Śrî-Harsha'.[2] The Professor obviously takes this Śrîharṣa to be the celebrated poet of that name, with whom he identifies the poet Rucikara, the brother of Gôvinda. But the grounds for the identification cannot be made out from the verses in the beginning and at the end of the commentary,[3] and if even the identity be maintained, there is no proof that Śrîharṣa, the son of Hîra, is the same as Śrîharṣa, alias Rucikara, the son of Kêśava. On the other hand, in the Mâdhavîya *Dhâtuvṛtti* is quoted a Hîra-svâmin,[4] who may be identical with the father of the poet of the *Naiṣadhîya*, and if so, it strongly goes against the above identification, as the two sons of a father giving out his name differently.

Neither in his *Naiṣadhîya* nor in his *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khâdya*, Śrîharṣa himself discloses the name of the king of Kânyakubja, from whom he received an *âsana* and a pair of betel-leaves as a mark of honour shown to his profound learning. That it was Jayacandra

[1] Triennial Catalogue of MSS. collected during the triennium 1919-20 to 1921-22 for the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, 1928, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit A, p. 4326.

[2] First Report on the search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, 1882-83, p. 28.

[3] See Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Government Oriental Library, Madras, Vol. XXII, 1918, pp. 8620–22 ; also the N.S.P. ed. of the Kâvya-Pradîpa.

[4] Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the As. Soc. of Bengal, Part I, Grammar, by R. L. Mitra, p. 28.

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(1170–1194) A.D.), son of Gôvindcandra, is divulged in the *Prabandha-kôṣa* of Râjaśêkhara-Suri, 1348 A.D.,[1] and is corroborated by Cânḍu Paṇḍita in his commentary on the *Naiṣadhîya*, 1456 A.D.[2] Râjaśekhara also gives correctly the name of Śrîharṣa's father as Hîra. But while in his account Śrîharṣa is made to be a native of Benares and to go from Benares to Kâśmîra to get his *Naiṣadhîya* certified by the Kâśmîrian Paṇḍitas, Vidyâpati of Mithilâ, in his *Puruṣa-Parîkṣâ* (under *Medhâvî-kathâ* in Ch. II), says that he lived in the Gauḍa-*viṣaya*, and from Gauḍa he made for Benares with the set purpose of getting his *Nala-caritra* (*Naiṣadhîya*) approved by the literati thereof. Śrîharṣa's works, we know, include a 'panegyric of a dynasty of kings of Gauḍa, under the title of *Gauḍ=orv=îśa-kula-praśasti*, and in the second half of the twelfth century the dynasty that was reigning in Gauḍa was the Sêna dynasty. Śrîharṣa, who thus appears to have written a panegyric of the Sêna dynasty of Gauḍa, composed another *praśasti*, called *Vijaya-praśasti*. Gopînâtha Âcârya evinces in his *Harṣa-hṛdayâ* commentary on the *Naiṣadhîya* that the *praśasti* was in praise of *Vijayasêna*, the lord of Gauḍa (*Vijayasênanâmnô Gauḍêśvarasya praśasti* . . . .).[3] As Vijayasêna of Gauḍa ceased to rule in 1158 A.D., and Jayacandra of Kanauj and Benares came after him, it becomes indubious that Śrîharṣa, who outlived Vijayasêna, repaired from Gauḍa to the court of Jayacandra, which, on the one hand, is exactly in keeping with the version of Vidyâpati, and, on the other, renders incredible all the details of the story of Râjaśekhara Suri, except that the poet's father's name was Hîra and that he was a contemporary of Jayacandra.

The source of the theme of the *Naiṣadhîya* is the story of Nala and Damayantî as in the *Vanaparvan* of the Mahâbhârata (Ch. 53 f.). While in the great epic, Nala, the king of Niṣâdha, is the son of Vîrasêna, the dynasty of Vijayasêna, too, claims descent from Vîrasëna, who is celebrated in the Purâṇas (*Paurâṇîbhiḥ kathâbhiḥ prathita-guṇa-gaṇê Vîrasênasya vaṁśe* . . . .). The inscriptions of the Sênas further assert that they belonged to the race (*vaṁśa*) of Auṣadhi-nâtha, i.e. Candra or the Moon. Now, in the fifth canto of the *Naiṣadhîya*, the verse 124 runs as follows :—

*Avravîd=atha Yamas=tam=ahṛṣṭaṁ*
*Vîrasêna-kula-dîpa tamas=tvâṁ*
*yat kimapy=abhibubhuṣati tat kiṁ*
*Candra-vaṁśa-vasatêḥ sadṛśantê.*

[1] J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, pp. 32–34.
[2] See Dr. Bühler's letter in the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, ed. A. E. Gough, Cal., 1878, p. 130.
[3] Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS., IV, 212.

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In this description of Nala as ' Vîrasêna-kula-dîpa ' (the light of the race of Vîrasêna) and ' Candra-vamśa-vâsî ', which is equally applicable to Vijayasêna, there seems to have been a covert allusion to the king of the Sêna dynasty. Again, the laudation of the king of Gauḍa, amongst others, in the mouth of Bhâratî in the *Svayambara* court of Damayantî, extending over five verses (vv., 94–98) in the eleventh canto of the *Naiṣadhîya*, is also highly significant. One of these verses (v. 96) runs thus :—

*Alingitaḥ kamalavat-karaka-stvayâyaṁ*
*Syâmaḥ Sumeru-śikhay=êva navaḥ payôdaḥ*
*Kandarpa murddharûha-maṇḍana-campaka śra-*
*-g=dâmatvad=aṅga-ruci-Kañcukitaś-cakâstu.*

Damayantî herein is compared with the golden-hued summit of the Mt. Sumêru, while the king of Gauḍa with the dark (*śyâma*) cloud. If we remember that Vijayasêna was a Karṇâṭic by origin, it at once brings home why the king of Gauḍa has been described as of dark complexion in the *Naiṣadhîya*. It is perhaps due to these allusions to the king of his native land in the poem, that the poet has eliminated from it all the tragic incidents connected with the life of Nala, subsequent to his marriage with Damayantî, as in the story of the Mahâbhârata. It also appears likely that by instituting a comparison between Vijayasêna and a ' Niṣâdha ', a term which denotes one of the low (hunting) castes among the Hindus, notwithstanding that Nala himself is not delineated as such either in the Mahâbhârata, or in the *Naiṣadhîya*, or anywhere else, the poet has made an insinuation as to the low caste in which the Sêna king was born. In the *Sêkh-Subhôdayâ* of Halâyudha Miśra, we should remember in this connection, Vijayasêna has been represented as originally a ' wood-cutter '.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE LAKṢMAṆASENA ERA

The origin of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era abbreviated as La Sam is a matter of controversy among scholars. That it was counted at first from 1119-20 (October to October) is perhaps to be accepted after what Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has written on the subject.[1] Kielhorn

[1] JBORS, Vol. XX, p. 20.

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verified six dates of La Sam and came to the conclusion that they work out satisfactorily if the initial year was the Kārtikādi Sudi I of the expired Saka year 1041 with the Āmanta scheme of lunar fortnights=the 7th October, A.D. 1119 and it is supported by a statement of Abul Fazl in the Ākbarnāmā.[1] But the initial year of La Sam as it is still used in the almanacs of Mithilā falls on the 30th January, A.D. 1108. Mr. P. N. Miśra verified 12 dates and came to the conclusion that 4 dates work out satisfactorily with Kielhorn's proposed epoch but 3 dates do not work out satisfactorily with Kielhorn's or Mithila almanac epochs while the remaining dates work out satisfactorily with the latter.[2] Mr. Jayaswal says that up to a certain period the dating was on the basis of the era commencing in 1119-20 A.D. but after the Muslim conquest of Tirhut the Fasli Era a lunar reckoning was promulgated at the time of Ākbar. La Sam received from that time a lunar (instead of the earlier luni-solar) calculation and hence the difference in the initial year of the earlier dates and of the later dates. Mr. Jayaswal quotes a passage from a MS. in the possession of Pandit Gangā Nāth Miśra according to which a fixed figure is deducted from the current year to obtain La Sam, as well as fixed figures are deducted to obtain Saka and Vikram years.

If the initial date of La Sam is thus settled, its origin is far from being so. Discussing the subject, Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury writes that its origin is to be sought in the Sena dynasty of Pīthī and not in the Sena dynasty of Bengal because it was never used by the Senas of Bengal and its earliest use was confined to Bihar where there is epigraphic evidence of the existence of a line of Sena Kings who actually used the era.[3] There are two epigraphs of Asokavalla known as Bodh-Gayā inscriptions[4] and another of Jayasena found at Janibighā,[5] a place close to Bodh-Gayā and the dates of these three epigraphs are expressed as follows :—

I. Śrimal-Lakhvana (Kṣmaṇa)-Senasya=atītya-rājye, S. 51.
II. Śrimal-Lakṣmaṇasenadevapādanām=atīta-rājye, S. 74.
III. Lakṣmaṇasensya=atīta-rājya, S. 83.

The uniform manner of the expression of these three dates in the records of two kings of Pīthī shows that they refer clearly to the post-regnal year of a king or an era. Calculating these dates according to La Sam, says Dr. Roy Chowdhury, that the king whose reign

[1] Ind. Ant., 1890, p. 1.
[2] JASB, 1926, 373.
[3] Sir Asutosh Jubilee Volume, Orientalia, Pt. 2, p. 1.
[4] Cunningham's Mahābodhi, p. 78, pl. XXVII A ; and JASB, Vol. V, p. 658, pl. XXX.
[5] JBORS, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 273.

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was a thing of the past in the year 51 (=1170 A.D.) cannot be identified with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal who ruled in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Therefore he concludes, 'If the founder of Lakṣmaṇasena Era was not identical with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, he must have been the founder of the Sena dynasty of Pīthī'. Curiously enough, Dr. Roy Chowdhury does not mention any king of Pīthī of the name of Lakṣmaṇasena.

So far as we know, Tārānātha speaks of two Lavasenas.[1] Granting that Tārānātha's chronology and genealogy of the kings of Magadha and Bengal are faulty, it is to be noticed that Lavasena the predecessor of Buddhasena, Haritasena, and Pratitasena is contemporaneous with the Muslim invasion of Bihar and Bengal and Tārānātha places him after the Senas of Bengal. If it is to be accepted that this Lavasena was a king of Pīthī and was the founder of La Sam in 1119 A.D., the recording of the epigraphs of the time of Jayasena (one of Sena kings of Pīthī) in the year 83 of this era and also of Asokavalla of Bodh-Gayā in the years 51 and 73 shows that Pīthī was in the possession of these kings from 1119 A.D. to the close of the twelfth century. As regards the correct location of Pīthī, Mr. H. Panday who edited the Janibighā inscription writes that 'our record proves that the sites of the village Jamibigha and also Bodh-Gayā were included in the country called Pīthī. As such, it appears to have been the name given to the southern portion of Magadha at least about this time, probably on account its association with Vajrāsana'.[2]

The history of Pīthī is known in the 11th and 12th centuries from contemporary records. It is known from the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī[3] that Pīthī was ruled by Vallabharāja and his son Devarakṣita of the Chikkore family about the middle of the 11th century. Devarakṣita was defeated by Mathanadeva, maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. The Chief of Pīthī who helped Rāmapāla in his Kaivarta war was Bhimayaśa. The Gayā stone inscription of Govindapāla[4] is dated in the 1232 V.E.=1175 A.D., that year being the 'gatarājya chaturddośa samvatsara' of Govindapāla. The affix Pāla, the Buddhist title Paramasaugata and the title Gauḍeśwara raise a strong presumption that he belonged to the Pāla dynasty. Whether Govindapāla was a king of the Pāla dynasty or not, the Gayā stone inscription clearly proves that he ruled in Gayā and in its vicinities about the middle of the twelfth century. R. D. Bannerjee assumes[5] with a tolerable degree of certainty that

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[1] Ind. Ant., 1875, p. 366.
[2] JBORS, 1918, p. 273.
[3] Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 324–27.
[4] The Pālas of Bengal, Pl. XXVIII.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

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Govindapāla ruled a portion, probably of the eastern one, of Magadha. The Jayanagara Image inscription of Palapāla [1] also goes to show that some portion of Magadha was under the rule of this king. The known-period of his reign is 35 years and he should be placed either before Govindapāla or more probably after him. The evidences of the Rāmacharita, Gayā stone inscription and the Jayanagara inscription tend to show that Magadha was in the 11th and 12th centuries under the possession of the Pālas or under the kings whose names end in Pāla. The Senas of Pīthī could not possibly rule contemporaneously in the same locality with the Pālas. In all reasonableness, therefore, the Senas of Pīthī should be placed towards the very close of 12th century or after that. This is in complete agreement with what we know from Tārānāth, according to whom Lavasena, the predecessor of Buddhasena, Haritasena, and Pratitasena, is contemporaneous with the Muslim invasion of Bihar and Bengal and the Tibetan historian placed him after the Senas of Bengal. Or even if it be granted that the Senas of Pīthī ruled in the 12th century from 1119 A.D., it must be admitted they were local rulers, as the Gayā inscription of 1175 A.D. shows the control of Govindapāla over Pīthī. Therefore these local chiefs of Pīthī should date their records in the era associated with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal to whom, it does not appear, they were in any way subordinate.

Four inscriptions of Asokavalla have come to light and R. D. Bannerjee has shown that the Asokavallas of the four epigraphs are identical.[2] The inscription in the walls of the Surya temple near Viṣṇupada at Gayā is dated in the year 1813 of the Nirvāṇa Era. Fleet has shown that this date agrees well with Wednesday, 1st October, A.D. 1270.[3] It has been pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumder that there are reasons to believe that Asokavalla flourished about 1270 A.D., naturally the dates in the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions (and also Janibighā inscription) would be taken as counted from the cessation of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, that event itself being placed towards the end of the twelfth century and atīta rājye s. 51 may easily be taken to mean that 50 or 51 years had elapsed since atītarājya or the cessation of the reign.[4] It is quite natural that the Hindus or Buddhists were unwilling to refer to the pravardhamānavijaya-rājya of the Muslims who were alien in culture and newcomers and who of late destroyed their temples or monasteries. Therefore the records of this time were dated by referring to the expired years of an Indian King.

Now the question is who is Lakṣmaṇasena from whose cessation

[1] JBORS, pp. 489ff.
[2] JASB, 1913, pp. 271ff.
[3] JRAS, 1909, pp. 323ff.
[4] JASB, 1921, p. 13.

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or fall these records were dated ? Is he the famous Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal or Lavasena of Tārānātha, predecessor of Buddhasena ?

The existence of Lavasena rests on the sole authority of Tārānātha. It is not known where he actually ruled and what was his relation with Buddhasena. An era is generally associated with the name of a great king. Traditions from different sources associate this era with the Sena dynasty of Bengal. According to Tārānātha [1] it was counted from the time of Hemantasena and Abul Fazl [2] associates with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. That Lakṣmaṇasena was a great king and his fame spread far and wide is evident from his own records and from the testimony of Minhaj who says that Rai Laksmania was a great Rai. A MS. of Viṣṇu Purāṇa written by Pakṣadhara Miśra is dated in the past year 345 of the king Lakṣmaṇasena of Gauḍa.[3] So far as we know, the Senas of Pīthī were never called kings of Gauḍa and perhaps they cannot be called so.

If this era is to be associated with a Sena King of Bengal, it is perhaps better to do so with the king whose name and whose stamp of personality it perhaps bears. It cannot be maintained that Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal started a new era in 1119 A.D.[4], commemorating his accession because the evidences of Dānasāgara, Adbhutasāgara, Suduktikarṇāmrita, and Tabakti-Nasiri are conclusive on this point. No record dated distinctly in La Sam (as opposed to atītarājye, vinaṣṭa-rājye, etc.) can be placed in the twelfth century. The earliest known document dated in this era is the colophon of a MS. belonging to the Darbar Library of Nepala and the date is La Sam 91 Chaitra Vādi Gurau=A.D. 1210. Is it then improbable that this era became current after the death of Lakṣmaṇasena ? We have got at least one instance of an era of this period which was associated with the name of a king after his death. The Vallali San or Parganati San was current in Bengal even less than two hundred years ago. After a careful examination of all available data, Dr. N. K. Bhattasali [5] has come to the conclusion that it began on the 28th September, A.D. 1202. It is significant that in two records this era is clearly called Vallali San. In any case, Vallālasena's rule cannot be pushed so late as 1202 A.D. Vallālasena has a unique place in the social

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[1] JASB, 1905, p. 48. [2] Ind. Ant., 1890, p. 1.

[3] JASB, 1926, p. 373. Referred to by Mr. P. N. Miśra.

[4] R. D. Bannerjee (JASB, 1913, pp. 271ff.) contended that the Dacca Chandi Image Inscription was dated in La Sam. Mr. N. G. Majumdar who also maintained that Lakṣmaṇasena started this era (Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 171) admits that ' it is by no means, the only conclusion deducible from the expression Śrimal-Lakṣmaṇasenadevasya Samvat 3. It can also mean simply in the 3rd regnal year of the king without necessarily having any reference to the era started by him '.

[5] Ind. Ant., 1923, pp. 314ff.

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history, of Bengal and the popular imagination has perhaps associated this era with his name which in all probability marks the fall or termination of Lakṣmaṇasena's rule. Lakṣmaṇasena was undoubtedly one of the last great Hindu Kings of northern India and the Senas of Bengal had got important political relations with Bihar. It is not unfair to infer that the people of Bihar dated their records by associating them with a great Hindu King with whom they had got some connection. The erection of pillars of victory at Kāśī and Allahabad suggests that Lakṣmaṇasena had some hold over Bihar too. They did not find it difficult to make the year 1119 A.D. as the initial year of this era. This may be the date when the Senas under Vijayasena for the first time came into conflict with Nānyadeva of Mithilā or more probably the date of birth of Lakṣmaṇasena. Minhāj says that Lakṣmaṇasena was in his eightieth year at the time of Baktyar's invasion of Bengal. Lakṣmaṇasena did not possibly rule for 80 years but might have been 80 years old at that time.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.

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## PATAÑJALI AND THE ŚAKAS

The discussion of the well-known gloss of Patañjali on the *Śudra aniravasita* by Professor Bhandarkar and Dr. Sten Konow in the *Indian Culture* (I, 275; II, 189) is highly instructive. But I venture to differ from them. Both admit that Patañjali must be placed between 104 and 148 B.C., and are confronted with inextricable difficulties.

Professor Bhandarkar believes that the Śakas had already at that time established their power in the north-west portion of India: but Sten Konow rightly remarks that this conclusion goes against everything which we thought was established. Sten Konow believes that Patañjali refers to Śakas not yet established in India, 'only known as a foreign tribe, in some way connected with the Yavanas, and it is *a priori* likely that these Yavanas were the Greek chiefs of Bactria'. But, during the first part of the 2nd century B.C., Greek princes were ruling in India; and it is difficult to admit that the members of a tribe only known by name have been looked upon as *Śudras aniravasitas*.

The right conclusion (I venture to say) is the gloss of Patañjali which is a strong argument against the generally admitted date of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. See *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 199–202 (*Date de Patañjali*), Paris, 1930.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

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## ARJUNA MIŚRA

We offer our best thanks to Mr. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for supplementing our information about Arjuna Miśra, to arrive at a date for him.[1]

Relying on the *kulajis* of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs, we assigned Arjuna Miśra to c. 1297 A.D. This has not satisfied Mr. Gode. He is rather sceptic about the reliability of these genealogies. He thinks it more probable that Satya Khān, the patron of Arjuna Miśra, is identical with Satya Khān, the patron of Govardhana Pāṭhaka, who compiled the *Purāṇa-sarvasva*, in Śaka 1396 (1474 A.D.). For ready reference, we are quoting below the colophon of the MS. of the *Purāṇa-sarvasva* :—

"एतत् पुस्तं समाप्तं जनपदविदितं कारितं सत्यखानै-
र्दानैर्मानैर्विधानैरनुदिनमधिकं पण्डितान् पूजयित्वा ।
सर्वखान्तं पुराणं परमशुभकरं भूषणं भूतलेऽस्मिन्
आचन्द्रार्कञ्चकास्तादसनवऊतभुक्-चंद्रसंख्या शकाब्दे ॥
श्रीमद्गौड़महीमहीपतिपतिप्राप्तप्रसादोदयः
पुण्यः प्राक्तनकर्मणोऽतिपद(वी)श्री(युक्त)खानाङ्कितः ।
पश्चात् श्रीशुभराजखानपदवी लब्धाधरामण्डले
जीयाद्धर्मधुरन्धर-कुलधरो धीरो गभीरो गुणैः ॥
पुराणसर्वस्वमिदं प्रयत्नादकारि गोवर्द्धन-पाठकेन
मनोरमं पुण्यवतां जनानां श्रीसत्यखानस्य यशःप्रधानं ॥
इति पुराणसर्वस्वं समाप्तं शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १६७७"

Our suggested readings of the three missing syllables, in the second line of the second verse, are given within brackets. *Śrī*, placed immediately before *Khān-āṅkitā* in that line, cannot be placed there, as it spoils the metre. So we have shifted its place.

Mr. Gode writes :—'The last two lines of the 2nd verse of the colophon state that Govardhana's patron got the title from one 'श्रीशुभराजखान' (पश्चात् श्रीखानाङ्किता श्रीशुभराजखानपदवी लब्धा).' He further conjectures :—'The expression "श्रीशुभराजखान" has possibly a reference to a Muhammedan king of Bengal belonging to the House of Raja Kans that came into power in A.D. 1400, in which year Raja Khan, Zamindar of Bhaturiah dethroned and killed Shamsu-d-Din

[1] *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 141–146.

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Ilyas Shah and placed his son (?) *Shiabu-d-Din* on the throne of Bengal. I wonder if the expression "शुभराजखान" contains any reference to '*Shiabu Rajakāns*' (शुभ) being a Sanskritized form for *Shiabu*'.

None of these seems to us to be tenable for the following reasons :—

(1) The king was the fountain source of all honours, so how could a Śubharājakhāna, himself a holder of the title of Khān, could confer the same on another ? Does it not sound novel ? Further, we are afraid, this interpretation is not supported by the context.

(2) There is no room for thinking that शुभराजखान is a Sanskritized form for *Shiabu Rajakāns*. The *kulajis* of the Bengal Brāhmaṇs and the Kāyasthas bear testimony to the fact that during the Pāṭhān period, the title of Śubharājakhāna was held by many of them. There was a Śuhbarājakhāna among the *Vandyaghaṭis* (modern *Vandyopādhyāya* or Banerji) of Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇs. A-*mela* of these Brāhmaṇs was named after him. Among the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs, again, there is an *avasāda* (a social stigma) called Śubharājakhānī. At least four persons of different families of the Baṅgaja Kāyasthas held the title of Śubharājakhāna.

(3) The son of Raja Kans or Gaṇeśa (not Raja Khan) was Jadu, who became king under the Muhammedan name of Jālāluddin Muhammad Shāh.

(4) The house of Raja Kans ruled from 1410 to 1442 A.D.[1] The year 1474 A.D., when the *Purāṇa-sarvasva* is said to have been compiled, falls in the reign of Ruknuddīn Bārbak Shāh (1459–74), or his successor Shamsuddīn Yūsuf Shāh (1474–81 A.D.).[2]

As regards the interpretation of the colophon, we differ from Mr. Gode on some points. What we understand from it is given below :—

(1) The first verse says that one Satyakhān had the *Purāṇa-sarvasva* compiled by several Pandits, in the Śaka year '*rasa-nava hutabhuk-caṁdra- saṁkhya*'.

(2) From the second verse we learn that this Satyakhān obtained prosperity through the favours of '*Śrīmad-Gauḍamahī-mahīpati-pati*. At first he was simply a Khān, which was added to his name of Satya. Afterwards through his merits, he won the title of Śrī-śubharājakhāna.[3]

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[1] *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 189. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[3] It would not be out of place to say a few words about the procedure followed by the Muhammadans in conferring titles. Irvine says :—' The system of entitlature was most elaborate and based on strict rule . . . . . a man would begin by

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(3) The third verse and the last line say that the *Purāṇa-sarvasva*, which was the chief work of renown of Satyakhān, was copied with care by Govardhana Pāṭhaka, in the Śaka year 1677.

The date chronogram and '*Śrīmad-Gauḍamahī-mahīpati-pati*' have been left untranslated intentionally, as we are not sure of their true interpretation. Mr. Gode has given two alternative interpretations of '*Gauḍamahī-mahīpati-pati*'. He writes:—'If the compound is dissolved as "गौड़महीमहीपतिः एव पतिः" it will mean only the king of Bengal. If it is dissolved as गौड़महीमहीपतेः पतिः it will mean 'the Lord of the king of Bengal' and in that case we shall have to suppose that the expression has a reference to the sovereign ruler to whom the king of Bengal owed allegiance'.

The first interpretation seems to us rather far-fetched, so we are in favour of Mr. Gode's second interpretation. According to which the गौड़महीमहीपति must be some Emperor of Delhi. In that case Satyakhān has to be pushed some time before 1338 A.D., when Bengal became independent under Sultan Fakhruddin Mubārak Shāh, or some time after 1576 A.D., when Bengal was finally annexed by Emperor Ākbar.[1]

'*Huta-bhuk*' in the date chronogram has been interpreted as '3'. This no doubt is the general practice, but in the present case, it is inconsistent as shown above. Let us see if it is possible of some other interpretation. It means 'fire'. As god of fire it represents '1', but as sacrificial fires, it may mean either '3', '5' (*pañcāgni*) or '6' (see *Śabdakalpadruma*). '5' or '6' is not possible, as it brings the time to the Moghul period, when the title of Khān had ceased to be conferred on the Hindus. Blochmann says:—'There is no case on record that the title of Khān was ever conferred on a Hindu, though many assumed it or made it parts of their names'.[2] The titles were not self-assumed in the case of Satyakhān is clearly stated in the colophon. The self-assumed titles, referred to by Blochmann, are not strictly speaking titles, but hereditary

becoming a Khān or Lord (added to his own name). After that, he might receive some supposed to be appropriate to his qualities, coupled with the word Khān, such as Ikhlas Khān, Lord Sincerety; . . . . . these titles were never given quite at random, nor were they self-adopted. (*Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 28-6). Although Irvine here speaks of the Moghul system, there is reason to think that the Pāthāns followed the same procedure, with the exception that they conferred the title of Khān on Hindus and Muhammadans alike, while the Moghuls reserved it for the latter only. It appears that 'Satyakhān' could be of the either variety, while Śubharājakhāna belonged undoubtably, to the second variety.

[1] *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, pp. 189 and 190.

[2] *I.A.*, Vol. I, p. 261.

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surnames, which even now are used by some Bengal families, whose some distant forefathers had borne that as title. We have already seen that '3' is not satisfactory. Now there remains only '1'. According to this, the chronogram yields Śaka 1196=1274 A.D., when Ghyāsuddin Balban was the reigning monarch of Delhi. This date is 23 years earlier than the date assigned to Arjuna Miśra by us. We shall see that this difference is negligible in consideration of 25 generations.

If the above explanation of the chronogram is accepted, then it comes within possibility to identify Satyakhān with Satyakhān-Śubharājakhān. But it is rather uncommon, so we shall have to look for some other Satyakhān as the patron of Arjuna Miśra. There is no inherent improbability to think that there were more than one Satyakhān. We find that the Hindu Zamindars of Bengal, almost as a rule, encouraged Brāhmaṇs and Pandits, by granting them rent-free lands. So there was nothing improbable that more than one Satyakhān were patrons of the learned. Since writing our note on Arjuna Miśra in this *Journal*,[1] we have been able to trace a Satyakhān among the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs. He belonged to the Maitra family. His genealogy is given below :—

1. Suṣeṇa ; 2. son, Brahmaṇya Ojhā ; 3. son, Dakṣa ; 4. son, Pītāmvara ; 5. son, Śantanu ; 6. son, Hiraṇyagarbha ; 7. son, Bhūgarbha ; 8. son, Vedagarbha ; 9. son, Mahāmuni ; 10. son, Svarṇa-rekha ; 11. son, Sandaikya Ojhā ; 12. son, Maitāi ; 13. son, Sthira ; 14. son, Dauyācārya ; 15. son, Mahānidhi Ācārya ; 16. son, Bṛhaspati ; 17. son, Kupa ; 18. son, Narasiṁha ; 19. son, Hiṅgāi Neṅgaṭa ; 20. son, Khāṭuyāi ; 21. son, Aṅgani ; 22. son, Bhagavāna ; 23. son, Daivakī ; 24. son, Rāma Pāṭhaka ; 25. son, Yadunandana Bha(ṭṭa) ; 26. son, Murāri, Satyakhān.[2]

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the forefather of Arjuna Miśra, and Suṣeṇa, the forefather of Satyakhān, are two of the five Brāhmaṇs, who according to the tradition, are said to have come to Gauḍa, at the invitation of king Ādiśūra. So Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Suṣeṇa were contemporaries. In our previous note, we have shown that Arjuna Miśra was 25th in descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Now we find that Satyakhān was 26th in descent from Suṣeṇa. Accordingly, Satyakhān becomes a junior contemporary of Arjuna Miśra. In all probability this Satyakhān was the patron of Arjuna Miśra.

[1] *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. I, pp. 704-6.

[2] *Kulaśātradīpikā*, pp. 37 & 111-2.

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We have yet another evidence, which goes to show that Arjuna Miśra lived in the latter-half of the thirteenth century. According to the *Vārendra-kulapañji*, Ādigāñi Ojhā, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, obtained the gift of a village named Dhāmasāra, from king Dharmapāla. It says :—

"राजा श्रीधर्मपालः सुखममरधुनीतीरदेशे विधातुं
नाम्नादिगाञ्जिविप्रं गुणयुततनयं भट्टनारायणस्य ।
यज्ञान्ते दक्षिणार्थं सकनकरजतैर्धामसाराभिधानं
ग्रामं तस्मै विचित्रं सुरपुरसदृशं प्राददत् पुण्यकामः ॥"

We have shown elsewhere,[1] that king Dharmapāla ascended the throne in 761 A.D. In our previous note on Arjuna Miśra, in this *Journal*, we have shown that the date of Madanapāla's grant was c. 1147 A.D. This date cannot be pushed either way much further. This Vaṭeśvara was 18th in descent from Ādigāñi Ojhā. These eighteen generations covered (1147–761=) 386 years, which gives an average of 22.7 years per generation. Arjuna Miśra was 24th in descent from Ādigāñi Ojhā. So according to this calculation Miśra's time comes to (22.7×23+761=) 1283 A.D., i.e. 14 years earlier than the date, we arrived at in our previous note, and 9 years later than the date of the *Purāṇa-sarvasva*, as shown above.

Mr. Kane has shown that Sarvajñanārāyaṇa flourished between 1100 and 1300 A.D. We have also said in our previous note that Sarvajñanārāyaṇa cannot be later than the thirteenth century. So Mr. Kane's finding does not go against ours. Further our date of Arjuna Miśra is supported by three different evidences. Taking all these into consideration, we think that our finding may be taken as a tentative one, until something positive is found against it.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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## A NOTE ON SALMALIMATPURA

(*Mentioned in the Khaḍāvadā Rock Inscription*, 1541 *V.S.*)

Thanks of antiquarians are due to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar for bringing to light the Khaḍāvadā rock inscription of *Gyāsa Śāhī*,[2]

[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 489.
[2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII (1908), pp. 8 ff.

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dated 1541 V.S., which has illumined an otherwise dark portion of the history of the Mussulman Sultans of Mālwā. In the 31st verse of the inscription[1] reference is made to a Śālmalimatpura, where a tank is said to have been excavated by Baharī, the Śaka leader. This note aims at an attempt to identify this place, as it is expected to bring to light some facts bearing on the history of the same period.

From the occurrence of its name in the inscription, and from the account preserved therein, this place is to be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Khaḍāvadā, the find-spot of the inscription; but no place bearing this name is to be found in that locality. Still, when we consider that the inscription embodies in it place names after Sanskritizing them all, it is not preposterous to suppose that Śālmalimatpura is one of such names. Consequently we are reduced to the consideration of local forms, and our business is to find out such a place as would tally in description and similarity of name with Śālmalimatpura.

The Chandvāsā *pargana* of the Rāmpurā district lies between 24° 6′ and 24° 25′ N., and 75° 25′ and 75° 39′ E. It contains as many as eighteen tanks of some size.[2] As this *pargana* is situated in close contiguity of Khaḍāvadā, the headquarters of Baharī, some of these tanks may be supposed to have been excavated by him and the tank mentioned above may be one of them. Now, we notice that one of these tanks, and a fairly big one, is situated about three miles to the south-east of Khaḍāvadā. This tank is close to the village of Semrol (Semlor), which also bears the name Senilia, evidently similar to the Śālmalimatpura of the inscription.

Not more than four miles to the north of Khaḍāodā there is another village known as Shemli. Its being so close to the headquarters of Baharī and the resemblance between the two names may lead one to presume its identity with the place in question. Mr. Rameshvar Oza[3] upholds this view probably for the same reason. But all other evidences go against this. In the first place, there exists no tank in the vicinity of this village, nor is there even the slightest sign of its having possessed one in the past. Secondly, this view appears untenable when we consider the historical events recorded in the inscription. Even a cursory perusal of the inscription makes it obvious that the Sultan's territory in the Rāmpurā district was bounded by the Chambal on the west. The land on the other side of the river in the same district was then held by the Chandravats, a branch of the Udaipur Sisodias, with the town of

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 14.
[2] Luard, *Indore State Gazetteer*, p. 245.
[3] *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā* (Hindi), XII, i, p. 45.

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Rāmpurā as their stronghold.[1] Thus this river served as a boundary line between the two territories and prevented Baharī from obtaining a permanent footing on the other side. Internal evidence may be adduced to substantiate this view. Now, since the village of Shemli stands on the land opposite to Khaḍāodā, it may be said to have been then included within the possessions of the Chandrāvats. Under such circumstances Baharī could not have thought of excavating a tank there. Thus this village is different from Śālmalimatpura mentioned in the inscription.

The inscription also records the excavation of another tank by Baharī to the north of the one mentioned above. Now, exactly to the north of the tank in the Chandvāsā *pargana*, mentioned before, there still exists another tank close to the ruins of a village, popularly known as Malkānā. The distance between these two tanks is less than a mile. Thus the conclusion is inevitable that the tank at Malkānā, together with the one mentioned above, are the same as excavated by Baharī and so poetically described in the inscription.

No other place seems to answer all these requirements, and the only conclusion we can arrive at is that Śālmalimatpura is the Sanskritized form of the name of the modern village of Semrol in the Chandvāsā *pargana*.

HARIHAR V. TRIVEDI.

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## APROPOS THE APOCRYPHAL BRAHMA-PURĀṆA

In his most interesting paper 'The apocryphal Brahma-Purāṇa' (see *Indian Culture*, October 1935, pp. 235 ff.) Mr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra has proved that the present Brahma-Purāṇa is not the original Mahāpuraṇa but merely an Upapurāṇa consisting mainly of chapters 'borrowed from other sources such as the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Vāya-Purāṇa, and Harivaṃśa'; and though in his list of the chapters not thus borrowed he mentions the final chapters from 235 to the end (235-245), he further adds on these: 'Chapters 235 to end on Sāṃkhya and Yoga were undoubtedly drawn from some older source. In some MSS. of the present *Brahma* these chapters are not found at all.' My suspicion also concerning these chapters was roused some time ago, and I succeeded in identifying them as follows with portions of the *Śānti-*

[1] Luard, *Indore State Gazetteer*, pp. 44 and 242.

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*Parvan of the Mahābhārata* (C.=Calcutta edition of 1834 ff.; B.=Bombay edition of śaka 1875) :

235=C. 239, 240 ; B. 240, 241.
236=C. 241, 246, 247, 248 ; B. 242, 247, 248.
237=C. 249, 250, 275 ; B. 249, 250, 274.
238=C. 302 ; B. 300.
239=C. 303 ; B. 301.
240=C. 304 ; B. 302.
241=C. 305, 306 ; B. 303, 304.
242=C. 307, 308 ; B. 305, 306.
243=C. 309 ; B. 307.
244=C. 310 ; B. 308.

There remains the concluding chapter which may, after all, be the work of the compiler.

These chapters are in the Brahma-Purāṇa a single dialogue between the Munis and Vyāsa, whereas in the Śānti-Parvan we find instead Śuka and Vyāsa, Śuka and Bhīṣma, and Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīṣma. This explains the omission, in the Purāṇa, of stanzas 4 and 5 of Śānti-Parvan 304 (B. 302), as these refer to the death of Bhīṣma who (and not Vyāsa) is addressed there. Many readings also of the Purāṇa disagree with those of the Śānti-Parvan, and at least a selection of these will have to be registered in the critical edition of the great epic.

F. Otto Schrader.

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## BODH-GAYĀ PLAQUE

I am really very sorry that in dealing with the well-known Bodh-Gayā Plaque (Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, Bk. II; *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 2) I could not help seriously doubting its genuineness. But I am still more sorry that some of the younger scholars in India have misunderstood my position. Nothing could be more distant from my intention than basing my whole or main argument on the figure of a venerable gentleman with a European hat on his head appearing in the plaque. The figure which is reproduced in a somewhat enlarged form and left to speak for itself was made use of only as an additional proof in support of the main argument involving a riddle, hard to solve :

If the Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the Plaque be a record of the pre-Kaniṣka age, the design of a high-towered temple with the inner stone railing, the gateway, the outer brick wall, and the rest of

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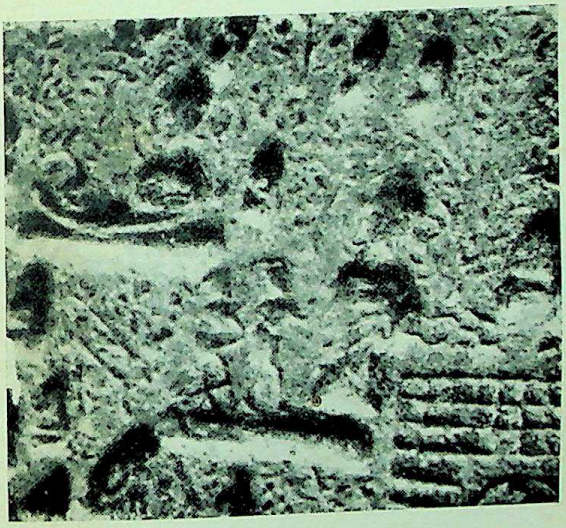

A portion of Bodh-Gayā Plaque

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details that are in keeping with the later description of things at Bodh-Gayā in the Si-Yu-Ki of Hwen Thsang and far beyond the dream of Fa Tsien, the earlier Chinese pilgrim, is an impossibility.

If, on the other hand, the design of such a temple with such details became possible at a date after the visit of Hwen Thsang, or after the construction of the Bodh-Gayā temple, the occurrence of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, the palæography of which points to a pre-Kaṇiṣka age, becomes an impossibility.

A monolith of Asoka bearing the figure of a standing elephant on its capital prominently appears before the high-towered temple, with its position just outside the inner stone-railing, while neither Fa Tsien nor Hwen Thsang noticed any such monolith anywhere in the temple compound when they had visited the sacred area. The idea of such a monolith must have been obtained from the Barhut bas-relief, representing a scene of enlightenment of Buddha Śākya-muni. Even here the imitation may have proceeded on a wrong reading of the Barhut sculpture prominent with the upper portion of the monolith, while its base is embedded in the lower panel representing either a scene of supplication by the gods and angels to the Bodhisattva urging him to be reborn on the earth, or, at least, a scene of defeat of Māra.

I know, of course, that the Plaque bears the hall-mark of a 'Patna Special.'

B. M. Barua.

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## UPANISĀ-UPANIṢAD

In dealing with the Pāli word *Upanisā*, the authors of the Pāli-English Dictionary, published by the Pāli Text Society, had no decisive Pāl passage before them to justify its equation with the Vedic *Upaniṣat* or Upaniṣad. In their opinion, *upanisā*, 'if equal to Vedic upaniṣad (upa+ni+sad)', is nothing but 'a contracted form of *upanissāya*'. They might have obtained a more definite result if they had started the discussion from a different standpoint. The verbal correspondence between the two forms, *upanisā* and *upaniṣat*, is at once suggested by the fact that both are alike in feminine gender. As a feminine form, the Pāli *upanisā* occurs, first, in a gāthā of the Dhammapada, and, secondly, in a passage of the Vinaya Parivāra-pāṭha. In the Dhammapada gāthā No. 75 (Bāla-vagga): *aññā hi lābhūpanisa, aññā nibbāṇa-gāminī*, the word *upanisā*, as rightly explained in the Commentary, means *paṭipadā* (path, way). The passage which really decides the issue is one met

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with in the Vinaya Piṭaka, V., p. 164, and also in the Visuddhi-magga, p. 13, and it reads—

*Etadatthā kathā, etadatthā mantanā, etadatthā upanisā, etadatthaṃ sotāvadhānaṃ, yad idaṃ anupādā cittassa vimokkho ti.*

Here the intended meaning of the word *upanisā* is sought to be brought out by three other words: *kathā* (discourse), *mantanā* (deliberation), and *sotāvadhānaṃ* (hearing with rapt attention).

To a similar effect, the valedictory address in the Taittiriya Upaniṣad, I. 11, closes with the words—*Eṣa ādeśaḥ, eṣa upadeśaḥ, esā vedopaniṣat, etad anuśāsanam evam upāsitavyam, evamu caitad upāsyam.*

Here the meaning of the word *upaniṣat* or *vedopaniṣat* is sought to be brought out by such words as *ādeśa* (command), *upadeśa* (advice), *anuśāsana* (instruction), and *evam upāsitavya* (mode of approach, rule of conduct).

Comparing the two texts, one quoted from the Parivāra-pāṭha and the other from the Taittiriya Upaniṣad, one can easily deduce that *upanisā* is nothing but a Pāli equivalent of the Vedic *upaniṣat* or *upaniṣad.*

B. M. Barua.

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## AMṚITAM

I doubt very much the correctness of the derivation of the old Vedic word *Amṛitam* as has been given by the scholars. I need hardly point out that the negative indicating *a* and *mṛita* which means 'dead,' give us a word, adjective in form, to indicate that the substance it qualifies is not dead. No doubt, the word could be converted into noun form, but to make it convey the meaning that the substance indicated by the word *causes* or confers immortality, a bit round about grammatical process has to be followed. I venture to suggest for following reasons that the word *amṛitam* has been formed by joining together the Vedic words *am* and *ṛitam* for signifying directly in the noun form the meaning it possesses, even though the term 'ambrosia' in Greek is in my way where the first syllable is negative-indicating. If my following reasons for suggesting the proposed new derivation be considered good it will be easy for me to show that it could not be impossible at a comparatively later time to take the initial *a* as negative-indicating particle both by the Aryans of India and those of Greece to trace the origin of the word.

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No special discussion is needed for the word *ṛitam*, since it means undoubtedly 'fixed or settled order,' or 'undying divine law'. What is needed is to show that the Vedic word *am* which was being often reduced to *ama*, signified 'a drinkable liquid substance,' poweful in effect, so that the *karmadhāraya* compound *amṛitam* could directly indicate the substance having power to confer immortality. *Amātram* (like *pātram* with the same *tra* suffix) is a drinking vessel in the Vedas. I should also point out that in the Vedas there is also the use of *am* to convey the idea of rendering firm. I think that because *am* always conveyed the idea of a liquid substance, the word *ambu* could be coined to signify 'water'; I suspect that by losing sight of the early time meaning of *am* such a new root as *amb* to go was thought out for *ambu* in the lexicon of later days. I am of opinion that the word *ambara* became a synonym of sky, for the water or *am* pours down from the sky; the definite idea of pouring down is in the root *vṛi* imbedded in the word.

I have set out what I could urge in support of my proposition; still I feel inclined to draw the attention of the scholars to two more words which seem to be connected with *am* or *ama*. *Amā*, the new moon day, has always been believed in India to be the *tithi* when atmospheric humidity greatly prevails; it is not unlikely, therefore, that this word comes out of *am* or *ama*. The next word I refer to is *āma* which appears to me to be the augmented form of *ama*. Raw or unripe is, as we all know, the meaning of the term; that a green fruit or a piece of raw flesh is characterised by its juiciness is well known. If the meaning I have assigned to *am* or *ama* be accepted as correct, these two words, *amā* and *āma*, may very easily be set down in a connected series with the word *am* or *ama*.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

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## VṚṢALA

The political condition of north-western India after the departure of Alexander from the country is depicted in three different sources consisting of Greek, Pāli and Sanskrit writings. The Greek account, embodied in a passage of Justin, to which Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri was the first to draw the attention of scholars, is the earliest and hence the more reliable. As between the Sanskrit and Pāli records, there is a vital difference between the Purāṇas and the Mahāvaṁsa regarding the caste of the Mauryas.

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The Purāṇas say that after the Nandas the kings will all be of Śūdra origin.[1] The Mahāvaṁsa, on the other hand, informs us that Candragupta of the Moriyas, a Kṣatriya clan, will become king through the machinations of a Brāhmaṇ named Cāṇakya.[2] As the two accounts agree substantially in everything except this point, the question naturally arises whether the Mauryas were Śūdras or Kṣatriyas. So far as the Pāli works are concerned, the Moriyas are always called a Kṣatriya clan. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*[3] the Moriyas of Pipphalivana are said to belong to the Kṣatriya community as much as Buddha himself. Most of the Brahmanical writings relegate the Mauryas to the rank of the Śūdras. And they take their stand upon some old authority according to which the word Vṛṣala has been frequently used as an epithet of Candragupta. Viśākhadatta, e.g., in his drama called *Mudrārākṣasa*, has given a scene depicting the accession of Candragupta to the throne of the Nandas. Kauṭilya has here been made to address Candragupta as Vṛṣala several times. It is strange that Kauṭilya, a minister as he was, should address the king as Vṛṣala (if it meant a Śūdra) repeatedly in an open conversation. It is true that it was mainly through the efforts of Kauṭilya that Candragupta secured the throne. But what could Kauṭilya gain by constantly reminding the king of his lower social status, if Vṛṣala at all implied it in that early period? Such an action is incongruous with the position of Kauṭilya, and badly befits Viśākhadatta as a dramatist.[4] Suspicion naturally arises that like many other words, which sometimes have assumed absolutely different meanings in course of time, Vṛṣala did not mean a Śūdra, at least in that early period. In the *Manusmṛti*[5] clans and tribes like the Śakas, Yavanas, etc., are mentioned, and it is further said of them that originally they were Kṣatriyas but subsequently became Vṛṣalas for showing disrespect towards Brāhmaṇs. There cannot be any doubt that the Saṁhitā is pre-eminently a Brahmanic composition, and throughout the book the Brāhmaṇs are placed on a higher level. We have such a statement as 'The Kṣatriyas prosper not without the Brāhmaṇas'. It is natural that any one showing disrespect towards the Brāhmaṇs or their religion shall be looked down upon by the orthodox writers. Besides, if Vṛṣala meant the same thing as a Śūdra, it is inexplicable why Manu should use the word Śūdra separately in many verses. In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, a work

[1] Pargiter, P.T., pp. 26–8. [2] Geiger, p. 30. [3] *S.B.E.*, Vol. XI, p. 134.
[4] That such a thing was remote from the mind of Viśākhadatta is proved by v. 18 of Act III of the *Mudrārākṣasa* where *Vṛṣalêna* is associated with *vṛṣêṇa rājñām*.
[5] X. 43, 10.

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which is contemporaneous with at least a part of the *Manusmṛti*, the word *Vṛṣala* occurs as many as fifteen times. But nowhere can we say that the reference is distinctly to a *Śūdra jāti*. On the other hand, if anything can be deduced from these copious instances of the use of the word *Vṛṣala*, it is that from a religious point of view the orthodox Brāhmaṇ looked upon a Vṛṣala with opprobrium.

Kauṭilya,[1] in his Arthaśāstra, has prescribed a fine of 100 paṇas for those who would invite Śākyas, Ājīvikas and other *Vṛṣala-pravarjitas* to dinner. It is well-known that the major portion of the recruits gained by the Śākyas were Kṣatriyas and even Brāhmaṇs. Vṛṣala can hardly, therefore, denote a Śūdra, at least in this case. As we have said before, Vṛṣala would rather denote a person who neither performed Brahmanic rites nor respected the priests who championed the orthodox religion. It may be pointed out that the word Vṛṣala occurs in a verse in the Ṛig-Veda.[2] I fear, however, that the meaning is not quite clear as the whole verse is very cryptic. It is a gambling hymn, and the gambler is derided as he cannot partake in the worship of the fire which burns by his side. In the main, the passage bears out our contention that a person of any caste whatsoever could become a Vṛṣala, and from a religious point of view it had a bad odour to a Brāhmaṇ. There is a passage in the commentary of Medhātithi on Manu which is of great importance in this respect, and this passage seems to have escaped the attention of scholars up till now. In his gloss upon Manu viii. 16, Medhātithi says: *mithyā-darśī brāhmaṇa êva vṛṣal-sabdêna grahîtavya iti*.[3] He, being the earliest commentator on Manu, can be safely relied upon. Evidently, Medhātithi had in his mind a Brāhmaṇ Vṛṣala, who was by no means an unusual character in his time. It seems exceedingly probable that the Mauryas were Vṛṣala in this sense. Candragupta was a Jaina; Aśoka was a Buddhist; and there is reason to suppose that their successors also were adherents of one or another of the heterodox sects. Otherwise it becomes inexplicable why Kauṭilya should address Candragupta as Vṛṣala though he was a Kṣatriya according to the Pāli writers. In later times the word *Vṛṣala* was confounded, and came to be identified, with Śūdra. It is thus why the Purāṇas relegate the Mauryas to the status of the Śūdras.

SUSHIL K. BOSE.

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[1] *Kauṭilīya*, III. 20, 20: '. . . . . *Śākyājīvakādin Vṛṣala-pravarjitān*'.

[2] Rg.V., X. 34, 11.

[3] Compare also *Parāsara-Saṁhitā*, II. 32-3 (Bom. Sans. Series, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 26-27).

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# REVIEWS

**BULLETIN No. 2** of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, compiled by S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Honorary Provincial Director, D.H.A.S., Assam : Government of Assam, 1934, pp. 76, Price Re. 1, Foreign 1*s.* 6*d.*

This booklet is a periodical report of the activities and progress of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, which owes its origin mainly to the efforts of Mr. J. R. Cunningham, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Assam, and of Prof. S. K. Bhuyan of the Gauhati Cotton College, who is now the Honorary Provincial Director of the Department. Divided into four parts, the Bulletin sets forth in the first part the programme and works of historical research in Assam, rightly described as ' a Virgin Field for Research ', and in the second, the origin, objects and activities of the Department ; the third part contains a notice of the manuscripts collected between January, 1932 and January, 1934, while the fourth reproduces the opinions and remarks of distinguished scholars and leading papers about the Department.

The Bulletin, which is an interesting and useful study, shows what considerable amount of substantial work is being steadily carried out by the Department in the matter of rescuing and preserving manuscripts and records of antiquities relating to history, culture and anthropology of Assam, as also publishing the *Buranjis*, which are invaluable for the study of not only the history but also the language of Assam. The keen interest taken by the Governors of the province in the affairs of the Department is a remarkable feature, that is more than gratifying to note. The Department, with a number of most enthusiastic and untiring workers to serve it so faithfully, is sure of getting the moral support and encouragement of every Indologist, and winning the genuine appreciation of perhaps every son of Bengal, whose interest in the history of Assam is as great and close as that in the history of Bihar and of Orissa.

N. N. D. G.

**THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COCHIN STATE FOR YEAR 1109 M.E. (1933-34 A.D.)**, by P. Anujan Achan, Government Archæologist, the State Museum, Trichur ; Ernakulam, 1935, pp. 16, with 23 blocks. Price Annas Twelve.

This Short Report contains besides an account of the tours of the Archæologist, excavations, conservation of ancient monuments, publications and new additions to the office reference library of the Archæological Department of the Cochin State for the year 1933-34 A.D., specimens from an old MS. of the celebrated Tamil work, Kural, and its Malayalam translation. Students of archæology will find interest in the account of the prehistoric Dolmen-caves at Kattakampal, near Kunnamkulam, that have been excavated, and of the finds therefrom, including the earthen vessels, iron implements and burial urns, photographs of which have been reproduced.

N. N. D. G.

**' THUS SPOKE GURU NANAK '**, compiled by Sir Jogendra Singh : Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 113. Price Rs. 2.

Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh must be congratulated on his presenting in a handy form and in the garb of a charmingly simple English the inspired sayings of Guru

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Nanak (Nânaka) to the general reader. On Śikhism and the history of the Śikh Gurus, there have been, in recent years, lots of scholastic writings by the critically-minded students, but with Sir Jogendra the idea was evidently to acquaint the general reader with the actual utterances of the First Guru, without any comments, embellishments and digressions, and he has, doubtless, succeeded to give form to the idea in a splendid manner, by preserving the charm of simplicity and elegance of poetry of the sayings. A criticism of the doctrines and tenets of a prophet or religious preacher falls readily beyond the scope of the reviewer's task, but as Sir Edward Maclagan, the late Governor of the Punjab, has rightly observed, in the *Foreword* of the volume that he has written,—'to explain how the sayings of Nanak, the gentlest and most peaceable of prophets, should have formed the basis of scripture for a race like the Jats of the Punjab, one of the bravest and most manly peasantries of the East', 'a brief perusal of these sayings will suffice to throw some light on this seeming anomaly'.

The get-up of the book leaves not anything to be desired, and Sir Jogendra has done well to add explanatory footnotes of such technical terms as may not be easily intelligible to the non-Śikh, non-Hindu or non-Indian readers. But the work would have been more perfect if only a short biography of the Prophet, together with a brief account of his place in the history of the Śikh religion, were subjoined to it, by way of introduction, as it is meant for general readers, some of whom may not be expected to possess the requisite knowledge thereof.

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N. N. D. G.

**TELANGANA INSCRIPTIONS,** Vol. I, published by the Lakshmana-Raya Parisodhaka Mandali, Hyderabad Dn., 1935, pp. i-ii, I–IV, 215. Price: Full Calico bound, Rs. 4-0, Limp bound, Rs. 2-8.

With this volume is published the first production of the '*Lakṣmaṇa-Râya Parišôdhaka Maṇḍalî*', which is the name given to the Historical Research Society of Hyderabad, as was inaugurated in 1922, in order to perpetuate the memory of the late Mr. K. V. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, who was the Dewan of the munificent Râjâ Sâheb of Munagala, and a pioneer in the field of historical researches into the past of the Andhra country. The publication, constituting as it does, the result of the work carried out by the *Maṇḍalî* during the years 1924–1931, contains the texts of 123 inscriptions in Telugu, Canarese and Sanskrit languages, of which 57 inscriptions relate to the Kâkatîya dynasty, 42 to the Câlukyas and the remaining 24 to some miscellaneous ruling families of the South. The estampages of these inscriptions were collected from villages in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, and 122 inscriptions were deciphered by three different scholars of the *Maṇḍalî*, while one (No. 5) is the reproduction of the Anumakonda inscription of the Kâkatîya king, Rudradêva, (Śaka 1084), edited by Fleet in the Indian Antiquary, XI, p. 10f. (Kielhorn's No. 584). An inscription (No. 20) of the Kâkatîya king, Gaṇapati, dated in Śaka 1181, and found in a mosque at Budapur in Mahabub-Nagar District, distinctly records that the Kâkatîyas were of the fourth (Śudra) caste, and another inscription (No. 32) of a Kâkatîya prince, viz. Rudradêva, dated in Śaka 1180, and found in the Narasiṁha temple at Burugugadda in the Nalgonda District, is interesting, inasmuch as its invocatory verse indicates the prevalence of Râmânuja's system of Vaiṣṇavism at that time. Another inscription (No. 35) of the time of Pratâpa-Rudra of the same dynasty, from Panugal in Nalgonda District, bears the date Śaka 1213, which will prove valuable for settling the chronology of his reign, while the one from Maturu in the Warangal District (No. 54), and dated in Śaka 1041, has it that a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla restored to the Kâkatîyas the Andhra region that their cousins had usurped for sometime. Amongst the Câlukyan inscriptions

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also, there are some that shed some new light on the history of the dynasty. But it is a matter of regret that the records, which are printed in Telugu characters, are not coupled with English translations, which at once confines the use of the book to that limited section of Indologists, who are conversant with the Telugu script and language. Nor they are as critically edited as they so naturally and urgently deserved to have been done. In the Appendix, there have been, of course, given brief statements of essential points, in a tabular form, in English, of each of these inscriptions, but the absence of diacritical marks has rendered it difficult in many cases to read the proper nouns correctly or freely.

N. N. D. G.

**DÎNA CAṆḌÎDÂSER PADÂVALÎ,** Part I, Ed. Manindra Mohan Bose, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University. (Crown 8vo) University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 5-0.

The neatly printed publication, with a dainty get-up, is a valuable contribution and welcome addition to the Vaiṣṇavite literature in Bengali, available in print. The term 'Padâvalî' indicates a collection of Vaiṣṇavite devotional songs, and of such the present volume contains 432 (421+11). These are attributed to the authorship of Dîna-Caṇḍîdâsa. These *padas* are not isolated or independent songs, but are arranged in a way as to yield a connected and running story relating to the lîlâs (sports) of Kṛṣṇa and Râdhâ, beginning from their birth.

The elaborate introduction of the volume, extending over not less than 54 closely printed pages, contains a vast amount of valuable information and readable matter. This, coupled with the copious explanatory notes and comparative remarks at the end of each *pada*, renders the volume really entertaining. In the introduction, the learned editor, Mr. M. M. Bose, who is also the author of the Post Caitanya Sahajiyâ Cult in Bengal, has made it perfectly clear that in Mediæval times there was in Bengal more than one poet bearing the name of Caṇḍîdâsa, and that Dîna-Caṇḍîdâsa, who was posterior to Caitanya, must be distinguished from Vaḍu-Caṇḍîdâsa, who was anterior to him, and whose work has been published a few years ago under the title of Kṛṣṇa-Kîrttana by the Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad of Calcutta. It must be noted in this connection that those Bengali writers, who insisted or rather wrangled till the other day that there was but One and one Caṇḍîdâsa only to write Bengali *padas*, betrayed a knowledge on the subject that was miserably poor and uncritical. It is gratifying to find that Mr. Bose has succeeded to prove conclusively that there was more than one Caṇḍîdâsa, although it is a pity that coming thus far he could not bring himself to recognize the existence of Dvija-Caṇḍîdâsa, the greatest of the Caṇḍîdâsas and with whom is associated the tradition of the washerwoman, Râmî. The result is an utter confusion of Dvija° with Dîna°, who was doubtless a much lesser poet. The simple fact that several or even many *padas* of the one are *almost* analogous to some or many of the other, both in spirit and language, is no proof that either the one or the other was non-existent, or both were identical. The fact must be explained differently, not only in view of the plentiful analogues occurring in the whole of the Padâvalî literature, but also by allowing a margin for scribal mistakes, intentional or accidental, in the *bhaṇitâs* (or the last couplets of the songs, where we usually get the name of the composer of the songs) of different and a number of MSS. There are also some other points, which although of comparatively minor importance, should have been treated by a scholar like Mr. Bose a little more carefully and ably. But, nevertheless, the publication, with all its defects deserves handsome recognition, and the editor's hearty congratulations. We eagerly wait for the second part of the work, which we hope will contain an Index.

N. N. D. G.

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**MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA, 1526—1761 A.D.** Parts I–III, by S. K. Sharma, Fergusson College, Poona (Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay), pp. 888, Price Rs. 4+4+2.

A complete and interesting story of the rise, culmination and decline of the Mughal Empire in India is told here in a fascinating narrative style, in close upon 900 pages, divided into three unequal parts. The publication of the work removes a long-felt want of having the vast body of material, collected hitherto on this glorious chapter of Indian History, embodied in a condensed form.

The book, as it is, is designed, in the first instance, for the guidance of the B.A. students, particularly those of the Bombay University, but for the teachers and general readers also it contains a large amount of attractive and edifying matter. Prof. Sharma, who writes with the enthusiasm of one who has thoroughly explored the varying aspects of the theme, has the happy gift of presenting the subject methodically, lucidly and yet critically, and his opinions are often refreshingly balanced. The author has taken immense care to give a pretty clear and comprehensive idea of the essential characteristics of the period. He has adopted a novel method in narrating the history, viz., to quote profusely from originals and thus to represent the historical events almost everywhere in the very words of the eye-witnesses or first-hand authorities.

The first part of the book contains, besides the Introduction, six chapters, of which the first one is an account of India as Babur found her, while the second deals with how the empire was founded by him. The third chapter bearing the motto, ' the Empire in Transition ', dwells upon the life and changing fortunes of Humayun, and the fourth is devoted to the history of the Sur inter-regnum. In the remaining two chapters are described how the empire was restored by Akbar and how it was re-organized by him, with a survey of Akbar's various reforms.

In the second part, containing four chapters (Chaps. VII–X), the history is carried on from the reign of Jahangir to that of Bahadur Shah. The reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah are very appropriately designated by the author as ' Fruition of the Empire ', ' Golden Age of the Empire ', ' Post-Meridiem of the Empire ', and ' Sun-set of the Empire ', respectively.

The third part of the work comprises Chapters XI and XII, and four appendices, together with a supplementary bibliography. In Chapter XI, which is called the ' Nightfall of the Empire ' is related the story of the emperors beginning from Jahandar Shah and Farrukh-Siyar to Akbar II and Bahadur Shah II, and of the brothers King-makers, Nizamu-l Mulk, and the two fateful invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. This is followed by a review of the Empire in Chap. XII, in which the points discussed are: (i) the Mughals and the Empire, (ii) the Empire and the Afghans, (iii) the Empire and the Rajputs, (iv) the Empire and the Mahrattas, (v) the Empire and the Europeans, (vi) the political, economic, social and cultural legacies of the Empire, and (vii) the lessons of the Empire.

It is probably to this last chapter, which is so ably and brightly written in spite of the extremely arduous nature of the task, that most readers will turn first. Want of space forbids me to take note here of the numerous interesting and personal views expressed and sought to be substantiated by Prof. Sharma in the body of the whole book, except only a few. He holds that ' Akbar's interest in religion was deeper than the mere " intellectual curiosity " of a student of " Comparative Religion ", ' and maintains (with Beni Prasad) that conclusive evidence is wanting to show that Jahangir was guilty of having got murdered Sher Afgan, the first husband of Nur Jahan, and that the circumstances of the death of Afgan are of a suspicious nature. He does not accept the commonplace estimate of the reign of Shah Jahan, and propounds instead that glory and prosperity marked the age rather unusually,

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notwithstanding the early rebellions, the aggressive wars in foreign countries, the famines in the Deccan and Gujrat, and the constant warfare with the princes of the Deccan. He also seeks to establish that the complexity of forces that brought about the decline of the Mughal Empire had neither its origin nor its cause in the *extravagant bureaucracy* of Shah Jahan. As to the cost of the Taj-Mahal, Prof. Sharma accepts it to be 9 *krors* and 17 *lacs*, and not 50 *lacs* only, as according to other estimates. 'In the ultimate analysis', he concurs with other sober and non-partisan critics, 'it is possible to attribute all Aurangzeb's failures and defects to his religious character', and 'if Aurangzeb had shared the eclecticism or liberal outlook of his forefathers, he would have strengthened instead of undermining the foundations of the Empire'.

The printing of the work is neat, and the get-up attractive. The book contains four maps and ten illustrations, of which the illustration of 'Aurangzeb and his Seal on Farman', reproduced at the beginning of the second part and published for the first time, deserves particular notice. But the work badly needs an exhaustive Index and diacritical marks, which, we hope, will be supplied in the next edition. Nevertheless, the book is sure of a warm welcome by students and scholars alike.

N. N. D. G.

**SONGS OF MIRABAI,** translated from the original Hindi by R. C. Tandan. Hindi Mandir, Allahabad, 1934, pp. 72. Price Rupee One.

In this booklet we get fifty songs, attributed to the authorship of the celebrated lady-devotee, Mîrâ-Bâi, done from the original Hindi into English by Mr. R. C. Tandan. Although the name of Mîrâ, 'whose Lord was Giridhar Nâgar', is too popular a word in Northern and Western India, an authentic version of the life-story of this ascetic-queen of Citore, who belonged to the former half of the sixteenth century, has not yet been drawn up. Mr. Tandan, however, indicates in the Introduction what bare outlines of her true biography have been obtained by modern researchers in the field. Again, the genuineness of all the songs that pass by the name of Mîrâ is open to question, but if these fifty songs prove to be genuine, Mr. Tandan's labours are sure to be rewarded. His translation is not only careful but aims at preserving, as far as possible, the poetry of the original songs. In the last six pages some notes on technical terms, and an index to the first lines of the songs have been added.

N. N. D. G.

**VALMIKI RAMAYANA,** condensed in the Poet's own words: Text in Devanagari and English translation by Vidyasagara Vidyavacaspati Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon), M.A.; published by G. A. Nateson and Co., Madras; Foreword+Introduction+Publisher's Note+pp. 420. Price Re. 1-4as.

Mr. G. A. Nateson of Madras is to be sincerely congratulated on his publishing a popular edition of the *âdi-kâvya*, the Râmâyaṇa, with the text of each verse in Dêva-nâgarî character followed by an English translation thereof. The translation portion is the work of Vidyâsâgara Vidyâvâcaspati Prof. P. P. S. Śâstrî of the Presidency College, Madras, who has the happy gift of preserving the spirit of the original in the translation. It is a condensed edition and the selected passages are from the poem itself, which give the story of the poem in full. It is hoped that this popular edition of the Râmâyaṇa should be in great demand by all reading public.

N. N. D. G.

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**LA BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ** *II Canto del Beato*, traduzione italiana di A. M. Pizzagalli, D.Litt., Ph.D. 'Scrittori Italiani e Stranieri': Poesia. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvi+159. Lanciano: R. Carabba.

Dr. Pizzagalli has produced a very good translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* for the Italian public. Basing his work on the text edited by Schlegel and Lassen (2nd edition, Bonn, 1846) Dr. Pizzagalli has obtained good results of interpretation according to the philological convenience. The philosophic depth of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* finds in Dr. Pizzagalli's critical introduction (xvi pp.) a very fine explanation from every point of view.

According to review notes by Vanamāli Vedāntatīrtha on *The Song of the Lord* by Dr. E. J. Thomas (see *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 178), II, 18, Pizzagalli's rendering seems to convey perfectly the intended arguments :—

II. 18.

Si distruggono bensì questi corpi nostri, in cui trovasi lo spirito che non muta, ma egli è indistruttibile e incommensurabile, combatti quindi, o Bhāratide.

In the text :—

अंतवंत इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्ताः शरीरिणः।
अनाशिनोऽप्रमेयस्य तस्माद्युद्ध्यस्व भारत॥

E. G. CARPANI.

**JUBILEE YEAR BOOK AND EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORY OF MADRAS:** The South Indian Teachers' Union, 41, Singarachari Street, Triplicane, Madras, 1934, Preface + Introduction + pp. 293 + Appendices.

The Silver Jubilee of the South Indian Teachers' Union that was celebrated at Trichinopoly in May, 1933, was the occasion for contemplating publication of a Year Book and Educational Directory of Madras by the Union, and the result is this admirable volume. It not only deals with the activities and progress of the Union, which is a provincial organization started in 1908, 'to focus the opinion of the public on educational matters and improve the status, pay, and prospects of teachers', but also gives us a clear and comprehensive account of the different and varied aspects of education imparted in South India.

S. C. S.

**CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA:** By P. L. Bhargava M.A., Shastri. Published by U. I. P. House.

This nice little monograph on one of the ablest rulers of ancient India is perhaps the latest contribution to the period. The get-up of the book is modest and consists of 138 pages. The author has treated the whole subject under different heads, each constituting a separate chapter. The first deals with the vexed question of chronology; and the remaining chapters deal with facts regarding the growth of Magadha, career of Chandragupta, administration of the empire, social conditions, art and literature, achievements and legends of Chandragupta respectively.

There can be little doubt that on the whole the work has been quite carefully done. All the generally available sources for the period have been

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consulted and the delineation of some of the more vexed problems cleverly handled. In the ordinary course the book ought to be very helpful to the students of Indian history.

In the field of scholarship, however, there will always be a room for an honest difference of opinion. The chronology of the Bimbisarian kings, which the author has worked out himself, might not be looked upon as quite convincing. He has accepted the finding of Prof. Geiger that the Nirvāṇa of Buddha took place in 483 B.C. As Bimbisara is given a regnal period of 28 years in the Vāyu Purāṇa and inasmuch as he died 8 years before Nirvāṇa, he must have ascended the throne in 519 B.C., according to Mr. Bhargava. I am afraid this argument is not quite conclusive. The difficulty of accepting the Purānic accounts without any modification was long ago ably pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar. The regnal period of the same king is given differently in the several Purāṇas. There is not much reason in accepting any one particular date to the exclusion of the others. The Purāṇas ascribe a period of 363 years to ten kings which is highly unreasonable, if not wholly absurd.

The Ceylonese chronicles, on the other hand, attribute a reign of fifty-two years to Bimbisara. If the Nirvāṇa took place 8 years after Ajātasatru's reign then we get 543 B.C. as the accession date of Bimbisara. And this year has been shown by Geiger to have been the starting point of a distinct era in Ceylon.

It is again strange why diacritical marks have not at all been used by the author. He has no doubt apologised for it in the preface, but we fail to understand why a scholar such as Mr. Bhargava doubtless is, should not have taken the trouble of putting in the diacritical marks without which no work can be legitimately claimed to be scholarly.

Nevertheless, it is with pleasure that we recognise the arduous nature of the work done by Mr. Bhargava and we hope that it will prove a powerful incentive to the other scholars of his generation.

SUSHIL K. BOSE.

**CLASSIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA :** Numismatic Supplement No. XLV, by Durga Prasad, B.A.

In this thesis Mr. Durga Prasad has attempted a fresh classification of the symbols on ancient silver punch-marked coins of India and has offered a new explanation of some of them. The author, a keen student of Indian numismatics, is already well known to us through his previous writings. It is therefore no wonder that his Essay has been awarded prize by the Numismatic Society of India and has been published as a Numismatic Supplement to the *J.P.A.S.B.* (New Series), Vol. XXX, 1934.

The present Essay extends over 59 pages and is divided into three chapters, besides thirty-two fully illustrated plates. On the whole, the work has been quite comprehensive and very well done. But there are two or three points on which we cannot quite bring ourselves to agree with the author. Most of the symbols on the early silver punch-marked coins have been explained here with the help of Tantric formulæ. To us it appears to be a somewhat forced reconciliation and an indirect way of admitting the extreme difficulty of offering a reasonable explanation of the symbols. If we are not wrong, the author himself is convinced of the high antiquity of these coins. At the lowest computation, however, we ascribe the coins to the sixth century B.C. To explain symbols current in this period by means of formulæ from Tāntric texts appears

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to be somewhat overdone. Our present state of knowledge does not warrant us to place the Tāntric texts beyond the 5th. cent. A.D. The Kālivilāsa-tantra, to which the author so frequently resorts is considerably later, though undoubtedly it contains some early traditions. These silver punch-marked coins, as the author himself asks us to believe, were current over the whole of India. It is unnatural that coins in such extensive currency and used by peoples of different shades of religion, would be stamped with symbols the significance of which could be explained only by means of Tāntric texts—a system, be it noted, which is still known to have been prevalent over very few parts of India.

Besides some of the descriptions of the symbols may not be quite satisfactory. For instance Fig. 26, Plate 22, looks like a mere crescent and can hardly be described as *ardhachandra*. Similarly, some figures, which the author has drawn himself, are given by him, as full restorations of faint traces on actual coins. Once this liberty is indulged in, there may be no end perhaps to imaginary drawings. For instance, in the coin serially numbered 1, and depicted in Plate VI, the figure No. 4 drawn by the author may not be considered by many as warranted by the coin illustrated.

Regarding the similarity of some symbols on these coins with those on some of the Mohenjodaro seals, noted by the author, it may be pointed out that Dr. C. L. Fabri in the very first number of this *Journal* suggested that the seal impressions were a forerunner of the punch-marked coins. Mr. Durga Prasad seems, however, to have arrived at this conclusion independently of Dr. Fabri, though Mr. K. P. Jayswal thinks Dr. Pran Nath was the first to have announced it (*J.A.R.S.*, 1935, p. 721).

The above are some of the criticisms that may be offered. We must admit, however, it is high time that Theobold is to be improved upon and that we cannot any longer stick to his antiquated ideas. In this respect Mr. Durga Prosad has done great service to numismatics and deserves our very best thanks for carrying on fresh investigations.

SUSHIL K. BOSE.

**AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET (THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS)** edited by Philippo de Philippi with an introduction by C. Wessels, S.J. Published by George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., pp. 430, with a bibliographical index of the works quoted, a general index and an index of Tibetan words.

This treatise is divided into four books, each of which has been subdivided into various chapters. The first book gives an account of the journey from Rome to Lhasa. The second book describes the country of Tibet and records an interesting account of customs and civil government of the country, besides the climate and fertility of the land, clothes and foods, the disposal of the dead body, weddings, games, and occupations of the Tibetans. The third book gives a religious history of Tibet, an account of the Tibetan monasteries and nunneries, rules of conduct, places and objects of worship, the idea about existence of a true God, etc. The fourth and the last book describes the journey from Nepal to the Ganges together with a short description of the kingdom of Nepal. The introduction is very informative and interesting. Undoubtedly an exhaustive treatment of the history of Tibet supplies a long felt want and we hope that it will receive such warm appreciation as it deserves. The notes supplied to each of the four books are very useful as also the bibliographical index of the books consulted. On the whole the book under review repays perusal.

B. C. LAW.

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**DYNASTIES et HISTOIRE de l 'INDE depuis KANISHKA jasqu ' aux invasions MUSALMANES,** par Louis de La Vallée Poussin. (Histoire Du Monde, E. De Boccard, Éditeur), Paris, 1935.

Dr. Poussin has compiled an interesting dynastic history of India from Kaniṣka to Muhammedan invasions. He has utilized all available materials in making it exhaustive and useful. His notes on the Imperial Guptas, Harṣavardhana and Sīlāditya are illuminating. The chapter on Bengal and Assam is well-written. The history of Bengal under Śaśānka, Harsha, the Pālas and the Senas has been ably treated. He has given an account of Kanauj from 647 to 816. Then he has narrated the history of India under the Gurjaras and Rajputs. His account of the Gurjaras of Broach, Valabhis, Chālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Candellas and Cedis deserves mention. Next he has dealt with the history of the Traikūṭakas Vākāṭakas, Chālukyas of Vātāpi and Kalyāṇi, Śilaharas, Kadambas, Yādavas, Kākātiyas, Hoysalas, etc. His instructive notes on Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Pallavas are welcome. In the Appendix and Additions he has spared no pains to include many additional matters. He has supplied a good index at the end. This book is no doubt a laborious production, well-documented and carefully written and it is bound to prove very useful to every student of ancient Indian history.

B. C. LAW.

**PREHISTORIC MAN: HALL OF THE STONE AGE OF THE WORLD,** by Henry Field (Anthropology leaflet, 31), Chicago, 1933.

**THE RACES OF MANKIND: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAUNCEY KEEP MEMORIAL HALL** (Anthropology leaflet, 30), by Henry Field, Chicago, 1934.

**ETHNOLOGY OF AFRICA,** by Wilfred D. Hambly (Chicago, 1930).

**GODS AND HEROES OF JAPAN,** by Helen C. Gunsaulus (Chicago, 1924).

**JAPANESE TEMPLES AND HOUSES,** by Helen C. Gunsaulus (Chicago, 1924).

**THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE CHICAGO REGION,** by W. D. Strong (Chicago, 1926).

**THE USE OF HUMAN SKULLS AND BONES IN TIBET,** by Berthold Laufer (Chicago, 1923).

**THE CIVILIZATION OF THE MAYAS,** by J. Eric Thompson (Chicago, 1932).

The above are primarily guide books to the various halls and the show cases of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. When I had the opportunity of visiting the Hall of the Stone Age in the Museum several years ago I was simply dazzled. The huge collections made and the pains taken to make the review of lost life as scientifically accurate as possible are indescribable. The life-like representation of the Neanderthal man who flourished in Europe more than 50 or 100 thousand years ago in Chicago has not been surpassed by any exhibit of this type in any other museum known to me. The guide books scarcely convey the impression produced by proper lighting and glowing hearths that American Museums only know how to build up and pay for them too. Mr. Field has earned the gratitude of all lovers of prehistory by putting in so short a compass of 42 pages a resume of the prehistoric culture of Europe which the show cases of Chicago bring out in full light.

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The Chauncey Keep Memorial Hall has achieved the impossible. By bronze statuette representations of types from living examples enlivened by the proper pose it has made representations much better and accurate than any original could hope to be. The Australian spear-thrower, the Vedda bowman, the Ituri drummer are there in life before us. The bronze statuettes were made by Malvina Hoffmann from actual living men all over the world where she travelled and the types also will be a monument to her artistic achievements. Also the standards of museum building now being set up by Chicago will be followed by future museum-builders. Mr. Field in his lucid style as in the previous work has to survey a very wide and highly complicated field and he has done it remarkably well.

Hambly's 225 pages of the Ethnology of Africa with valuable maps and bibliography will, like the guide books of the British or the Horniman Museum, be sought for not only as guide books but as good brief introductory surveys of the subject. As such they are eminently useful for the student and the beginner. Instead of attempting a controversial ethnic grouping he has chosen wisely by surveying in geographical regions. His introductions to the geography and exploration and races and migrations supported by maps are succinct and well told. Continuos interesting story of the panorama of various conquering tribes replacing one another is kept up. The historical and then cultural aspects are never lost sight of and there is an attempt to make up psychological pictures of the people as a whole. But for the limitation of the necessities of a guide book this might have been one of the standard books for use as a manual on African Ethnology.

Thompson shows more freedom from the limitations imposed on the guide book by keeping for the last few pages the task of explaining the Maya collection. He has further the advantage of a subject complete and synthetic by itself and nobody can better begin the study of the civilisation of the Mayas than by a perusal of this book with its marvellous simplification of an intricate subject where the basic fabric of the Calender has been the despair of everybody. The dawn of civilisation in Central America, the outline of Maya history, the complicated mythology, religion and social life are so well and charmingly described that one forgets that one has to march through hard bits of Spanish and climb up steep hieroglyphic stairways to master Maya culture.

The Illinois, the Miami and the Potawatomi Red Indian tribes who dwelt formerly very near Chicago have now been illustrated by life-like show-cases in the James Nelson and the Anna Louise Raymond Hall. The author's brief resume of the life and their hardships at the hands of colonists and the vicissitudes of their fortune invokes the sympathy of all. The manners habits and life and beliefs of the people are also briefly described.

Miss Gunsaulus introduces us to the show-cases illustrative of the gods and heroes of Japan and its temples and houses, the national heroes of Japan, the seven gods of good fortune, shinto deities as illustrated by various specimens in Gunsaulus Hall. A good history of the architecture of Japan in brief is described in a few pages in the other guide book. All these are found in that rich collection of *surimono* or small prints in possession of the Field Museum.

Laufer's short monographs like Macaulay's occasional critical notes always turn to be classics on account of their thoroughness. In the course of his guide book to Tibetan Collections he starts speaking of the use of human skulls and bones in Tibet and incidentally records all that is known about the use of such things in India, Asia, Europe, America, from ethnology, Pali texts, mediæval travel books, Spanish source books, which he knows only how to deal with in order to write an exhaustive encyclopædic note, which we now possess from his hands, many of which were evoked by collections in the Field Museum.

P. MITRA.

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# IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

*Anthropos, Vol. XXX, Pts. 3 and 4, May–August,* 1935.

Contribution to Garo Linguistics and Ethnology by Biren Bonnerjea.

This paper contains a grammatical sketch of the Garo language, native texts of an ethnological interest, and vocabulary compiled from different sources.

*Asiatic Review, Vol. XXXI, No.* 108, *October,* 1935.

1. Chinese Religion in the Third Century B.C. by E. R. Hughes.
2. Early Chinese Palaces and Temples by A. Silcock.

*Buddhism in England, Vol.* 10, *No.* 3, *September–October,* 1935.

Buddhist Mysticism by N. Watkins.

The author has tried to show that Buddhism is a religion with a mystical element as are other world-religions.

*Calcutta Review, Vol.* 57, *No.* 2, *November,* 1935.

Emperor Visaldeva by H. B. Sarda.

This paper contains a critical account of Visaldeva IV, also called Vigraharaja, first Chauhan Emperor of India, who ascended the throne in about 1152 A.D. The author adduces epigraphic evidences to establish that the conquest of Delhi by Emperor Visaldeva took place sometime between A.D. 1153 and 1163.

*Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, Pt. I, January,* 1933.

1. The Text of the Sohgaura Plate by K. P. Jayaswal.
2. Manur Inscription of Maranjadaiyan by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
3. Kharoshthi Inscription on a Begram Bas-relief by Sten Konow.
4. Silahara Cave Inscriptions by D. R. Bhandarkar.
5. A Buddhist Inscription from Kara by N. P. Chakravarti.

*Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, Pt.* 2, *April,* 1933.

1. Jainad Stone Inscription of the Paramara Jagaddeva by D. C. Ganguly.
2. A New Copper-Plate of Dhruva II, of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Branch, Dated Saka 806 by A. S. Altekar.

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3. Brahmanapalli Grant of Karkka Suvarnnavarsha : Saka 746 by B. Bhattacharyya.

*Jaina Antiquary, Vol. I, No. 2, September,* 1935.

1. Who was the Founder of Jainism ? by K. P. Jain.

   After discussing the question, the author answers it by saying that we should regard Ṛsabha as a real personage and as the founder of Jainism in this cycle of time.

2. Mathematics of Nemicandra by B. B. Datta.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol.* 55, *No.* 3, *September,* 1935.

Chāyā by A. K. Coomaraswamy.

The significance of the word 'Chāyā' has been discussed in this short paper.

*Journal of the Andhra Historical Society, Vol. IX, Pt.* 3, *January,* 1935.

1. Gonarda, The Cradle of the Gonardiya by Sylvain Lévi. (Translated by D. C. Sircar.)

   This article contains a critical account of the city of Gonaddha placed between Ujjeni and Vedisā in the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Pāli Sutta-Nipāta.

2. The Fore-fathers of Rāṇī Saṁyuktā by L. N. H. Jagadeb.
3. The Ponduru Copper-plate Inscription of Vajrahasta II, of the Kaliṅga Kingdom by M. Narasimham.

   The history of the plates, genealogy of the king, object and substance of the grant and the text of the inscription have been given in this article.

4. Successors of Parameśvaravarma II by Govinda Pai.
5. The Meghas of Kosala by V. Appa Rao.

*Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. III, No.* 3, *October,* 1935.

1. The Kalitas by K. R. Medhi.
2. The Date of Bukhityar's Invasion of Assam by D. N. Mukherjee.

   The author discusses the methods of conversion of any Indian date into its corresponding Christian date in the Julian and the Gregorian systems.

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3. The Ancient Tripurā Kingdom in the Kapili Valley by K. L. Barua.

The Tripurā kings trace their descent from Druhyo, the son of Yajāti. It is said that Pratardana, who was 25th in descent from Druhyo, conquered the Kirātas and founded a kingdom, the capital of which was on the bank of the River Kapili. The author shows that His Highness the present Mahārājā Mānikya Bāhādur of Tripurā is the direct lineal representative of the Tripurā dynasty.

*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXI, Pt. II,* 1935.

Vārtikālaṅkāra of Prajñākara Gupta edited by Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana.

*Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. II, No. 2, July,* 1935.

1. Contributions from the Mahāvaṁsa to our Knowledge of the Mediæval Culture of Ceylon by W. Geiger.

In this first instalment Dr. Geiger has given an interesting account of the position of the king and the royal family in mediæval Ceylon.

2. Veda and Avesta by B. K. Ghosh.
3. The Influx of Indian Sculpture into Fu-nan by Ludwig Bachhofer.

*Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIV, Pt. 2, Serial No. 41, August,* 1935.

1. The Early Pallavas by D. C. Sircar.
2. Genealogy and Chronology of the Vākāṭakas by M. Govind Pai.
3. A Note on the Mughal Military Terms, Zat and Sawar, by C. S. K. Rao Saheb.

*Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 28,* 1935.

This number contains the Government Research Fellowship lectures delivered by Prof. Pour-e Davoud in 1934. The subjects refer mainly to old Iranian history and culture.

*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII, Pt. 1, March,* 1935.

A History of Malaya by R. O. Winstedt.

*Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. IX, Pt. II, April–June,* 1935.

1. An Inscribed Pot from Naṇḍūru by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

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2. Śucīndram Inscription of Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varmā, A.D. 1546 by S. D. Pillai.
3. The Astronomical Data of the Paripāḍal by K. G. Sankar.

*Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 44, No. 3, September*, 1935.

1. Material Representatives of Tongan and Samoan Gods by Te Rangi Hiroa.

   This paper gives an account of the numerous inanimate representatives of the Polynesian gods which escaped destruction and found refuge in various museums.

2. The Sikayana Language: A Preliminary Grammar and Vocabulary by A. Capell.

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October*, 1935.

1. Chola Invasion of Bengal by A. C. Banerji.

   In this paper the author has examined the events connected with the first invasion of Bengal by a General of Rājendra Chola I, the son and successor of Rājarāja I, and has traced, as far as possible, the route of the Chola army which, he says, did cross the Ganges.

2. Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan by T. Burrow.
3. *A Propos* the Legend of Nāropā by G. Tucci.
4. The Gāndhāra grāma by A. H. Fox Strangways.
5. A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka by C. S. Krishnaswamy and Amalananda Ghosh.
6. Curious Omissions in Pāli Canonical Lists by C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

*Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IV, Pt. I, July*, 1935.

1. Exchange Conditions in the Jātakas by R. N. Mehta.

   The article gives an interesting account of the inland and seaborne trades, transport, systems of transaction, prices, currency, credit, and weights and measures in Pre-Buddhistic India.

2. Islamic Art and Architecture by Ernst Cohn-Wiener.

*Mahā-Bodhi, Vol. 43, No. 9, September*, 1935.

1. Magadha of the Orient by B. C. Law.
2. Hīnayāna and Mahāyana Compared by Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana.

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*Man in India, Vol. XV, Nos. 2 and 3, April-September,* 1935.

1. Anthropology and our Educational System by G. S. Ghurye.
2. Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Primitive Life by P. C. Das Gupta.

   In this short article the author deals with a few apparently gruesome customs and institutions prevailing in a society of 'preliterate' humanity and shows that by the application of psychoanalytic principles they are intelligible and seem to be the most natural outcome of the psychic reactions under their primitive conditions of life.

3. An Enquiry for Traces of 'Darwins Tubercles' in the Ears of the People of Bengal by B. N. Datta.

*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, May-August,* 1935.

1. Mughal Miniatures from the period of Akbar by Wilkinson and Gray.
2. A Study in Buddhist Iconography by H. B. Chapin.

*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (New Series), Vol. XXV, No. 4.*

Śrī Vidyā—Pt. III—Upasana-Karma, Section (5)—Kuṇḍaliṇī Yoga by K. N. Iyar.

*Science and Culture, Vol. I, No. 6, November,* 1935.

1. An Historical Account of the Classification of Thelephoraceæ by S. N. Banerjee.
2. Determination of the Temperature of the Upper Atmosphere by B. N. Chuckerbutti.

*Shrine of Wisdom, Vol. XVII, No. 65, Autumn,* 1935.

Hermes or A Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Universal Grammar by J. Harris.

*Visva Bharati Quarterly (New Series), Vol. I, Pt. II, August,* 1935.

1. The Unity of Mankind by M. Winternitz.
2. The God of the Gītā, Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and His Origin by R. Otto.

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# Obituary Notices

## Louis Finot

Louis Finot was undoubtedly a distinguished orientalist and his researches attracted the attention of all scholars of Indology. His translations of many Buddhist texts and his important contributions to Indo-Chinese history and Buddhist thought all bear testimony to his sound knowledge and scholarship. He was appointed as the First Director of École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China. In the fourth number of the first volume of our *Indian Culture*, Finot contributed a very suggestive contribution regarding Sinhalese tradition concerning Buddha's relics. It will be difficult to fill his place for many years to come. We deeply mourn his loss.

B. C. Law.

## Sylvain Levi

Sylvain Levi was another distinguished orientalist. He was a Professor of Sanskrit in the College de France. He was an Hony. Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, American Oriental Society, the President of the Société Asiatique. He visited India, Nepal, Indo-China, China, and Japan. We sincerely mourn his loss.

B. C. Law.

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# A VEDIC BASIS FOR THE ETYMOLOGIES OF VEDIC WORDS

*By* RULIA RAM KASHYAP, M.Sc.

In the April 1935 issue a Vedic basis was supplied for the etymologies of some Vedic words as given in his Nirukta by the etymologist Yáṣka ; the method of an independent study of the Vedas with the help of actual máṇtric quotations only was illustrated by taking seven examples originally meant to serve the above object ; and it was concluded that probably the founders of the etymologies arrived at them by following the same method.

In the present issue we will in the beginning carry on the same work by furnishing a Vedic basis for the Yáskyan etymologies of some other Vedic words and afterwards we will supply some fresh etymologies of the Vedic words arrived at only by a study of the Veda-maṇtras themselves.

## PART I

Here are some Yáskyan etymologies with their Máṇtric basis :—

### I. SÚRYAH

Súryah may be taken first because all objects of creation have been created by Him as stated in the Rigveda, Maṇḍal VII, Súkta 63, Maṇtra 4, reading—

"ओ३म्.....नूनं जनाः सूर्येण प्रसूताः..... ॥"

and meaning :—

'....decidedly have all human beings and other objects of creation been created by Súryah....'

Apparently the words सूर्येण प्रसूताः furnish a Vedic basis for the Yáskyan etymology of the Vedic word Súryah which is given in Nirukta Daivata Káṇḍa, Adhyáya 6, Khanda 14, as under :—

"सूर्यः.....सुवतेः..... ॥"

which means :—

'Súryah is derived from the root giving सुवति and meaning "giving birth to".'

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It will not be out of place to quote here from Súrya Siddhánt, the ancient Indian treatise on Astronomy, Adhyáya 12, Shloka 15, which says :—

"हिरण्यगर्भो भगवानेष च्छन्दसि पठ्यते ।
आदित्यो ह्यादिभूतत्वात्प्रसूत्या सूर्य उच्यते ॥"

## II. Savitá

Savitá can be taken up next. Says Nirukta :—

"सविता सर्वस्य प्रसविता ॥" नि० दै० अ० ४ खं० ३१ ॥

which means :—

'Savitá—the progenitor of all or He who creates all.'

The following mantras of the Rigveda afford a Vedic basis for the above etymology :—

१. ओ३म्..... अजीजनत्सविता सुम्नमुक्थ्यम् ॥ ऋग्० ४ । ५३ । २ ॥

२. ओ३म्..... प्रासावीद्भद्रं द्विपदे चतुष्पदे..... सविता..... ॥
ऋग्० ५ । ८१ । २ ॥

३. ओ३म् उदेति प्रसवीता जनानां... ॥ ऋग्० ७ । ६३ । २ ॥

तथा ४. ओ३म्..... एष मे देवः सविता..... ॥ ऋग्० ७ । ६३ । ३ ॥

५. ओ३म् बृहत्सुम्नः प्रसवीता निवेशनो जगतः स्थातुरुभयस्य यो वशी ।
स नो देवः सविता शर्म यच्छत्वस्मे क्षयाय त्रिवरूथमंहसः ॥ ऋग्० ४ । ५३ । ६ ॥ पदपाठः
प्रसविता ( for प्रसवीता ) ॥

These respectively mean :—

1. Savitá has created laudable bliss.....
2. .....Savitá has created good for the bipeds and quadrupeds.....
3 and 4. This Deity Savitá, the Creator of all objects of creation and beings, rises high up. (May He bless) me.....
5. The Creator of transcendental bliss, the Resort and Controller of both the motile and the immotile ones—may that Deity Savitá offer us protection from sin for our residence on this (earth).....

Here Savitá has been termed प्रसवीता which according to Pada Pátha is nothing but प्रसविता itself—the word used by Yáska

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in his Nirukta while giving the etymology of the word under discussion which has been quoted in the very beginning. But as he adds the word सर्वस्य therefore have we given above different quotations calling him the Progenitor of beings or objects of creation, of great bliss, of the bliss for bipeds and quadrupeds, of laudable bliss, and at the same time the Resort of the motile and immotile ones. The word प्रासावीद् has been used in one quotation and the word अजीजनत् in another as if the form जनि has been used instead of the form सुव to explain the same and *vice versa*. Undoubtedly the learned readers will appreciate that the above five quotations amply justify the Yáskyan etymology given above and furnish an accurate Vedic basis for the same. They will also be able to supplement them by numerous other relevant quotations from the Vedas.

## III. VARUṆAH

Varuṇah is the word that can be next commented upon. In the Nirukta we find :—

"वरुणो वृणोतीति सतः ॥" नि० दै० अ० ४ खं० ३ ॥

meaning :—

'Varuṇah is derived from the root giving वृणोति and conveying the sense of "acceptance". Varuṇah is so called because he is accepted or of him a boon is begged.'

A Vedic basis for this Yáskyan comment is met with in the Rigveda as under :—

१. ओ३म् इन्द्रावरुणयोरहं सम्राजोरेव आवृणे..... ॥
ऋग्० १ । १७ । १ ॥

२. ओ३म्..... इन्द्रा नो अत्र वरुणा..... ॥ ऋग्० ४ । ४१ । ६ ॥

तथा च ३. ओ३म् युवां..... वृणीमहे सख्याय प्रियाय..... ॥
ऋग्० ४ । ४१ । ७ ॥

तथा च ४. ओ३म्..... इन्द्रं गिरो वरुणं मे मनीषाः ॥ ऋग्० ४ । ४१ । ८ ॥

५. ओ३म् तद्वि वयं वृणीमहे वरुणा मित्रार्यमन्..... ॥
ऋग्० १० । १२६ । २ ॥

६. ओ३म् तदार्यं वृणीमहे वरिष्ठं गोपयत्यम् ।
मित्रो यत्यान्ति वरुणो यदर्यमा ॥ ऋग्० ८ । २५ । १३ ॥

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These respectively mean :—

1. I accept Indrah and Varuṇah as (if I were to accept) two (mighty) monarchs.....
2–4. (Lords) Indrah ! and Varuṇah ! I accept you both for loving friendship.....
5. (Lords) Mittrah ! Varuṇah ! and Aryaman ! we beg of you that (boon).....
6. We beg that acceptable boon of Mittrah, Varuṇah, and Aryaman which they all are guarding.....

These quotations clearly show that Varuṇah is he, of whom some boon is begged ; also who is accepted as an acceptable one. In other words Varuṇah is one with respect to whom the deed indicated by the root वृञ् is performed, and this is just the sense indicated by the above quotation from Yáṣka's Nirukta, and it has been amply borne out by the quotations from the Rigveda, cited above.

## IV. Annaṃ

Next we take the Vedic word Annaṃ. In the Nirukta its derivation is hinted at thus :—

"अन्नं..... अत्तेः ॥" नि० नै० अ० २ खं० ६ ॥

which means :—

'Annaṃ is derived from the root giving अत्ति and meaning "to eat".....'

In support of this the following Maṇtras of the Rigveda may be cited :—

१. ओ३म् नितिक्ति यो वारणमन्नमत्ति..... ॥ ऋग्० ६ । ४ । ५ ॥

२. ओ३म् स्व आ दमे सुदुघा यस्य धेनुः स्वधां पीपाय सुभ्वन्नमत्ति..... ॥

ऋग्० २ । ३५ । ७ ॥

ओ३म् मया सो अन्नमत्ति यो विपश्यति यः आणिति..... ॥

ऋग्० १० । १२५ । ४ ॥

These respectively mean :—

1. ..... Who eats Annaṃ.....
2. .....whose cow eats Annaṃ.....
3. .....through me does he eat Annaṃ.....

In fact in all the three above quotations the words अन्नम् and अत्ति occur together and leave no doubt in the mind of the Vedic

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student that really both of them are radically connected as interpreted by Yáṣka in his Nirukta.

## V. SOMAH

The word Somah may now be taken up. Says Nirukta :—

"सोमः सुनोतेर्यदेनमभिषुण्वन्ति ॥" नि० दै० अ० ५ खं० २ ॥

and means :—

'Somah is derived from the root giving सुनोति and meaning to squeeze the juice out of a juicy plant ; it is so called because of its being extracted in that manner.'

In support of this rendering the following maṇtras from the Rigveda may be consulted :—

१. ओ३म् अयं सोम इन्द्र तुभ्यं सुन्वे..... ॥ ऋग्० ७ । २९ । १ ॥

२. ओ३म् स सुन्वे यो वसूनां यो रायामानेता य इळानाम् ।
सोमो यः सुक्षितीनाम् ॥ ऋग्० ९ । १०८ । १३ ॥

These respectively mean :—

1. Indra ! (Lord !) I extract this Somah for you.....
2. I extract that Somah which, for the best amongst men, brings.....

Besides these we find the words सोमं and सुनोति occurring, in one and the same maṇtra in the sense of 'he extracts Somah', at the following places in the Rigveda alone :—

(1) Rig. I, 109. 4 ; (2) Rig. IV, 24. 6 ; (3) Rig. V, 34. 3 ; (4) Rig. X, 160. 3 ; and (5) Rig. X, 160. 4.

Evidently these references conclusively prove that Yáṣka or his predecessors in the Science of Etymologies, had some of these or similar other quotations in view when they formulated the above derivation.

## VI AND VII. DHÁTÁ AND VIDHÁTÁ

Regarding Dhátá, Nirukta Daivata Káṇḍa, Adhyáya 5, Khanda 10, reads :—

"धाता सर्वस्य विधाता ॥"

which means :—

'Dhátá—the Vidhátá of all—the Maker and Supporter of all.'

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In the Rigveda we find :—

१. ओ३म् विश्वकर्मा..... धाता विधाता परमोत् सन्दृक्..... ॥
ऋग्० १० । ८२ । २ ॥

२. ओ३म् यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा ।
यो देवानां नामधा एक एव तं सम्प्रश्नं भुवना यन्त्यन्या ॥
ऋग्० १० । ८२ । ३ ॥

३. ओ३म्..... तवाहमद्य मघवन्नुपस्तुतौ धातर्विधातः कलशाँ अभक्षयम् ॥
ऋग्० १० । १६७ । ३ ॥

४. ओ३म्..... अहोरात्राणि विदधद्विश्वस्य मिषतो वशी ॥
ऋग्० १० । १९० । २ ॥

५. ओ३म् सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथा पूर्वमकल्पयत् ।
दिवं च पृथिवीं चान्तरिक्षमथो स्वः ॥ ऋग्० १० । १९० । ३ ॥

६. ओ३म्..... विधातारो वि ते दधुः..... ॥ ऋग्० ४ । ५५ । २ ॥

These respectively mean :—

1. Vishwakarmá—the Dhátá—the Supreme Vidhátá—the Creator and Supporter of all, the All-Seeing.....
2. Him, who is our Protector, Creator, Vidhátá or Supporter, who knows all the abodes and worlds, who alone bears the names of and gives names to the Deities, Him do all the other worlds follow as if they ask Him and do as He directs.
3. O Lord Indra ! O Dhátah ! and Vidhátah ! after singing Thy praises, do I eat out of the Soma-kalshas.....
4 and 5. .....That Creator and Sustainer has formed the sun and the moon as He did previously ; also (has He formed) the firmament, the earth, the intervening space and the blissful heavens. He, the Controller of the whole living (lit. twinkling) creation, has formed and sustained the days and nights as well.
6. .....The Vidhátás have made and sustained.....

In these quotations words Dhátá and Vidhátá are used as if one was qualifying the other and only emphasizing upon the same sense of the other as it itself indicates. Moreover the last quotation gives the derivation of विधाता from वि+दध in the sense that Vidhátá is one who performs the action denoted by वि+दध, which is also the sense of the Nirukta quotation given in the very

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beginning that धाता is he who performs the action वि+दध with respect to all. The last quotation does so by directly connecting विधातारः with विदधः as the subject and the verb, using apparently the same root in both these grammatical forms. Besides this both these points are borne out by Nirukta Daiv. Adhy. 5, Khanda 11, reading :—

"विधाता धात्रा व्याख्यातः ॥"

and meaning :—

'Vidhátá has already been commented upon under the word धाता.'

Especially do Nos. 4 and 5 beautifully bear out the Nirukta quotations by using the verb विदधद् and the noun धाता in the same sense of 'created and supported' and 'Creator and Supporter' in the last half of Maṇtra 2 and the first half of Maṇtra 3 of Rigveda, Maṇḍal X, Súkta 190. Apparently both the verb and the noun govern both the Maṇtras together and the verb therefore denotes the action performed by the noun following as both have apparently originated in the same root.

## VIII. YAJṆAH

Yajṇah can now be taken up. Says Nirukta :—

"यज्ञः कस्मात्प्रख्यातं यजति कर्मेति नैरुक्ताः..... ॥"

नि० नै० कां० अ० ३ खं० १९ ॥

which means :—

'Why Yajṇah? The Etymologists state "apparently it is a deed of worship (from यज=to worship)",'

and implies that 'Yajṇah is the performance indicated by the root यज which fact is quite well known to all'.

Why do Etymologists hold that view? Because Rigveda states :—

"यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः..... ॥" ऋग्० १ । १६४ । ५० ॥ १० । ९० । १६ ॥

and means :—

'The Deities perform the Yaja performance in connection with the Yajṇah and by means of the Yajṇah.....'

Therefore according to the Rigveda too Yajṇah is some performance, being, or anything else whatsoever in which the Yaja performance predominates. That for whom the Yaja performance is performed is Yajṇah; that too is Yajṇah by means of which the

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Yaja performance is performed ; besides these the Yaja performance itself too is Yajnah. Thus this reference illustrates most beautifully the above quoted statement made in the Nirukta.

## IX. Nadyah

Nadyah may next be taken up. Says Nirukta :—

"नद्यः कस्मान्नदना इमा भवन्ति शब्दवत्यः ॥" नि० नै० कां० अ० २ खं० २४ ॥

which means :—

'Why Nadyah ? Because they are Nadnáh, i.e. vague-sounding.'

In the Atharva Veda we come across a Mantra which seems as if to have been designed, simply with a view to furnish a basis for the above etymology. It runs :—

"यददः संप्रयतिरहावनदता हते । तस्मादा नद्यो
नाम स्थ ता वो नामानि सिन्धवः ॥" अथर्व० कां० ३ सू० १३ मं० १ ॥

and means :—

'O flowing waters ! Your name is Nadyah. You are so named because you made a vague sound while moving very fast, immediately after the melting (death) of the cloud.'

Atharva Veda here tells us that Nadis are so called because they perform the performance denoted by the root नद and this is just what Nirukta says in the quotation given above. In other words this Mantra affords a Vedic basis for the Yáskyan etymology of the word नद्यः.

## X. Ápah

Next we may take up Ápah. In the Nirukta it is stated that the word Ápah is derived from the root आप् meaning to pervade. That statement is as under :—

"आपः आप्नोतेः ॥" नि० दै० कां० अ० ३ खं० २६ ॥

In the Atharva Veda we find a Mantra which beautifully illustrates this point and is thus the Vedic basis for the same. That Mantra runs as under :—

"यत्प्रेषिता वरुणेनाच्छीभं समवल्गत ।
तदाप्नोदिन्द्रो वो यतीस्तस्मादापो अनु ष्ठन ॥"

अथर्व० कां० ३ सू० १३ मं० २ ॥

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and means :—

'When sent by Varuṇah you flowed very fast.....
Indrah pervaded you on the way ; therefore, you are
Ápah—the pervaded ones, ever since.'

Apparently this Maṇtra furnishes the Vedic basis for the Yáskyan etymology of Ápah.

## PART II

Having furnished in Part I the Vedic or Máṇtric basis for some of the etymologies of Vedic words given in the Nirukta, and thereby, illustrated the method of an independent study of the Vedas by means of the Veda-Maṇtras alone, we now proceed, in this Part II, to discuss some etymologies of Vedic words not given in the Nirukta or other treatises of the earlier writers, which we arrive at merely by an independent study of the Veda-Maṇtras alone. These will bring the readers face to face with the method of Vedic study under discussion and illustrate its successful application by which the modern Vedic students can easily arrive at fresh etymologies themselves.

Now to the etymologies :—

### I. Tírthaṃ

In the Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa XVIII, Súkta 4, Maṇtra 7, we find :—

"तीर्थैस्तरन्ति....."

which gives us the etymology of the word Tírthaṃ as under :—

"तीर्थम् तरतेर्यदनेन् तरन्तीति ॥"

### II. Devah

In the Rigveda, Maṇḍal X, Súkta 7, Maṇtra 5, we find :—

"द्युभिर्हितम्..... ऋत्विजम्..... अग्निं..... ॥"

and in Maṇtra 6—

"स्वयं यजस्व दिवि देव देवान्..... ॥"

which give us a fresh etymology of the word Devah as under :—

"देवः कस्मात् । द्युभिर्हितम् भवतीति ॥"

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### III. Yuvti

In the Rigveda, Maṇḍal I, Súkta 105, Maṇtra 2, words :—

"आ जाया युवते पतिम्..... ॥"

occur which naturally furnish us with the etymology of the word Yuvti as under :—

"युवतिर्यौतेः। आयुवते पतिमिति ॥"

which means :—

'A youthful lady is termed a Yuvti on account of her uniting with her husband.'

### IV. Vidyut

In the Rigveda, Maṇḍal I, Súkta 105, Maṇtra 1, words :—

"न वो हिरण्यनेमयः पदं विन्दन्ति विद्युतो वित्तं मे अस्य रोदसी ॥"

occur which furnish us with the etymology of the word Vidyut as under :—

"विद्युत् विन्दतेर्यदेनां विन्दन्ति ॥"

### V. Púshá

In the Rigveda, Maṇḍal I, Súkta 42, Maṇtra 9, we find :—

"..... पूर्धि..... पूषन्..... ॥"

which gives us a fresh etymology of the word Púshá as under :—

"पूषा एणातेर्पूरणकर्म्मणः। पूरयतीति सतः ॥"

### VI. Ghritapwah

In the Atharva Veda VI, 51. 2, occur the words :—

"..... घृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु..... ।"

which supply us the etymology of the word घृतप्वः as under :—

"घृतेन पुनाति इति घृतपूः बह्वः ताः घृतप्वः ॥"

### VII. Ketapúh

In the Yajura Veda, Adhy. XI, Maṇtra 7 and Adhy. XXX, Maṇtra 1, words :—

"..... केतपूः केतन्नः पुनातु....."

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occur which furnish us with the etymology of the word केतपूः as under :—

"केतं पुनाति इति केतपूः ॥"

## VIII. NADYÁRISHAH

In the Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa XIX, Súkta 39, mention is made of the efficacious medicinal plant Kushṭha. Three names for the same are mentioned one of which is नद्यारिषः regarding which the Veda states :—

"त्रीणि ते कुष्ठ नामानि नद्यमारो नद्यारिषः ।
नद्यायं पुरुषो रिषत् । यस्मै परिब्रवीमि त्वा सायं प्रातरथो दिवा ॥"
अथर्व० कां० १९ स० ३९ मं० २ ॥

This furnishes us with the etymology of the word under discussion as under :—

"नद्यारिषः कस्मात् । न द्या रिषः इति सतः । अस्य सेवनेन् दिवा न रिष्यति दुःखं नाप्नोति इति ॥"

This same Vedic basis for the etymology is repeated in the form of the words

".....नद्यायं पुरुषो रिषत् । यस्मै परिब्रवीमि त्वा सायं प्रातरथो दिवा ॥"

in Maṇtras 3 and 4 as well of this very Súkta.

## IX. SHATAVÁRAH

Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa XIX, Súkta 36, may safely be termed the Shatavára Súkta. Shatavára, known these days as Satáwar in the Punjabi language and as Shatávari, Shatamúli, etc. in Sanskrit, is the well-known sexual tonic and curative. According to the Vedas a uterine parasite met with in the human female, is often termed Amoeva (I have not yet been able to decide whether it does belong to the genus Amoeba of the modern Protozoologists). It causes sterility and is therefore termed Durnámá—the evil-named one. The medicinal plant under discussion successfully destroys that germ and overcomes sterility.

However, we are here discussing only the etymologies. In this connection Maṇtras 4 and 6 of the Súkta are very suggestive. The former runs :—

"घृतं वीरानजनयच्छतं यक्ष्मानपावपत् ।
दुर्णाम्नः सर्वान् ह्त्वावरुत्सांसि धूनुते ॥" अथर्व० का० १९ सू० ३९ मं० ४ ॥

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and the latter states :—

"घृतमहं दुर्णाम्नीनां गन्धर्वाप्सरसां घृतम् ।
घृतं घृश्वन्वतीनां घृतवारेण वारये ॥" अथर्व० का० १९ सू० ३६ मं० ६ ॥

The words "घृतं वीरानजनयत्....." and "घृतं...घृतवारेण वारये" give the two etymologies, the latter of which is quite apparent being :—

"घृतवारः कस्मात् । घृतान् वारयति निवारयति अनेन् इति ॥"

but the former is somewhat mysterious being :—

"घृतवारः कस्मात् । घृतान् वरणीयान् वीरान् जनयति इति ॥"

## X. Takmanáshanam

Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa V, Súkta 4, Maṇtra 1, states :—

".....कुष्ठेहि तक्मनाशन तक्मानं नाशयन्नितः ॥"

meaning :—

'.....Arrive, O Kushtha ! O Takmanáshaṇ ! removing (all traces of) Takmaṇ from this place.'

This furnishes us with the etymology of the word Takmanáshanaṃ, which is as under :—

"तक्मनाशन् । तक्मानं नाशयतीति । रोगं निवारयति इति ॥"

## XI. Varaṇah

Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa VI, Súkta 85, describes this medicinal plant. It says :—

"वरणो वारयाता..... ॥"

in its very first Maṇtra which furnishes us with the etymology of this word as under :—

"वरणो वारयतेर्निवारयतीति ॥"

Further it is stated that the disease of the patient is removed (by this medicine) with the help of the Deities Vaishwánar Agnih, Indrah, Mittrah, Varuṇah, and of Omni-Deities as well. The words :—

"..... यक्ष्मं ते वारयामहे" and "..... यक्ष्मं वैश्वानरेण वारये"

support the above derivation as these occurring in Maṇtras 2 and 3 simply interpret the word वारयाता of the 1st Maṇtra and mean :—

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'.....By means of Varaṇah we remove the disease with the aid of Vaishwánar Agnih, Indrah, Mittrah, Varuṇah, and all other Deities.'

Another etymology as well is suggested in the first Maṇtra reading as under :—

"वरणो वारयाता अयं देवो वनस्पतिः।
यक्ष्मो यो अस्मिन्नाविष्टस्तमु देवा अवीवरन्॥"

अथर्व० कां० ६ सूक्त ८५ मं० १॥

and meaning :—

'This divine medicinal plant Varaṇah is really the remover (Várayátá). The Deities take upon themselves the disease which gets established in the same.'

The second etymology supplied by the Veda in this Maṇtra would thus run as under :—

"वरणः वृणोतेः। देवाः अवीवरन् तम् (यक्ष्मं रोगं) योऽस्मिन्नाविष्टः इति॥"

## XII. Darbhah

Atharva Veda, Káṇda XIX, Súkta 28, Maṇtra 1, states '.....दर्भं सपत्नदम्भनं...' and Maṇtra 3, states '.....हृदः सपत्नानां भिन्द्धि.....' which respectively mean :—

(1) Darbhah which overpowers the enemies, and (2) Break open the hearts of the enemies.

Again Maṇtra 4 states :—

"भिन्द्धि दर्भ सपत्नानां हृदयं द्विषतां....."

meaning :—

'Cut asunder the hearts of the enemical rivals.....'

and Maṇtra 5 runs as under :—

"भिन्द्धि दर्भ सपत्नान् मे भिन्द्धि मे एतनायतः।
भिन्द्धि मे सर्वान् दुर्हार्दो भिन्द्धि मे द्विषतो मणे॥"

which means :—

'O Darbhah Maṇi! cut into pieces all my evil-intentioned foes, who cherish ill-will against me and come up for a combat with me.'

These show that Veda suggests the etymology of the word दर्भः to be as under :—

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"दर्भो दम्भोतेर्वा स्यात् दम्भनकर्मणः, भिन्दतेर्वा अवयवीकरणकर्मणः, भिनत्तेर्वा विदारणकर्मणः ॥"

meaning :—

'Darbhah may be derived from the roots दम्भ, भिदि, and भिदिर् meaning to overpower, to break to pieces and to cut asunder respectively.'

To derive it from भिद् or भिदिर् however the word दर्भः will have to be derived from two roots, because the letter भ alone will be obtainable from these roots. For the letter द therefore the root दृ will have to be approached. The etymological form will then be :—

"दृणातेर्दकारमादत्ते दृणोतेर्वा, भकारं भिन्दतेर्भिनत्तेर्वा। एवं हिंसाकर्मणः दृणोतेर्विदारणकर्मणः दृणातेः भिनत्तेश्च, अवयवीकरणकर्मणः भिन्दतेः दर्भः सिध्यति। दम्भनकर्मणः वा स्यात् दम्भोतेः ॥"

## XIII. Apámárgah

Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa IV, Súkta 17, Maṇtras 6 and 7, as also Káṇda VII, Súkta 65, Maṇtra 3, state :—

".....अपामार्ग त्वया वयं सर्वं तदपमृज्महे ॥"

which means :—

'.....By means of thee, O Apámárga! do we wash away all that.....'

In the Maṇtra following, i.e. the 8th, we read :—

"अपामार्ग..... तेन ते मृज्म आस्थितमथ त्वमगदश्चर ॥"

अथर्व० कां० ४ सू० १७ मं० ८ ॥

which means :—

'Apámárgah is..... By means of same (O patient!) do we wash away thy well-established (disease). Henceforth do thou move freely as a healthy person.'

Again Atharva. Káṇḍa IV, Súkta 18, Maṇtra 7, says :—

"अपामार्गोऽपमार्ष्टु क्षेत्रियं शपथश्च यः।
अपाहतायातुधानीरप सर्वा अराय्यः ॥ ७ ॥"

meaning :—

'May Apámárgah wash away....away.....away.....'

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The next Maṇtra, i.e. the 8th, reads :—

"अपमृज्य यातुधानानप सर्वा अराय्यः ।
अपामार्ग त्वया वयं सर्वं तदपमृज्महे ॥ ८ ॥"

अथर्व० कां० ४ सू० १८ मं० ८ ॥

which means :—

'Having washed away.....away.....O Apámárgah! by means of thee do we wash away all such stuff.'

Again Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa VII, Súkta 65, Maṇtra 2, runs as under :—

"यद् दुष्कृतं..... त्वया तद् विश्वतोमुखापामार्गापमृज्महे ॥"

meaning :—

'O all-round-digging Apámárgah! by means of thee do we wash away all evil.....'

All the above references force upon us the etymology of the word Apámárgah which may be summed up as follows :—

"अपामार्गः मार्ज्यतेर्शोधनकर्मणः मार्ष्टेर्वा गतिकर्मणः अपपूर्वात् ॥"

i.e. Apámárgah is derived from the root मृजूष्, meaning to purify or to move, in its causative form, and preceded by the prefix अप.

## XIV. Rohaṇi

Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa IV, Súkta 12, Maṇtra 1, reads :—

"रोहण्यसि रोहण्यस्थ्नश्छिन्नस्य रोहणी । रोहयेदमरुन्धति ॥"

meaning :—

'O Rohaṇi! thou are Rohaṇi—the cement for a fractured bone. O unfailing one! (kindly) cement this (fracture).'

Again in Maṇtra 3 do we read thus :—

"..... समस्थ्यपि रोहतु ॥ ३ ॥" अथर्व० कां० ४ सू० १२ मं० ३ ॥

meaning :—

'.....may the bone too get cemented nicely.'

The next Maṇtra, i.e. the 4th, runs as under :—

"मज्ञा मज्ञा संधीयतां चर्मणा चर्म रोहतु ।
असृक् ते अस्थि रोहतु मांसं मांसेन रोहतु ॥ ४ ॥"

अथर्व० कां० ४ सू० १२ मं० ४ ॥

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meaning :—

'May fresh marrow grow between and fill up the injured marrow and skin the ruptured skin ; (preceded by flow of) blood, may fresh bone formation fill up the bone fracture and may muscular growth fill up the muscle rupture.'

The words "...अस्रक् ते अस्थि रोहतु..." occur again in the next Mantra, viz. the 5th, where in addition "...च्छिन्नं सं धेह्योषधे" too is mentioned which means :—

'..... O heat generating one ! kindly cement the fracture.'

The Súkta under discussion thus furnishes us with the etymology as well as the etymological meaning of the word Rohaṇi as under :—

"रोहणि रोहयतेर्संधानकर्मणः ॥"

which means :—

'Rohaṇi is derivable from रुह (रोह), to grow, in its causative form which would mean to cause growth and fill in.'

## XV. VÁR

Addressing सिन्धवः (flowing waters) does Veda state :—

"अपकामं स्यन्दमाना अवीवरत वोहिकम् ।
इन्द्रो वः शक्तिभिर्देवीस्तस्माद् वार्नाम वो हितम् ॥"

अथर्व० कां० ३ सूक्त १३ मं० ३।

and mean :—

'Your name Vár has become established (Vár—the accepted ones), because Indrah accepted you while you were flowing freely far and wide, and (thus) accepted bliss (attainable) by virtue of your powers, O Sindhu—Deities !'

This Mantra supplies us the etymology of Vár, in modern Sanskrit वारि, as under :—

"वार् वृणोतेः । यद् एनान् वृणोतीति आभिर्वा वृणोतीति ॥"

meaning :—

'Vár are so called because one accepts these or one accepts by means of these and the name is therefore derivable from the root giving वृणोति.'

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## XVI. ADHIPATIH

Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa IV, Súkta 8, Maṇtra 1, says :—

"भूतो भूतेषु पय आदधाति स भूतानामधिपति बभूव... ॥"

and means :—

'Being himself a Bhútah he furnishes other Bhútas with essentials like milk and water. Therefore has he become the governor over Bhútas.....'

This Maṇtra gives us the etymology of the word Adhipatih as under :—

"अधिपतिर्कस्मात् । पय आदधातीति सतः ॥"

meaning :—

'Why Adhipatih? because he performs the आ+दध performance in connection with पयः; in other words because he furnishes others with the essentials.'

## XVII. SÚDAH

Says Atharva Veda, Káṇḍa VI, Súkta 51, Maṇtra 2 :—

"आपो अस्मान् मातरः सूदयन्तु.....
उदिदाभ्यः शुचिरापूत एमि ॥"

which means :—

'May Waters (like kindly) Mothers well raise our status conveniently.....By means of them do I necessarily rise above, clean and thoroughly purified.'

This Maṇtra tells us that सूदयन्तु and उत् एमि are radically interconnected because having prayed for the former he receives the latter. This connection is easy to establish as the root इण् with the prefix उत् is common to both.

Rigveda too states waters to be anxious to lift their devotee to higher spheres quite conveniently. There we read as under :—

"..... देवीरापो मातरः सूदयित्नवः... ॥" ऋग्० मं० १० सू० ६४ मं० ९ ॥

meaning :—

'.....The Deity-Waters (like kindly) Mothers, desirous of conveniently lifting one high above.....'

The Deity Savitá too easily lifts one high above. Veda says :—

".....देवस्त्वा सविता सूदयतु..... ॥" अथर्व० कां० १ सू० १८ मं० ३ ॥

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meaning :—

'.....May the Deity Savitá conveniently lift you high above.....'

These references suffice to convince every student of the Veda that the correct etymology of the Vedic word Súdah, would, according to the Veda, read as under :—

"सूदः एतेः गतिकर्मणः सु उत् पूर्वात् ।
सुखेनैव सुष्ठुतया उदेति इति सूदः ॥"

which means :—

'The word Súdah is derivable from इण गतौ (to move) prefixed by सु and उत्. A Súdah is so called because he conveniently rises high and does so with pleasure.'

We have thus given above numerous examples of the etymologies of Vedic words arrived at by means of Veda-mantras themselves. In Part I all such cases only were dealt with which Yáska or other earlier writers expounded while in Part II entirely new cases were dealt with which we ourselves have arrived at. Part I thus serves to furnish a Vedic basis for Yáskyan etymologies and Part II to illustrate how new similar etymologies can be arrived at these days by the students of the Veda.

We feel the above examples are quite sufficient to serve both these objects. Both the parts together and separately as well serve to illustrate our first method of a Vedic study of the Vedas, i.e. a method by which an interpretation of Vedic words is arrived at by means of actual Vedic quotations only and without any extraneous help from the literature which developed later on.

Other methods of this Vedic study of the Vedas will be discussed later on.

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# HEALTH AND HYGIENE

## [MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

*By* GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

*Svāsthya*[1] is the Sanskrit term to signify the full meaning of the English word 'health'. In the Pali phraseology health is the *Sotthibhāva* or well-being of the self. The well-being of the self primarily consists in *ārogya* or diseaseless condition of both the body and the mind. So one need not be surprised if corresponding to the Sanskrit *ārogyaśālā*[2] (hospital, *lit.*, the home for the cure of diseases) we come across the Pali term *sotthisālā* (svasthi-śālā).[3] But the word *ārogya* itself is frequently met with throughout Pali literature, and it generally means *arogabhāva*,[4] the diseaseless condition. *Ārogya* is not, however, a mere negative term denoting merely the condition of the self free from diseases, for it also denotes a fit, or healthy condition. According to the Charaka Saṁhitā *ārogya* is that condition of the self which is characterized by harmony among the elements (*dhātusāmya*),[5] the elements constituting the entire self. In the language of the Suśruta Saṁhitā *roga* or *vyādhi*, the opposite of *ārogya*, is a condition of the self which is attended with afflictions (*dukṣa-saṁyoga*).[6] Accordingly *ārogya* is that condition of the self which is attended with the feeling of ease (*sukha-saṁyoga*)[7]. Combining all these, *roga* may be defined as that condition of the self (constituted of body, mind, and the rest) when all the parts and organs do not function together in harmony, and when it is attended with the feeling of unease, and *ārogya* is that condition of the self when all the parts and organs function together in harmony and is attended with a feeling of ease.

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[1] Suśruta Saṁ., Uttaratantra, ch. lxiv, Svasthya-vṛttamadhyāyaṁ; cf. Svāsthyaṁ=ārogyaṁ (Śabdaratnavalī)=santoṣa (Hemchandra).

[2] cf. Bhaisajyagṛhaṁ (hospital), Arthaśāstra, p. 55,—Sansk. ed., 1919; Eng. ed. (1915), Bk. ii, ch. iv. p. 61.—Shama Sastry.

[3] Mahāvaṁsa Comm., vol. I, p. 296; Sivikāsālā nāma Sivalingapatiṭṭhāpitā sālā; vijāyanagharaṁ vā; sotthisālā nāma brāhmanānaṁ sotthivacanuccāraṇasālā, gilānasālā vā.

[4] Dhammapada Comm., Sukhavagga, 8; ārogyaparamāti arogabhāvaparamā.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, Sūtrasthāna, i, 22, p. 33, धातुसाम्यमारोग्यं।

[6] *Loc. cit.*, Sūtrasthāna, i, 21-22; तदुःखसंयोगा व्याधय उच्यन्ते। २१

[7] Charaka Saṁ., Sūtrasthāna, i, 24—सुखानां योगश्च सुखानां कारणम् समं। २४ सुखसंज्ञकमारोग्यं विकारो दुःखमेव तु। Comm., p. 36, A. C. Kaviratna ed., Calcutta, 1295 B.S.

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That this was the accepted definition of disease and health is evident from Buddha's definition of *dukkha* and *sukha*, which are in some sense or other nothing but another set of terms for *roga* and *ārogya*. According to Buddha, *dukkha* is that condition of the self when all the elements do not work together in harmony, in concord (*dhātu-vissandanaṁ dukkhaṁ*), and *sukha* is that condition of the self when all the elements work together in harmony (*dhātu saṁsandanaṁ sukhaṁ*). It goes without saying that in the Buddhist terminology *sukha* carries with it the sense of ease (*sāta*), both bodily and mental (*kāyikaṁ cetasikaṁ*), and the term *dukkha* carries with it the sense of unease (*asāta*).[1] According to Charaka as there are kinds or degrees of discord so there are kinds or degrees of harmony.[2]

In the Pali Suttas one meets with as many as *five* different words to comprehend the general idea of personal well-being, and all of them occur in the usual phrase: *appābādhaṁ appātankaṁ lahuṭṭhānaṁ balaṁ phāsuvihāraṁ*.[3] The five words are: (1) *appābādha*[4]—little or no illness, (2) *appātanka*[5]—little or no fear, or good health, (3) *lahuṭṭhāna*[6]—lightness of body, (4) *bala*[7]—strength and (5) *phāsuvihāra*[8]—comfort, ease. The general idea of personal well-being was sought to be comprehended also by these *four* terms: (1) *āyu*-longevity, (2) *vaṇṇa*-brightness, (3) *sukha*-ease and (4) *bala*-strength.[9] According to the Dhammapada Commentary, of the four—*āyu, vaṇṇa, sukha* and *bala*, the main term is *āyu*, main because it is on the possibility of *āyu* that the possibility of the remaining three ultimately depends: *āyunhi vaḍḍhamāne yattakaṁ kālaṁ taṁ vaḍḍhati tattakaṁ itarepi vaḍḍhanti yeva*. And *āyu*, according to the Charaka Saṁhitā, means the organic interconnection of the body, the senses, the mind and the soul.[10] Thus the

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[1] Dhammasaṅgaṇi, pp. 9, 10, 11, 28, 230—cetasikaṁ neva sātaṁ nāsātaṁ cetosaṁphassajaṁ adukkhamasukhaṁ vedayitaṁ, etc., 152. p. 28.

[2] Charaka Saṁhitā, Sūtrasthāna, i, 21, संयोगे च विभागे च कारणं द्रव्यमाश्रितं। p, 32.

[3] Majjhima-N., Vol. II, p. 125; Milinda, p. 14.

[4] Dīgha. I, 204; III, 166; Majjh, II, 125; Aṅg. I, 25, etc.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 204; Aṅg. III, 65; 103; Mil. 14.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 204; Majjh. I, 437, 473; Mil. 14.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, 73; Aṅg. I, 244.

[8] Vin. II, 127; Dīgha, I, 204; Dhammasaṅgaṇi 1348=Miln. 367; Miln., 14; Visuddhimagga, 33.

[9] Dhammapada, 109—Abhivādanasīlissa niccaṁ vaḍḍhapacāyino cattaro dhammā vaḍḍhanti: āyu, vaṇṇo sukhaṁ balaṁ; cf. also Dham. Comm. II, 239; Manu II, 121; Mahābhārata, V, 1521.

[10] *Loc. cit.*, Sūtrasthāna, i, 12:

शरीरेन्द्रियसत्त्वात्मसंयोगो धारि जीवितम्।
नित्यगस्यानुबन्धश्च पर्य्यायैरायुरुच्यते॥ १२

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maintenance of health is the maintenance of life itself in different degrees of vigour.[1] The comprehensiveness of the meaning of *ārogya* may be realised if one interprets it in the light of the then prevalent scheme of thought which is met with in the Pali Canon in respect of evil and good (*akusala* and *kusala*)[2]: The cure of present ill, the prevention of the future occurrence of ill, the maintenance of the present weal and the future growth of weal. Going by this scheme of thought any Science of medicine or any System of treatment claiming to be comprehensive has got not only to furnish prescriptions for the cure of the present disease, but also for the prevention of the recurrence of diseases, the maintenance and enhancement of the present health. In order to attain *ārogya* in this comprehensive sense, two things are necessary: (1) the choice and application of drugs, and (2) the choice and application of the principles of hygiene. Medicines are primarily intended for curing diseases and remotely for increasing the strength and vitality,[3] and hygiene to prevent the recurrence or the emergence of fresh troubles.[4] The term hygiene is mainly concerned with *āhāra* and *vihāra*,[5] the rules of diet and the rules of personal behaviour conducive to health. The term *vihāra* connotes the whole of personal behaviour in respect of personal cleanliness, residence, movements,

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[1] The object of the Rasāyanatantra (the Science of Rejuvenation) which developed as a special branch of the Indian system of treatment, is, according to both the Charaka and Suśruta, to promote longevity, retentive memory, health and vitality. It was to deal with recipes enabling a man to retain his manhood or youthful vigour up to a good old age and to render the human system invulnerable to disease and decay:

दीर्घमायुः स्मृतिर्मेधामरोगं तरुणं वयः।
प्रभावर्णं स्वरौदार्य्यं देहेन्द्रियबलं परं॥
वाक्सिद्धिं प्रणतिं कान्तिं लभते ना रसायणात्।
लाभोपायो हि शस्तानां रसादीनां रसायणं॥ C. C. Sthāna, ch. i.

For Alberuni's comment on this see his India, ch. xvii, p. 188.

[2] Dīgha N. II, 120; Majjhima, III, 296;—anuppannānaṁ pāpakānaṁ akusalānaṁ dhammānaṁ pahānāya; uppannānaṁ pahānaya, annuppannānaṁ kusalānaṁ dhammānaṁ uppādāya; uppannānaṁ ṭhitiyā, Majjhima, II, 11.

[3] Charaka Saṁhitā I, 6; Suśruta Saṁhitā I, i, 10.—वयःस्थापनमार्युर्मेधाबलकरं रोगोपहरणसमर्थञ्च॥

[4] Charaka Saṁhitā, I, v, 5—अज्ञातानां विकाराणामनुत्पत्तिकरञ्च यत्॥ ५.
Suśruta Saṁhita, IV, xxiv,—अनागताबाधप्रतिषेधनीयं॥

[5] Charaka Saṁhitā, I, vi, 11, 16, 17.

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exercises, dressing and the rest. All these rules of health are sought to be comprehended in Ayurveda by the term *svasthavṛtti*.[1]

Here, however, we are to deal only with that narrow aspect of health and hygiene in respect of which man has to depend on plants and plant-products. We propose to deal with the subject under the following heads: (1) Medicine in General, (2) Personal Hygiene, (3) Some Hygienic Measures in General and Dental Hygiene in Particular, and (4) Hospital and its Requisites.

## Medicine in General

The subject of development of the Science of Medicine does not concern us here. It may suffice for us just to point out that beginnings of this science may be clearly traced in the Vedic hymns, especially in the hymns of the Atharva-veda, and that it reached a high state of perfection in the treatises of Charaka, and Suśruta as well as in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. The Indian word *auṣadha*, denoting medicine, is derived from *oṣadhi*, meaning perennial herb. The other term *bheṣaja* primarily denotes vegetable drugs. The latter term, however, came in course of time to have a much wider extension to denote all kinds of medicine, whether derived from plants, or from animals or from minerals (जाङ्गमौद्भिदपार्थिवं, Charaka Saṁ. I. i, 35; p. 47). The word *mūla-bhesajja*, as used in the Milinda Pañha (p. 43) means 'regimen'; or substances that are likely to increase vitality, the five such substances being *sappi, navanita, tela, madhu and phāṇita*.

With the Vedic Sages the plants were the main, if not the only, source of medicine as will appear from the following quotations:—

"Mother (of mankind), a hundred are your applications, a thousand-fold is your growth, do you who fulfil a hundred functions make this my (people) free from disease." 2

"The universal all-pervading plants assail (disease) as a thief (attacks) a cowshed; they drive out whatever infirmity of body there may be." 10

"The plants falling from heaven (divine origin) said: The man whom living we pervade, will not perish." 17[3]

The same mental preoccupation about plants in connection with Healing Science is patent also in Asoka's Rock Edict II, in

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, v, 6—स्वस्थवृत्तिमभिप्रेत्य गुणतः सम्प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ ९

Suśruta Saṁhita, Uttaratantra, lxiv, 1.

[2] Vinaya Mahāvagga, VI, 5, 1: imāni kho pañca bhesajjāni seyyath' īdam sappi navanītaṁ telaṁ madhu phāṇitaṁ bhesajjāni c' eva bhesajjasammatāni ca lokassa āhārattañ ca pharanti.

[3] Rig-veda, X, 97. Wilson's edition.

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which the Buddhist Emperor of India in speaking of the arrangements made by him for two kinds of treatment, thought only of plants and herbs, fruits and roots, i.e., substances derived from the vegetable kingdom. Coming to the still later period, we see that the Charaka Saṁhitā palpably mentions no fewer than 36 kinds of medicine prepared from plants and plant-products, such as, roots, bark, wood, exudation, stem, sap, ash, latex, fruits, flowers, oil (essential and fixed), thorns, emergences, hairs, leaves, bulbs, corms, buds and the rest.[1]

An outstanding feature of the Hindu System of Medicine was the application of fresh drugs as opposed to synthetic drugs used in modern times. That the supremacy of this method of administering fresh drug is amply verified by what Dr. Ischirch is reported to have said: "We may assuredly hope that medicine, when it has thoroughly ruined digestion with synthetical medicines, and tested all the organs of the animal body, will return to the most ancient remedies of mankind, to the medicinal plants and drugs for the utility of which the experience of the thousand years vouches."[2]

## Rules of Personal Hygiene[3]

With regard to personal hygiene the Suśruta Saṁhitā lays down certain daily rules of conduct, opining that an intelligent man

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, I, i, 35, p. 49.

मूलत्वक्क्षारनिर्यासनाडस्वरसपल्लवाः।
चाराः चीरं फलं पुष्पं भस्मतैलानि कण्टकाः॥
पत्राणि शृङ्गाः कन्दाश्च प्ररोहाश्चौद्भिदो गणः॥
मूलिन्यः षोडशैकोना फलिन्यो विंशतिः स्मृताः॥

The Vinaya Mahāvagga (VI) mentions with examples seven kinds of *bhesajjas: Vasāni bhesajjāni*, medicines consisting of different kinds of animal fat; *mūlāni bhesajjāni*, medicines consisting of roots; *kasāvāni bhesajjāni*, medicines consisting of astringent vegetable drugs; *paṇṇāni bhesajjāni*, medicines consisting of leaves; *phalāni bhesajjāni*, medicines consisting of fruits, *jatūni bhesajjāni*, medicines consisting of minerals and *loṇāni bhesajjāni*, medicines consisting of salts. Five of these belong to plants.

[2] Lancet, 2nd Oct. 1909; quoted in the Introduction of the Indian Medicinal Plants, Vol. I.

[3] Suśruta Saṁhitā, IV, xxiv; VI, lxiv; Bombay ed., 1915; English translation, Vol. II, pp. 480 sq; Vol. III, p. 396 sq; Calcutta, 1911; Charaka Saṁhitā, I, v–viii; Calcutta, 1295 B.S.; Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra, iv, 5, 6 where daily practices to be observed by a citizen are clearly enumerated, Mahesh Pal ed., pp. 120–127; Calcutta, 1313 B.S.

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desiring perfect health and a sound body should carefully observe them:

उत्थायोत्थाय सततं स्वस्थेनारोग्यमिच्छता ।
धीमता यदनुष्ठेयं तत्सर्वं संप्रवच्यते ॥ २

Acting upon these rules one is to leave one's bed early in the morning, brush one's teeth and scrape one's tongue [1] before washing one's mouth and eyes with a decoction of the bark of trees with milky juice, or with milk or Bhillodaka, or āmalaka water, or with cold water alone. In the opinion of Suśruta the face becomes handsome, and the eyesight stronger by such washings. After washing the eyes in the prescribed manner, one is to apply *añjana* (collyrium) which has the virtue of protecting the eyes from diseases:

तत्रादौ दन्तपवनं द्वादशाङ्गुलमायतम् । ४
जिह्वानिर्लेखनं रौप्यं सौवर्ण्यं वार्क्षमेव च । १३
क्षीरवृक्षकषायैर्वा क्षीरेण च विमिश्रितैः ।
भिल्लोदककषायेण तथैवामलकस्य वा ॥ १५
प्रक्षालयेन्मुखं नेत्रे स्वस्थः शीतोदकेन वा । १६
मुखं लघु निरीक्षते दृढं पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥ १७
मतं स्रोतोऽञ्जनं श्रेष्ठं विशुद्धं सिन्धुसंभवम् ।
दाहकण्डूमलघ्नं च दृष्टिलोदरुजापहम् ॥ १८
न नेत्ररोगा जायन्ते तस्मादञ्जनमाचरेत् ॥ १९

(Before going out for work) one is to chew betel-leaf along with other ingredients, this having the virtue of cleansing the mouth, imparting a sweet aroma to it, enhancing its beauty, strengthening the voice, clearing the tongue, the teeth, etc.:

कर्पूरजातिकक्कोललवङ्गकटुकाद्यैः ।
सचूर्णपूगैः सहितं पत्रं ताम्बूलजं शुभम् ॥ २१
मुखवैशद्यसौगन्ध्यकान्तिसौष्ठवकारकम् ।
हनुदन्तस्वरमलजिह्वेन्द्रियविशोधनम् ॥ २२

At the time of bathing one is to anoint first his head with oil (शिरोऽभ्यङ्गः) in order to prevent affectations of the head. The oil is

[1] The Charaka Saṁhitā, however, recommends tooth brushing twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening; I, v, 25–दो काले ।

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a means of making the hair grow luxuriantly and imparting thickness, softness and a dark gloss to it. After this one is to anoint his body (अभ्यङ्गः) with oil,[1] this being recommended as a means of imparting a glossy softness to the skin, and giving a tone to the system. After this one is to take one's bath (स्नानं) in cold water, this having the efficacy of removing somnolence, inordinate bodily heat and fatigue, allaying thirst, stopping itching and excessive perspiration, producing a fresh relish for food, removing all bodily impurities, clearing the sense organs, gladdening the mind, purifying the blood, increasing the appetite, destroying drowsiness, and increasing semen. As for the difference between the effect of applying cold water and that of applying hot water on the head, the Suśruta says that cold water so applied invigorates the eyesight, while hot water impairs it:

शिरोगतांस्तथा रोगान् शिरोऽभ्यङ्गोऽपकर्षति ।
केशानां मार्दवं दैर्घ्यं बऋत्वं स्निग्धकृष्णताम् ॥ २५
करोति शिरस्तृप्तिं सुत्वक्कामपि चाननम् ।
सन्तर्पणां चेन्द्रियाणां शिरसः प्रतिपूरणम् ॥ २६
अभ्यङ्गो मार्दवकरः कफवातनिरोधनः ।
धातूनां पुष्टिजननो मज्जावर्णबलप्रदः ॥ २७
निद्रादाहश्रमहरं खेदकण्डूत्वषापहम् ।
हृद्यं मलहरं श्रेष्ठं सर्वेन्द्रियविशोधनम् ॥ ५७
तन्द्रापापोपशमनं तुष्टिदं पुंस्त्ववर्द्धनम् ।
रक्तप्रसादनं चापि स्नानमग्नेश्च दीपनम् ॥ ५८
उष्णेन शिरसः स्नानमहितं चक्षुषः सदा ।
शीतेन शिरसः स्नानं चक्षुष्यमिति निर्दिशेत् ॥ ५९

Immediately after bathing one is to comb one's hair in order to improve its growth, remove dandruff and dirt and destroy parasites of the scalp. Along with combing one's hair is to proceed dressing which also includes *anulepana*, *ālepa* and *prasādhana*. The anulepana, i.e., anointing the body with scented paste, is to be resorted to for removing fatigue, fœtor and perspiration and giving the body a lovely appearance. The ālepa, i.e., besmearing the face with scented paste or powder, is recommended

[1] Suśruta here gives the recipe for the preparation of this oil, S.S., IV, xxiv, 27-28.

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as a means of imparting steadiness to the eyes, producing a broad and graceful contour of the cheeks and mouth, preventing their disfigurement, etc. And the prasādhana, i.e., putting on of gems, flowers, clean clothes, etc., is prescribed as a means of enhancing the beauty of the person, and maintaining cheerfulness of mind:

केशप्रसाधनी केश्या रजोजन्तुमलापहा ॥ २९
सौभाग्यदं वर्णकरं प्रीत्योजोबलवर्द्धनम् ।
स्वेददौर्गन्ध्यवैवर्ण्यश्रमघ्नमनुलेपनम् ॥ ९३
मुखालेपाद्दृढं चक्षुः पीनगण्डं तथाननम् ।
अव्यङ्गपिडकं कान्तं भवत्यम्बुजसन्निभं ॥ ९५
रक्तोन्नमथ चौजस्यं सौभाग्यकरमुत्तमम् ।
सुमनोऽम्बररत्नानां धारणं प्रीतिवर्द्धनम् ॥ ९४

One is to take one's food[1] that is wholesome. By wholesome is meant that kind of food which can nourish the body, gladden the heart, invigorate the system, maintain the bodily strength, increase appetite and vitality, improve the memory and increase the energy and span of life:

आहारः प्रीणनः सद्यो बलकृद्देहधारकः ॥ ९८
आयुस्तेजःसमुत्साहस्मृत्योजोऽग्निविवर्द्धनः ॥ ९९

One is to take daily exercises that make the body stout and strong, help the symmetrical growth of the limbs and muscles, improve the complexion and digestive powers, prevent laziness and render the body light and bright, firm and compact:

शरीरायासजननं कर्मव्यायामसञ्ज्ञितम् ।
तत् कृत्वा तु सुखं देहं विमृद्नीयात् समन्ततः ॥ ३८
शरीरोपचयः कान्तिगात्राणां सुविभक्तता ।
दीप्ताग्नित्वमनालस्यं स्थिरत्वं लाघवं मृजा ॥ ३९
श्रमक्लमपिपासोष्णशीतादीनां सहिष्णुता ।
आरोग्यं चापि परमं व्यायामादुपजायते ॥ ४०

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[1] Vātsyāyana prescribes for adult two meals a day,—पूर्वाह्णापराह्णयोर्भोजनम् सायं चेत्यवयस्य. Kāmasūtra, I, iv, 6; pp. 121-122.

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न चैनं सहसाक्रम्य जरा समधिरोहति ।

स्थिरीभवति मांसं च व्यायामाभिरतस्य च ॥ ४१

वयोरूपगुणैर्हीनमपि कुर्य्यात् सुदर्शनम् ।

व्यायामं कुर्वतो नित्यं विरुद्धमपि भोजनम् ॥ ४४, and so on.

The rules of personal hygiene in Āyurveda also include :—

(*a*) **Affusion of the body** ( सर्वाङ्गपरिसेकः )—which removes fatigue, sets up fractured bones, alleviates pain due to burns, scalds, bruises and lacerations, and subdues the actions of the deranged vāyu :

सेकः श्रमघ्नोऽनिलहृद्भग्नसन्धिप्रसाधकः ।

क्षताग्निदग्धाभिहतविषृष्टानां रुजापहः ॥ ३१

(*b*) **Massage** ( उद्वर्त्तनः )—which is recommended as a means of reducing the fat, smoothing and cleansing the skin and imparting a firmness to the latter. Megasthenes noted Indians taking to this practice by passing rollers of ebony over the skin (Mc. Crindle, p. 69) :

उद्वर्त्तनं वातहरं कफमेदोविलापनम् ॥ ५१

स्थिरीकरणमङ्गानां त्वक्प्रसादकरं परम् ॥ ५२

(*c*) **Friction** ( उद्वर्षणं ) **and rubbing** ( उत्सादनः ) **of the body with medicinal powders** :—*Udgharṣaṇa* is recommended as a means of curing itches, rash and eruptions ( उद्वर्षणं तु विज्ञेयं कण्डूकोठानिलापहं ॥ 54) ; and *utsādana* specifically for the improvement of the complexion of the females ( उत्सादनाद्भवेत् स्त्रीणां विशेषात् कान्तिमद्वपुः ॥ ५३ ).

(*d*) **Washing of the feet** ( पादप्रक्षालनम् )—This should always be done with cold water, and as a result semen increases, heart is gladdened, fatigue disappears, vision becomes clear and the soles (of the feet) free from dirt and local diseases :

पादप्रक्षालनं पादमलरोगश्रमापहम् ॥ ६९

चक्षुप्रसादनं वृष्यं रक्षोघ्नं प्रीतिवर्द्धनम् ॥ ७०

(*e*) **Application of oil to the feet** ( पादाभ्यङ्गः )—which brings on sleep, invigorates sight, softens the skin, removes fatigue, etc. :

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निद्राकरो देहसुखश्चक्षुष्यः श्रमसुप्तिनुत् ॥ ७०

पादत्वङ्मृदुकारी च पादाभ्यङ्गः सदा हितः ॥

पादरोगहरं दृष्यं रक्तोष्णं प्रीतिवर्द्धनम् ॥ ७१

(*f*) **Use of foot-wear** (पादत्रधारणम्)—which is recommended as a means of protection against diseases, and making walking easy and pleasant. Walking without shoes is definitely perilous to life and health, and is always attended with the danger of impaired vision:

सुखप्रचारमौजस्यं सदा पादत्रधारणम् ।

अनारोग्यमनायुष्यं चक्षुषोरुपघातकृत् ॥ ७२

पादाभ्यामनुपानाद्भ्यां सदा चङ्क्रमणं नृणाम् ॥ ७३

(*g*) **Shaving of hair and pairing of nails** (केशनखरोमापमार्जनम्)[1]—these when periodically done will make a man cheerful, increase his energy and impart a lightness to his body:

पापोपशमनं केशनखरोमापमार्जनम् ।

हर्षलाघवसौभाग्यकरमुत्साहबर्धनम् ॥ ७३-७४

(*h*) **Wearing of turban** (उष्णीषः)—This is recommended as a protection against wind, dust, sun and strong light; it also helps the luxurious growth of hair, etc.:

पवित्रं केशमुष्णीषं वातातपरजोऽपहम् ॥ ७५

(*i*) **Use of umbrella** (छत्रधारणम्)—This should be used as a protection against rain, wind, dust, dew and sun. It also improves one's energy, eyesight and complexion:

वर्षानिलरजोघर्मैहिमादीनां निवारणम् ।

वर्ण्यं चक्षुष्यमौजस्यं प्राङ्नरं छत्रधारणम् ॥ ७५

(*j*) **Use of stick** (दण्डधारणम्)—Which dispels the fear of dogs, snakes, tigers and like animals, and horned animals; increases one's energy, strength and patience; makes the mind firm and bold; acts as a proper support for the body and makes one fearless:

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[1] Cf. Vātsyāyana, Kāmasūtra, I, iv, 6—नित्यं स्नानं। द्वितीयकमुत्सादनं। तृतीयकं फेनकः। चतुर्थकमायुष्यम्। पञ्चमकं दशमकं वा प्रत्यायुष्यमित्यौद्दालकिः। p. 121.

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पुनः सरीसृपव्यालविषाणिभ्यो भयापहम् ॥ ७६

श्रमस्खलनदोषघ्नं स्मृतिरे च प्रशस्यते ।

सत्वोत्साहबलस्थैर्य्यधैर्य्यवीर्य्यविवर्धनम् ॥ ७७

व्यवस्थाकरं चापि भयघ्नं दण्डधारणम् ॥

(*k*) **Use of good bed and furniture** (शय्यासनं)—The Suśruta recommends the use of a soft bed or seat while taking rest. This will remove fatigue, soothe the bodily vāyu, bring on sleep and restore lost memory :

श्रमानिलहरं दृष्यं पुष्टिनिद्राधृतिप्रदम् ।

सुखं शय्यासनं दुःख्यं विपरीतगुणं मतम् ॥ ८१

(*l*) **Fanning** (बालव्यजनं)—Which is refreshing, keeps off flies and mosquitoes, arrests perspiration, removes fatigue, and fainting fits and alleviates the burning, scorching and parched sensations.

बालव्यजनमौजस्यं मक्षिकादीनपोहति ।

ग्लौषदाहश्रमस्वेदमूर्च्छाघ्नो व्यजनानिलः ॥ ८२

(*m*) **Gentle walk or stroll** (चङ्क्रमणं)—Which tends to improve one's memory, strength, digestive capacity, and increases the duration of life :

यत्तु चङ्क्रमणं नातिदेहपीडाकरं भवेत् ।

तदायुर्बलमेधाग्निप्रदमिन्द्रियबोधनम् ॥ ८०

(*n*) **Putting on armour** (वाणवारं)—Which improves one's strength, energy and complexion and gives a lustre to the body :

वाणवारं प्रजावर्णतेजोबलविवर्धनम् ॥ ७४

(*o*) **Good sleep** (निद्रा) at the proper time—Which should always be done to improve the growth, strength, vigour and complexion of the body :

पुष्टिवर्णबलोत्साहमग्निदीप्तिमतन्द्रिताम् ।

करोति धातुसाम्यं च निद्राकाले निषेविता ॥ ८८

## Some Hygienic Measures in General, and Dental Hygiene in Particular

By hygienic measures in general we mean the measures recommended for the disinfection of rooms, clothes and the rest, as

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well as for the purification of water. Here the Dental Hygiene is also accorded a special treatment for the simple reason that in almost all the treatises dealing with the subject of personal hygiene, a special stress has been laid on this subject.

**Disinfection:** Disinfection in general, according to Charaka, used to be effected by fumigating the clothes, or rooms and other places with the fumes of peacock's tail, bones of herons, mustard and ghee,—शिखिवर्हवलाकास्थिनी सर्षपाश्चन्दने च घृतयुक्तः। धूमोगृहशयनासनवस्त्रादिषु शस्यते विषनुत्॥ According to Suśruta, however, disinfection is caused by the burning of the following substances: Leaves of *nimba*, *vṛhatí*, pepper, assafœtida, *jaṭāmaṁsí*, seeds of cotton, etc., along with the tail of peacock—

मयूरपिच्छं निम्बस्यापत्राणि वृहतीफलम्।
मरिचं हिङ्गुमांसी च वीजं कार्पाससम्भवं॥ and so on.

Śārṅgadhara gives the following formula of a compound by the use of which the pests of a room can be destroyed: If a room be fumigated with a compound made up of the flowers and fruits of *arjuna* tree, *lākṣā*, *haricandana*, *guggula*, roots of white variety of *aparājitā*, *viḍaṅga*, mustard and incense, serpents, rats, bugs and other insectiferous pests and flies are destroyed.[1]

**Purification of polluted water and drinks:** Purification of polluted water, according to Suśruta, could be done in seven different modes, such as, by the immersion in it of *kataka* fruits, *gomeda* (a kind of gem), the roots of lotus plants, algāē, mosses and other water weeds, of a pearl or a crystal, or by straining through a piece of linen.[2] The water of a tank or well was to be purified by a compound of *añjana* and like things thrown into its water. This compound when thrown into a tank, the water of which is dirty, pungent, or otherwise disgustful to the taste, or of bad smell, would make the same water transparent, sweet, fragrant and invested with other good qualities.[3]

Bhāvamiśra, a later day authority, gives the following direction for the purification of polluted water—(अथ दुष्टजलस्य निर्दोषीकरणोपायः):

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[1] Śāraṅgaddhara Paddhati, ch. 88; 38, 39.

[2] Suśruta Saṁhitā, I, xlv,—तत्र सप्त कलुषस्य प्रसादनानि भवन्ति। तद्यथा—कतकगोमेदकबिसग्रन्थिशैवालमूलवस्त्राणि मुक्तामणिश्चेति॥ १७, p. 163.

[3] Cf. Visuddhimagga, Ch. XVIII, 591 (Eng. part III, p. 713)—where the following analogy is cited: As a man, wishing to purify water, gets hold of strychnos and putting his hand inside the jar, scrubs it once or twice or again and again until the mud subsides and the water becomes clear and transparent.

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निन्दितं चापि पानीयं क्वथितं सूर्य्यतापितं ।
सुवर्णं रजतं लोहं पाषाणं सिकतां मृदं ॥
भृशं संताप्य निर्व्वाप्य सप्तधा साधितं तथा ।
कर्पूरजातिपुन्नागपाटलादि सुवासितं ।
शुचिसान्द्रपटस्रावैः क्षुद्रजन्तुविवर्जितं ॥
स्वच्छं कनकमुक्ताद्यैः शुद्धं स्याद्दोषवर्जितं ॥
पर्णमूलविषग्रन्थिमुक्ताकनकशैवालैः ।
गोमेदेन च वस्त्रेण कुर्य्यादम्बुप्रसादनं ॥ भावप्रकाश ।

Purified water is then scented with the flowers of *nāgakeśara*, *campaka*, *utpala*, *pāṭalā* and others—प्रसादञ्च कर्त्तव्यं नागचम्पकोत्पलपाटलापुष्पप्रभृतिभिश्चाधिवासनमिति । Sūsruta Saṁ. I. xlv, 12; p. 162.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā gives the following recipe for scenting water (गन्धोदकं)—cardamom, *tejapatra*, and *rasāñjana*, honey, pepper *nāgakeśara* and *kuṣṭha*—all these substances are to be taken in equal shares and kept under water, and after a few days the water will be nicely scented. For this purpose we now use extracts of *ketakí* or rose flowers.

**Dental Hygiene**.—The tooth-brush, the tongue-scraper, and the tooth-pick are the three main requisites of dental hygiene. According to the Suśruta, the tooth-brush, and the tongue-scraper cleanse the mouth, remove the bad smell and enable a man to eat with relish.

मुखवैरस्यदौर्गन्ध्यशोफजाड्यहरं सुखं ।
दन्तदार्ढ्यकरं रुच्यं स्नेहगण्डूषधारणम् ॥ (I. xxiv, 14; p. 395).

He then recommends the use of branches of such trees as have an astringent, or sweet, or bitter, or sour taste for tooth-brushes. Each group is again illustrated with one example, thus—*nimba*, is best amongst the bitter, *khadira* among the astringent, *madhūka* among the sweet and *karañja* amongst the sour.—

कषायं मधुरं तिक्तं कटुकं प्रातरुत्थितः ।
निम्बश्च तिक्तके श्रेष्ठः कषाये खदिरस्तथा ॥ ६ ॥
मधूको मधुरे श्रेष्ठः करञ्ज कटुके तथा ।
क्षौद्रव्योषत्रिवर्गाक्तं सतैलं सैन्धवेन च ॥ ७[1]

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[1] Cf. Charaka Saṁhitā, I, v,—

स्वापोत्थिताग्रं द्वौ कालौ कषायं कटुतिक्तकम् ।
भक्षयेद्दन्तपवनं दन्तमांसान्यबाधयन् ॥

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A later day authority, Bhāvamiśra (I. i), is more elaborate in the details. He says: *Arka* is conducive to strength, *vaṭa* to brightness of appearance, *karañja* to victory, *plakṣa* to wealth and prosperity, *vadara* to sweet speech, *khadira* to sweet scent of mouth, *vilva* to immense wealth, *udumbara* to truth of speech, mango to recovery, *kadamba* to intelligence and memory, *campaka* to steadiness, *śirīṣa* to name, fame, longevity, health and prosperity, *apāmārga* to intelligence, memory, foresight, strength and voice, *dāḍima* to beautiful appearance, *kakuva* and *kuṭaja* to same as before, and *jāti*, *tagara* and *mandāra* dispel bad dreams:

अर्के वीर्य्यं वटे दीप्तिः करञ्जे विजयो भवेत् ।
प्लक्षे चैवार्थ-सम्पत्ति वदर्थ्यां मधुरो ध्वनि ॥
खदिरे मुखसौगन्ध्यं विल्वे तु विपुलं धनं ।
उदुम्बरे तु वाक्सिद्धिराम्रे त्वारोग्यमेव च ॥
कदम्बे तु धृतिर्मेधा चम्पके च दृढा मतिः ।
शिरीषे कीर्त्तिसौभाग्यमायुरारोग्यमेव च ॥
अपामार्गे धृतिर्मेधा-प्रज्ञाशक्तिस्तथा ध्वनिः ।
दाडिम्बे सुन्दराकारः ककुभे कुटजेस्तथा ।
जातीतगरमन्दारैर्दुःस्वप्नञ्च विनश्यति ॥

According to the same authority, one should scrupulously avoid *guvaka*, *tāla*, *hintāla*, *ketakí*, *vṛhattṛṇa kharjūra* and *nārikela*:

गुवाकस्तालहिन्तालौ केतकञ्च बृहत्तृणे ।
खर्जूरं नारिकेलञ्च सप्तैते वृणराजकाः ॥
वृणराजसमुत्पन्नं यः कुर्य्यात् दन्तधावनं ।
नरस्यगड्डालयोनिः स्याद् यावद्भूतान्न पश्यति ॥

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निहन्ति गन्धं वैरस्यं जिह्वादन्तास्यजं मलम् ।
निष्कृष्य रुचिमाधत्ते सद्यो दन्तविशोधनम् ॥ ४७
करञ्जकरवीरार्कमालतीककुभासनाः ।
ग्रसन्ते दन्तपवने ये चान्येवंविधाः द्रुमाः ॥ ४९

Cf. also Mahābhārata—

तिक्तं कषायं कटुकं सुगन्धि कण्टकान्वितम् ।
चीरिणो वृक्षगुल्माद्या भक्षये दन्तधावनम् ॥

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The Vinaya Cullavagga (v, 31, 1 ; S. B. E. 20, p. 147) enumerates the following disadvantages arising out of not using tooth-sticks : (1) it is bad for eyes ; (2) mouth becomes bad smelling ; (3) the passage by which the flavours of the food pass become impure ; (4) bile phlegm get into the food, and (5) food does not taste well.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā, which devotes a whole chapter[1] to the subject of tooth-brush, says that there may be a thousand varieties of tooth-brush according to the nature of the plant whether it is a creeper, or a climber, or a shrub, or a tree. It then gives the following direction as to the selection or rejection of plants for tooth-brush : One should not make tooth-brush of trees the origin of which is not known, of trees that are with leaves, of which knots are equal, or those that are in flowers, or have their upper parts dry, or those that have no bark at all. One is blessed with divine prowess in his body if one cleanses his teeth with tooth-brush made of the wood of such trees as *vaikaṇṭaka, śriphala* and *gambhāri* ; one gets a beautiful wife if one's teeth are cleansed by the wood of *kṣema* tree, increase of wealth if with that of *vaṭa* tree, increase of energy if with that of *arka* tree, of children if with that of *madhūka* tree and one becomes very popular if one cleanses his teeth with a brush of *arjuna* tree.

One is blessed with the favour of the goddess of wealth if one prepares his tooth-brush out of the wood of *śiriṣa* and *karañja* trees, and one has all one's ends served and all desires fulfilled if one cleanses his teeth with tooth-brushes of *plakṣa* tree. Cleansing one's teeth with a brush of *jāti* wood leads to the attainment of honour and that with *aśvattha* wood leads to the attainment of paramountcy.

Preparation of a tooth-brush out of the wood of plum and *vadara* trees ensures recovery (from diseases) and longevity. A man's wealth is increased if his tooth-brush is made of *khadira* and *vilva* wood, and all his desired things are obtained if he makes use of a brush of *atimuktaka* and *kadamba* wood.

Cleansing one's teeth with a brush of *nimba* wood leads to attainment of wealth, that with one of *karavi* wood to the attainment of food and shelter, and that with one of *bhāndāri* wood to the attainment of food in excess, and that with one of *śami* and *arjuna* wood to the destruction of one's enemies ; and that with one of *śyāmā* plant also to the annihilation of one's foes. Preparation of a tooth-brush out of the wood of *sāla, aśvakarṇa, devadāru*

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, ch. 84 : दन्तकाष्ठलक्षणम्। Sansk. Text, pp. 1003-1006 ; Bengali edition, p. 185. Translation of the text done by the author.

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and *vāsaka* ensures honour and that with the wood of *priyaṅgu*, *apāmārga*, *jambu*, and *dāḍima* guarantees popularity. 2–7.

In chapter 77 of the same treatise, we find the following recipe for **scenting a tooth-brush:** Four parts of *jātiphala*, two of *tāliśapatra*, one of cardamom, and three parts of camphor—all these are to be compounded, and with the compound the tooth-brush mentioned above, should be besmeared and dried in the sun. "If one cleanses one's teeth with this tooth-brush his face becomes beautiful and spotless and fragrant, and one's words become charming."

In the Daily Practices of the Hindus (S.B.H. XVI) the following plants are recommended for the selection of tooth-brush: Datepalm, *kadamba*, *karañca*, banyan, tamarind, bamboo, mango, *nimba*, *vilva*, *ākanda*, and fig trees.

After cleansing the teeth and gum with tooth-brush, which is generally a small branch of about 6–9 inches long,[1] it is split open and a half of it is used as a **tongue-scraper,** and then the whole thing is thrown away.

Regarding the use of a **tooth-pick** after meals, the Suśruta lays down: Particles of food adhering to the teeth or lodged between the teeth should be extracted by means of a tooth-pick, which is ordinarily a stick of grass, otherwise, these (food particles) will decompose and the mouth would be smelling very badly:—

दन्तान्तरगतं चान्नं प्रोधनेनाहरेच्छनैः ।

कुर्य्यादनिर्हृतं तद्धि मुखस्यानिष्टगन्धताम् ॥ ४८२, S.S.I., lxvi, p. 211.

All these elaborate injunctions point to one fact, namely, that the ancient Indian used to take particular care of his or her teeth and suffered less from diseases. For this he not only used tooth-brush in the early morning, but also every time after his principal meals. The practice was so much in vogue that foreign observers could not afford to overlook this daily practice in India. Ywan

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[1] Suśruta Saṁ. IV, xxiv, तत्रादौ दन्तपवनं द्वादशाङ्गुलमायतम् ॥ ४

Cf. Vinaya Cullavagga, V, 31, 2—where Bhikkhus are allowed tooth-sticks up to eight finger-breadths in length, the minimum length prescribed being four finger-breadths. S.B.E. XX, p. 148.

Cf. also—

द्वादशाङ्गुलन्तु विप्राणां क्षत्रियाणां नवाङ्गुलं ।

अष्टाङ्गुलञ्च वैश्यानां शूद्राणान्तु षडङ्गुलं ॥

चतुरङ्गुलमानेन नारीणां विधिरुच्यते ।

अन्तरप्रभवाणाञ्च षडङ्गुलमुदाहृतम् ॥ आह्निकतत्त्व ।

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Chwang, for instance, notes: After eating they cleanse their teeth with a willow stick, and wash their hands and mouth.[1] But I-Tsing gives a more detailed account of this practice under the title "Cleansing after meals". Says he: The Indians chew tooth-wood in the mouth, let the tongue as well as the teeth be carefully cleansed and purified after meals. They chew tooth-woods and clean the teeth with them and rub off the dirt of the tongue as carefully as possible. Tooth-wood is made about twelve finger-breadth in length, and the minimum length being eight finger-breadth. Its size is like the little finger. One of its ends is chewn softly and the teeth are cleansed with this soft brush. After this the wood is broken (generally with the teeth), and bending it (tongue-scraper) the tongue is rubbed. As tooth-picks small sticks of bamboo or wood flat as the surface of the little finger, and sharpened at one end may be used.

About the source, he says: Tooth-brushes are made out of a large piece of wood, small stem of tree, branch of an elm, and a willow tree (see Jātaka I, 80; Mahāvaṁsa, 23) or any sweet smelling wood, or root, or a creeper. The best one is bitter, astringent or pungent in taste, or one which becomes like cotton when chewed. The rough root of the northern Burr-weed is the most excellent. It hardens the teeth, scents the mouth, helps to digest the food, or relieves heart burning. If this kind of tooth cleaner be used the bad smell of the mouth will go off after a fortnight. A disease of canine tooth, or toothache will be cured after a month. Be careful to chew fully and polish the teeth cleanly. Toothache is very rare in India owing to their chewing the tooth-wood. Even infants of three years' old are taught how to do it.[2]

## Hospital and its Requisites

Corresponding to the Sanskrit *ārogyaśālā* (a home for the cure of diseases) we have in Pali *gilānasālā* (a hall for the sick). The term *gilānasālā* is met with in the earliest of the Pali texts and it also occurs throughout the later Pali literature.[3] Besides *gilānasālā*, we come across *sutthisālā* as an exceptional term to denote the Indian idea of a hospital. Some of the kings of Ceylon are credited in the chronicles of Ceylon (Mahāvaṁsa) with the foundation of both hospitals and maternity homes.

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[1] Beal's Records, I, ii, 8; p. 77.
[2] A Record of Buddhist Religion, Ch. v, pp. 26-27; Ch. VIII, pp. 33-35; cf. Cullavagga, v, 31, 1.
[3] Saṁyutta, IV, 210; Aṅguttara, III, 142; Visuddhimagga, 251.

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The real impetus to the building of hospitals and similar institutions was given by king Asoka who in his Rock Edict II claims to have made arrangements for two kinds of treatment (*dve cikichā kaṭā*), one suitable for men and the other for animals. If we can take him at his own words, he made those arrangements not only throughout his wide dominions but throughout the principalities of his allies as well, the territories of the five Greek rulers in the north-west, and the kingdom of Chola, Paṇḍya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra, in the south as far as Tamraparṇi.

The Arthaśāstra (Bk. II, ch. iv, 55) expressly recommends the construction of *bhaiṣajyagṛha* (another term for hospital) at the north-west corner of the compound of a fort. The same Arthaśastra refers even to an organisation similar to, if not the same as, the modern Red Cross Society. The passage in question runs thus: चिकित्सकाः शस्त्रयन्त्रागदस्नेहवस्त्रहस्ताः स्त्रियश्चान्नपानरक्षिण्य पुरुषाणां उद्वर्षणीयाः एष्ठतस्तिष्ठेयुः, that is, "physicians with surgical instruments, machines, remedial oils and bandages in their hands; and women (nurses) in charge of food and beverage".[1] The foundation of hospital, *ārogyaśālā* is praised in the Vaidyaka Sastra as a monumental work of piety. The hospital was to be equipped with the following requisites: (1) a good stock of important drugs, (2) expert physicians, (3) and a good store of food and regimen. The following are mentioned as qualities of expert physicians: that they will be well versed in the science, wise and adept in diagnosis and choice and application of drugs, as well as in the prescription of proper diet.[2] According to the Suśruta the surgical ward is to be equipped with (1) Medicine, (2) necessary articles of diet, (3) dissecting apparatus (śastras and anuśastras), including splints, (4) aspirator to drain off blood, etc., and (5) suture material and surgical box.

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[1] Bk. X, 367; Eng. transl. (1915), p. 443; See also N. Banerjee, p. 191.

[2] आरोग्यशाला—

धर्म्मार्थकाममोक्षाणामारोग्यं साधनं यतः।
अतस्तारोग्यदाता च नरो भवति सर्व्वदः॥
आरोग्यशालां कुर्व्वीत सद्भैषधपरिच्छदां।
विदग्धवैद्यसंयुक्तान् वक्त्रान्नरससंयुतां।
वैद्यस्तु शास्त्रवित् प्राज्ञो दृष्टौषधपराक्रमः॥
ओषधीमूलतत्त्वज्ञः समुद्दरणकालवित्।
बलवीर्य्यविपाकज्ञः शालिमांसौषधीगणे॥
त्यागिवद्देचिनां नद्ददनुकूलः प्रियम्वदः। इति वैद्यकं॥ शब्दकल्पद्रुमः॥

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## 1. Medicine

The first and the most essential requisite of the hospital is medicine. According to the Vaidyaka Śāstra, the *ārogyaśālā* was to be equipped with all-important medicines—महौषधपरिच्छदा। It will be preposterous to suppose that the stock of medicine consisted only of drugs derived from plants and plant-products. In the later developed stage of the system of treatment the drugs were prepared from the vegetable, animal, as well as mineral sources. But whatever the main ingredient of an Indian drug, in actual application it was generally accompanied by a fresh drug (अनुपान) for which the primary source is plant.[1]

## 2. Articles of Diet

The next requisite of a hospital, according to the Vaidyaka Śāstra, is a sufficient store of wholesome food and regimen (बल्लन्नरसः). So far as plant products are concerned, the articles of diet consisted of different kinds of rice, such as *śāli* and *ṣaṣṭhika, mudga, māṣa, yava, tila, kulattha, vadara, mṛdvika, paruṣaka, abhayā, āmalaka, vibhītaka* and other classes of medicaments. (Charaka Saṁhitā, I, xv). As far as the pure medical side goes the Charaka Samhitā (I, xv) gives an elaborate description of a nursing home giving a detailed direction as to the construction of the home and its equipment as regards the personnel, the drugs, provisions of foodstuff, sanitation, and the method of treatment of diseases and nursing the patients, both during the attack and convalescence.

## 3. Surgery[2]

That the science of surgery was far advanced in Suśruta's time is definitely evident from a clear instruction given for the dissection of the dead body in the Suśruta Saṁhita: "Any one desirous of acquiring a thorough knowledge of anatomy should prepare a dead body and carefully observe (by dissecting it), and examine its different parts. For a thorough knowledge can only be acquired by direct personal observation." The picture of the practice seems almost modern. Here it is: "the body must first be disembowelled, and wrapped round with the outer sheaths of *muñja* grass, or hemp,

[1] This subsection may be read with the general section 'Medicine in General'.

[2] For a detailed information see Mukherjee's Surgical Instruments, Vol. I, ii; Suśruta Samhitā, Śārīrasthāna, Ch. V, 49, 50–56; Sūtra-sthāna, Chs. VII, IX, etc.; Eng. transl. Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 56–63; 71–73; 171-172.

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*kuśa* or other grasses, then kept immersed in still water for seven days, after which the medical student should proceed to remove the layers of the skin with a carefully prepared brush made of the grass roots, hairs, *kuśa* blades, or strips of split bamboo, and carefully observe with his own eyes all the various different organs, external and internal, beginning with the skin as described before". But the above was the final course in practical surgery. Before that the students were asked to try their knives repeatedly on artificial objects resembling the diseased parts of the body before undertaking an actual operation. Incision, for example, was practised on *puṣpaphala*, *alābu*, water-melon, cucumber or *ervāruka* or *trapuṣa*; venesection was practised on the stalks of water lilies; the art of probing and stuffing on worm-eaten wood, bamboo reeds, or on the mouth of dried *alābu*; extraction of solid bodies by withdrawing seeds from the kernel of *vimbī*, *vilva* or *panasa*, scraping on wax spread on a *śālmalī* plank and suturing on pieces of cloth, skin or hide. There were 4 methods by which dissection or operation could be done, namely, with apparatus, instruments, alkalies and fire (यन्त्र-शस्त्र-क्षाराग्नि प्रनिधान, etc.):

(*a*) Surgical apparatus (*yantra*)—Alābu (gourd) yantra[1] is mentioned by both the Charaka (VI, vii) and the Suśruta (I, xiii)—सान्तर्दीपयाऽलाव्वा। Its mode of preparation is described. It used to be employed for draining blood or phlegm from the body—like modern cupping glasses.

(*b*) Surgical instruments (*Śastra*)—bamboo-skin was one of the materials out of which these instruments used to be made सुवर्णादि-धातुवृत्तवेणुभिः। Some of these instruments were named and fashioned after some plant parts, such as, *masūra-dāla-mukha*, *jambhava-vadana*, *mukulāgra*, *mālatipuṣpa-vṛntāgra*—śalākā (rod-shaped) yantras. Some knives were even named as *utpalapatra*, *kuśapatra*, *vṛihimukha*, and *vetasapatraka* (S. S. I, vii).

(*c*) Substitutes for cutting-instruments (*anuśastras*)—These were subsidiary apparatus made out of plants and other things used for dissecting purposes. These were—अनुशस्त्राणि तु त्वक्सारस्फटिकाचकुच-विन्दजलौकाग्निक्षारनखगोजी-प्रेषालिका प्राकपत्रकरीरवालाङ्गय इति। (S. S. I. vii).

Of all these *Anuśastras kṣāra* (caustics) are the best, शस्त्रातुशस्त्रेभ्यः क्षारः प्रधानतमश्छेद्यभेद्यलेख्यकरणात्, etc (S. S. I, ch. xi, 2; Charaka Sam., Cikitsāsthāna, ch. xxviii, 26, kṣāra-āgada; Roy's Hist. Hindu Chemistry I (1902), p. 17). For the preparation of alkalies, their

[1] Cf. Sūtrakṛtāṅga: alābucchejja-alābucchedam pippalakādi śastram; Bk. I, Lec. iv, Chs. 2, 4; S.B.E. 45.

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uses, different strengths, external and internal use the Suśruta (I, xi) and Rasārnava (रत्नसारः, vii, 12-13) may be consulted. The sharp action of alkalies may be relieved when mixed with acid—

अम्लेन सह संयुक्तः स तीक्ष्णलवणोरसः।
माधुर्य्यं भजतेऽत्यर्थं तीक्ष्णभावं विमुञ्चति ॥ S. S. I. xi, 15.

(*d*) Splints—were also in use for surgical purposes, as they are now. Suśruta prescribes the bark of the following plants for the purpose:

मधुकोदुम्बराश्वत्थपलाशककुभत्वचः।
वंशसर्जवटानां वा कुशार्थमुपसंहरेत् ॥ S. S. IV, iii.

Bhāvamiśra adds *nicula* to the above list. Vāgbhaṭa II, gives the following list with a direction as to the application of the splint, thus:

कदम्बोदुम्बराश्वत्थसर्जार्जुनपलाशजैः।
वंशोद्भवैर्वा पृथुभिस्त्वनुभिः सुनिवेशितैः ॥
सुश्लक्ष्णैः सुप्रतिरूपम्मै वल्कलैः शकलैरपि।
कुशाच्चयैः समं बन्धं पट्टस्योपरि योजयेत् ॥[1]

That the ancient splints made of bark were in some respects more efficient than their counterparts will be evident from the following quotations: "Dr. Jacobi of Dublin says that he has seen an excellent splint made from the fresh bark of a tree taken off while the sap is rising. It fits admirably, says he, just like a paste-board soaked in water (Hamilton's Fractures and Dislocations, 5th ed., pp. 50-51). Dr. C. C. Jewt recommends for the same purpose the bark of Leriodendron, or tulip tree (the 20th Mass. vol. I)."[2]

## 4. Suture material

For this Suśruta recommends the following:

सीव्येत् सूक्ष्मेण सूत्रेण वल्केनाश्मन्तकस्य वा।
शनजक्षौमसूत्राभ्यां स्नायुना वालेन वा पुनः।
मुर्वागुडूचितानैर्वा, etc. (S. S. I, xxv).

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[1] Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya Saṁhitā, VI, xxvii.
[2] Quoted in Mukherjee's Surgical Instruments, p. 195

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After properly suturing the ulcer 'should be covered over with cotton and dusted over with a pulverised compound consisting of the powders of *priyaṅgu*, *añjana*, *yaṣṭimadhu* and *rodhra*, or with the ashes of a burnt piece of *kṣauma* cloth, or with the powders of the *śallaki* fruit.' Finally the bandage is completed by wrapping with *kṣauma* cloth, *patroṇa*, *antaravalkala*, *alābu śakala*, *latā-vidala*, and *tulāphalaṁ* among various other articles.[1]

## 5. Surgical box

The Suśruta finally recommends that proper care should always be taken of the surgical instruments, and to preserve the sharp edges of the cutting instruments a sheath, or receptacle made of the wood of *śālmali* should always be used:

धारसंस्थापनार्थं शाल्मली फलकमिति। S.S.I., viii.

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[1] Suśruta Saṁhitā, I, xvii; English transl. Vol. I, p. 166.

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# THE *WIZĀRAT* UNDER THE SLAVE KINGS

*By* ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

According to the latest authorities on Philology and Linguistics, the word *Wazīr* is of Iranian origin. A distinguished writer correctly observes that the institution of *Wizārat* was 'an exotic flower, having its origin in Persia, and only planted among Muslims when Persian influence began to be perceived and felt'.[1] The kings of Persia held their Wazīrs in great honour, and under them the Wazīrs were the managers of all affairs of state.

The word *Wazīr* literally means 'one who bears the burden of office', and in this sense it occurs in the Qur'ān.[2] 'This passage, as well as the impossibility of discharging all the functions of the Government, induced the Muslim jurists to advocate the appointment of Wazīr and even to go the length of saying that the appointment of a Wazīr or Wazīrs is not only permissible but actually recommended by the law of God, so that the duties of the Governor might be performed better and error avoided'.[3] It is interesting to note that the same ground,—that is, 'the impossibility of discharging all the functions of the Government',—led the old writers on Hindu polity to recommend the employment of ministers. Kautilya[4] says: 'Sovereignty can be carried on only with assistance. A single wheel does not move; hence the king shall employ ministers and hear their advice'. Manu[5] says that the king must have colleagues, and lays down the dictum that even ordinary business should not be done by one man, not to speak of the conduct of a kingdom. Yājnavalkya[6] says that the king should discuss the affairs of state with his ministers. Kātyāyana[7] says that the king should not decide even a law-suit without consulting his ministers. In the *Sukranītisāra*[8] we find that affairs of state should never be considered by the king without the help of his ministers.

The rudimentary functions of the infant Arab state during the rule of the first four Caliphs did not necessitate the appointment of Wazīrs. The office 'faintly emerges into light under the last Omayyads and reaches its full stature and development under the

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[1] S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*, p. 261.
[2] *Sūrah* 20, 30–35. Rodwell, *Koran*, pp. 85, 86.
[3] S. Khuda Bukhsh, p. 262.
[4] I, 7.
[5] VII, 30-31, 55-56.
[6] Book I, 311.
[7] *Vīra-Mitrodaya*, p. 14.
[8] II, 2–4.

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'Abbāsids'.[1] The power and authority of the Wazīrs varied in proportion to the abilities of the sovereigns whom they served. Two very important treatises deal with the position of the Wazīr in the Islāmic state: Māwardī's *Maxims of Wizārat*, and *Kitab Adābu-l-Wuzarā'*. Two kinds of *Wizārat* are generally distinguished: one which is unlimited in its powers (*Wazīru-t-Tafwīdh*) and one which is limited. In the former, 'the Caliph and the Wazīr had practically concurrent and co-ordinate jurisdiction'; in the latter, the Wazīr was 'a mere instrument of the Government, the conduit-pipe, so to speak, between the ruler and the ruled'.[2] A non-Muslim was declared to be eligible for the *Wazīru-t-Tanfīdh* (the limited *Wizārat*) by Māwardī, the great Muslim jurist of the eleventh century; but 'this highly liberal and enlightened sentiment' of Māwardī was challenged by later authorities.[3]

For historical purposes we may readily accept Raverty's statement that 'Wazīr no doubt means Prime Minister from the time of the first Khalīfahs down to the present time'.[4] Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznā utilized the services of Wazīrs[5]; so did Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad *ibn* Sām.[6] Their successors in India were not slow to follow the old Muslim custom.

Minhāj-ud-dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* is our principal source of information for the history of the Slave Sultāns up to the fifteenth year of the reign of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. Minhāj-ud-dīn is, on the whole, a careful and reliable writer. He often enters into details which are specially valuable for the light they throw upon administrative history.

We may be quite sure that Qutb-ud-dīn, the first Slave Sultān, had his Wazīr to assist him, but our historian does not give us any information about this officer. The story of the brief reign of Ārām Shāh is narrated without any reference to his Wazīr, if he had any.

Iltutmish was fortunate enough to secure the services of a loyal and efficient Wazīr, a general summary of whose long career may be culled from the pages of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*.[7] The name of the Wazīr was Nizām-ul-Mulk Kamāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Jūnaidī.[8] It is not strange that in an age when the civil and military functions of the State were not sharply distinguished the Wazīr, whom we naturally regard as the head of civil administration, should have

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[1] S. Khuda Bukhsh, p. 262.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 265, 267.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 268–70.
[4] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 694, Note 4.
[5] M. Nazim, *Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznā*, pp. 132–7.
[6] Raverty, p. 489.
[7] Raverty, pp. 544, 613, 625, 634–36, 639–41.
[8] It is clear that the title Nizām-ul-Mulk was customarily associated with the office of the Wazīr. Briggs (*Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, Vol. I, p. 209) points out that Jūnaidī was the first Wazīr to receive this title.

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participated in warfare. On one occasion at least Iltutmish despatched his Wazīr at the head of his troops against Nāsir-ud-dīn of Sind.[1]

Unfortunately, however, the veteran Wazīr did not consider it his duty to observe steadfast loyalty to the descendants of Iltutmish. He apparently retained his office on the accession of Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh.[2] When 'the minds of men in authority became troubled' at the conduct of the Sultān and his mother Shāh Turkān (who had 'assumed the decision and disposal of State affairs' and begun to 'issue (her) commands'), 'the hostility of the Maliks, in different parts, began to be manifested'. The Wazīr identified himself with the cause of the hostile Maliks. It is difficult for us to understand his real motive. Minhāj-ud-dīn says that he 'became frightened'. Whether he was afraid of the Sultān or of the rebellious nobles we do not know. He may have, reasonably or unreasonably, incurred the suspicion of the Sultān and considered it necessary to join the nobles in self-defence; or he may have preferred the stronger party to the weaker. Be that as it may, his son lost his life in an engagement with the Sultān's troops. Very soon, however, Raziyyat occupied the throne, and Rukn-ud-dīn was 'received into the Almighty's mercy'. The part played by the Wazīr in this struggle may be justified only on the ground that as a prominent noble occupying the highest office in the State it was his duty to rise in protest against the tyranny of an incompetent king.

It is rather strange, however, to find that Jūnaidī did not acknowledge Raziyyat even when her accession was an accomplished fact. In conjunction with some other nobles he 'commenced hostilities against Sultān Raziyyat and his opposition continued for a considerable time'. The strength of the opposition was broken later on by the treachery of some of the Wazīr's associates, and Jūnaidī ended his life in exile. The laconic statements of the contemporary historian do not allow us to determine the reasons that led the Wazīr to oppose Raziyyat. Whether he was fighting for any other descendant of Iltutmish we do not know. His opposition may

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[1] Muhazzab, Wazīr of Bahrām Shāh, was sent against the Mughals 'for the purpose of guarding the frontiers'. Raverty, p. 657.

[2] Minhāj-ud-dīn (Raverty, p. 631) tells us that Rukn-ud-dīn had a Wazīr named 'Ain-ul-Mulk Husain-i-Ash'ari *before* his accession (*i.e.*, when he was governor of Budā'ūn). Raverty takes the word Wazīr in this connection to mean governor or tutor. Is this explanation quite satisfactory? There was nothing to prevent provincial governors from having Wazīrs. In any case, Iltutmish may well have provided his inexperienced son with the expert advice and assistance of one who had already distinguished himself in the service of Nāsir-ud-dīn.

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have been due to his aversion to the rule of a woman, although we have no data to authorize this conjecture.

When she was firmly seated on the throne Raziyyat gave the office of Wazīr and the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk to Khwājah Muhazzab-ud-dīn.[1] The new Wazīr had previously been the deputy of Jūnaidī. This statement allows us to infer that the Slave Sultāns had two Wazīrs, although we know nothing about the powers and position of the Deputy Wazīr.

Muhazzab-ud-dīn retained his office after the accession of Bahrām Shāh. Minhāj-ud-dīn says that Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Aet-kīn (who was appointed Deputy of the kingdom), 'in conjunction with the Wazīr . . . assumed control over the disposal of state affairs'. Political as well as personal grounds[2] led to a breach between the Sultān and his Deputy. Two 'reckless Turks' despatched by the Sultān murdered the Deputy and wounded the Wazīr. Whether the Wazīr had incurred the displeasure of the Sultān by his close association with the Deputy in the management of affairs is not clear; but it is somewhat strange to find that he was not deprived of his office.[3] The whole episode reveals the dangerous weakness of the Crown, which could not remove its officials in the ordinary way and had to take recourse to intrigues and murders. However, the Sultān seems to have given his confidence to Malik Badr-ud-dīn Sunqar who 'became Amīr-i-Hājib and assumed the direction of state affairs'. The assumption of the direction of the state affairs by the Amīr-i-Hājib was an encroachment upon the functions of the Wazīr, and the inevitable result was a jealous rivalry between the two officials. The Amīr-i-Hājib 'used to seek to acquire superiority over the Wazīr . . . and liked to issue his own orders', while the Wazīr 'was in the habit of influencing the Sultān's disposition' against him. When 'the Sultān's temper became quite changed' towards the Amīr-i-Hājib, he tried to dethrone Bahrām Shāh in favour of one of his brothers. The alertness of the Wazīr destroyed the plot, and the Amīr-i-Hājib had to pay the penalty with his life. Bahrām Shāh seems to have fallen an easy prey to the Wazīr, when the latter suddenly decided 'to avenge the wounds he had received' by organizing a rebellion of the nobles. His conduct in this crisis is almost inexplicable. Why should he try to dethrone a Sultān who had lent a willing ear to his protests against his political adversaries? Why should he try 'to avenge the wounds he had received' (when

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[1] Raverty, pp. 641, 650–55, 658–662.

[2] Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn married a sister of the Sultān and assumed the triple *naubat*.

[3] We read in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* (K. K. Basu, p. 26) that he 'continued carrying on the affairs of the State as of old'.

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he was an ally of Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn) at a moment when his predominance in the State was almost assured? His great talent for intrigue, which had ruined the ambitious Amīr-i-Hājib, was now employed against the unfortunate Sultān. 'He continued', says Minhāj-ud-dīn, 'to raise the Sultān's apprehensions against the Amīrs and Turks, and was exciting the fears of the Amīrs against the Sultān, until, at last, this fact spread abroad like a pestilence, and was the cause of the dethronement of the Sultān, and rebellion among the people'. He advised the Sultān to issue an edict authorizing him to 'destroy all the Amīrs and Turks, by such means as may be attainable, in order that the country may be clear (of them)'. The Sultān, 'according to the way of precipitancy and youthfulness', complied with his request. The crafty Wazīr then 'showed the very edict itself to the Amīrs and Turks', who naturally 'pledged themselves to effect the expulsion and dethronement of the Sultān'. The result was no longer in doubt. The city of Delhi was taken, and the Sultān 'attained martyrdom' after a stormy reign of a little more than two years.

On the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh Muhazzab-ud-dīn was again made Wazīr. His success seems to have interfered with his judgment. He 'acquired complete power over the kingdom and appropriated (the district of) Kol as his own fief. Previous to this he had established the *naubat*, and stationed an elephant at the gate of his own residence'. Even these encroachments upon royal authority and pomp might have been tolerated, but he alienated the Turk Amīrs by taking all functions out of them. They naturally resented this attempt to deprive them of their position in the State, and solved the problem by putting the ambitious Wazīr to death.

The office of Wazīr thereupon passed to Najm-ud-dīn.[1] Of his activities during the reign of Mas'ūd Shāh nothing is known.

Minhāj-ud-dīn does not give us a list of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd's Wazīrs.[2] We are told that in the eighth year of his reign 'the

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[1] Raverty, pp. 663-4, 698.

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* (K. K. Basu, p. 32) says that after Nāsir-ud-dīn's accession the post of Wazīr was conferred on Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban. This statement can hardly be regarded as accurate. As Raverty (p. 814) points out,—'What office Ulugh Khān held, after the accession of the new Sultān, is not mentioned, but we may assume that he was confirmed in his former office of Amīr-i-Hājib'. Minhāj-ud-dīn says (Raverty, p. 820) that, after the marriage of Balban's daughter with the Sultān, 'the status of Ulugh Khān was raised, from the rank of Malik and Amīr-i-Hājib, to the dignity and eminent position of Khān, and... [a mandate] issued from the sublime Court, conferring the Deputyship of the kingdom and leadership of the forces... upon that incomparable individual'. This statement clearly shows that Balban was *directly promoted* from the post of Amīr-i-Hājib to that of the Deputy of the kingdom, and prevents us from assuming

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*masnad* of the Wazīrship was transferred ' to Muhammad Jūnaidī.[1] He held the office for about a year, for in the ninth year of the reign ' the Wazārat-i-Mamālik (Wazīrship of the realm) fell to the charge, for the second time ', of Najm-ud-dīn [2] whom we have already met. Three years later the office passed to Tāj-ud-dīn.[3]

So far as the history of the last two slave kings is concerned, we have no contemporary historian to guide us, and we have to depend reluctantly upon the work of Baranī. He ' declares that what he has written upon the life and actions of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban he himself heard from his father and grandfather, and from men who held important office under that sovereign '.[4]

We are told that three days before his death Balban summoned to his presence some of ' his favourite servants ' including Khwājah Husain Basrī, the Wazīr, and asked them to acknowledge Kai-Khusrav, his grandson, as his successor.[5] But these ' favourite servants ', who naturally ' had great power in the city ', set aside the Sultān's nomination after his death, and placed Kaiqubād on the throne.[6]

' From the day that Balban, the father of his people, died, all security of life and property was lost, and no one had any confidence in the stability of the kingdom '.[7] This statement of Barani is justified by the facts narrated by him. The young monarch ' was engrossed with pleasure and conviviality ', and the government of the country was in the hands of Malik Nizām-ud-dīn, who was the Deputy of the State.[8] ' His head was filled with ambitious designs ', and he used his influence over the Sultān for the humiliation and ruin of other prominent nobles and officials. He ' brought a charge ' against Khwājah Khatīr, the Wazīr, and ' had him placed upon an ass, and paraded through the whole city '. Naturally this unusual ' punishment increased the terror which all the nobles and officers felt '. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to dwell upon the

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that he ever occupied the post of Wazīr. Therefore, Ferishta's statement (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 235) that ' the office of minister ' was conferred upon Balban cannot be accepted. We cannot prefer later writers to the contemporary historian who was himself a favourite of Balban.

[1] Raverty, p. 693. One of his titles was ' Ain-ul-Mulk which, says Raverty, was ' peculiar to Wazīrs'.

[2] When and why he lost his office we do not know.

[3] Raverty, p. 710.

[4] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 97.

[5] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 124.

[6] For the reason, see Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 124.

[7] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 125.

[8] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 126–8.

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circumstances leading to the death of Kaiqubād and the fall of the Slave Dynasty.

We have reviewed the careers of those Wazīrs of the Slave Kings whose stories are now available, and we may be almost sure that other Wazīrs whose activities are not noticed by the historians acted in an identical manner. We have seen that the Wazīr's pre-eminence as the chief minister of the Sultān was sometimes threatened by the Deputy of the State, and that on some occasions at least the weak monarchy of that disturbed age allowed favouritism to encroach upon the customary authority of its principal adviser. Whether the *Wizārat* under the Slave Kings was to be a *Wazīru-t-Tafwīdh* or a *Waziru-t-Tanfīdh* depended upon the character of the Sultān and the personality of the Wazīr, irrespective of any political theory and even any customary rule. In general, the Wazīr was entrusted with the civil administration of the State, although we have come across instances where he was entrusted with military duties. In the days of Fīrūz Shāh ' the accounts were rendered to and recorded in the exchequer (*dīwān-i-wizārat*) so that the exchequer not only kept an account of the land revenues (*iktā'*), but also of the expenditure of the kār-khānas (royal establishments) '.[1] We are not in a position to determine whether the *dīwān-i-wizārat* discharged this duty in the thirteenth century. On the whole, the history of the *Wizārat* in the days of the Slave Kings seems to show that a rudimentary system of civil administration was being painfully built up against a background of military conquest, monarchical weakness, and baronial turbulence.

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[1] Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 357.

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# WHAT BUDDHA PREACHED

*By* B. C. MAZUMDAR

In his paper on the Aspects of Nirvāṇa (*ibid.*, pp. 327–335), Dr. B. C. Law has very admirably set out the interpretations by the *Buddhists* of the term Nirvāṇa or rather of the state of Nirvāṇa by examining various passages of the old Pali text-books. Dr. Law's learned exposition makes it abundantly clear that the early Buddhists considered the state of Nirvāṇa to be a positive consciousness of a real and undying or everlasting goal attainable by pursuing the path of Dhamma. What, however, Sākyamuni, the Buddha, himself said of the character of this goal, is very difficult to ascertain, even though the Buddhists as commentators of the old canonical works assure us that the sayings of the Buddha have been correctly represented by them, for in reporting what constitutes the text the reporter begins with the statement—'So have I heard'. In respect of some such collections of the Khuddaka division as the Dhammapada or the Udānam, an exception may be made, for the utterances in them are said to have been the very utterances of Sākyamuni. To prepare, therefore, my ground to ascertain the faith of Buddha himself and not of the Buddhists, I take up now the Udānam under consideration.

In the J.R.A.S. for 1911 (p. 197) I invited the attention of Pali scholars to the readings of several verses of Udānam which appeared to me to be incorrect when I was translating them into Bengali. My suggestions for reconstruction of the texts were also submitted to the judgment of the scholars. My reasons for the corrections I have suggested of the texts are :—

I, 4—The metre is Indravajrā which undoubtedly attained perfection in the fifth century B.C. The first portion of the verse from *Yo* to *Dhammo* is perfectly faultless, but *Nīhuhunko* in the second foot and *Vusito* in the third, show unexpected irregularities. We may read *Vūsito* for *Vusito* very easily as both forms may represent in the Pali the Sanskrit word *Vyuṣitaḥ*. *Nīhuhunko* seems to convey no meaning. With reference to the Huhunka Brāhmaṇas (who, by the way, were never notorious for haughtiness) it cannot mean 'not haughty' as has been suggested by one translator. The Pali word *Nihimsako* (Sanskrit *Niḥ+himsakaḥ*) which could be easily misread as *Nīhuhunko*, improves the metre and the meaning of the verse. I may also note that the Atharva-vedī Brāhmaṇas were once called *Himsakāḥ*.

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One point is clear beyond a shadow of doubt ; the word *Brāhmaṇo* after *dhammena so* in the fourth foot crept into the text from a marginal explanatory note. As such this word with three additional syllables must be expunged. Though the verse would not suffer in any way if the whole of the fourth foot were left out, I cannot and should not assert that the whole of the fourth foot is but a portion of a marginal note, for even in later times an *Indravajrā* verse was composed with an additional foot.

I, 8—I need hardly state that the introductory stories for the *Udānas* (explaining the occasion for the inspired utterances) are not very authentic. I am inclined to reject the story of *Sangāmaji* solely on the ground that the honorific addition *ji* for a man did not come into vogue in early Buddhistic times. The name *Sangāmaji* occurs also in the Netti-Prakaraṇa (p. 150), but this was also undoubtedly done by way of addition at a later time.

The meaning of the first line of the verse is very clear. '(He) welcomes him not who comes to him, and mourns not his loss who passes away'. Consistently with this we expect something to be stated with reference to *Sanga* and *Asanga* (*Sangāsanga*) and those words are really there. But the words *Sanga* and *Sangāmajim* are rather stumbling blocks ; for even in the light of the introductory story the second line cannot be construed correctly in accordance with grammar. I am strongly inclined to think that the last portion of the compound word *Sangāsanga* being partially illegible, the early editor introduced the story and brought about a restoration of the text in conformity with his story. This was also done in a slovenly way, as no good grammatical construction is possible. Consistently with what has been stated in the first line of the verse I beg to suggest that *Ujjhitam* is the likely word which formed a compound with *Sangāsanga* in the form *Sangāsangojjhitam*. There is no doubt that this compound word improves the text in all respects.

II, 3—It is quite clear that the words *Sukhakāmāni bhūtāni* have also crept into the text from some marginal notes. The very metre requires that these words should be expunged. Then, again, I prefer *pacca* (or *paccā*) of MS.A. to *pecca* which Dr. Steinthal has adopted, for, it is inconsistent with other teachings of the Buddha that happiness as a reward in the other world should be held out as an incentive for doing duties here. *Pacca* or *paccā* (Sanskrit *paśchāt*) as an adverb may mean 'afterwards' in the usual sense.

II, 4—I think that the text improves if we accept the reading *Dasātha* of the MS.B. in the second line. The meaning then would be : Whether living in a village or in forests a man who is *Sukha-dukkha-phuṭṭo* thinks in this fashion—*Aham sukhito ca, aham dukkhito ca, parena idam mahyam sukha-dukkham uppāditam.*—' This has not

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been caused by me (*neva attato*), this (*atha* or *itha*) condition (*daśā*) of ours (*no*) comes from others (*parato*), etc.'

*Phusseyyum* in the fourth line is clearly incorrect. We must read *phusseyyu*, for the meaning is—'In what way then (*kena*) should *phassa* affect (*phusseyyu*) him who is *nirupādhi*?'

II, 5—I am inclined to read *Vatam* (Sanskrit *vratam*) for *vata* (an *Avyaya* indicating certainty) in the text, as in the first place the metre becomes faultless thereby, and in the second place the meaning of the text improves. We clearly see by referring to the second line of the verse that the words were addressed to one who had recently adopted the Buddhist faith. So he was reminded that *vrata* (duty) does not become easy of fulfilment merely for the reason of having heard much of religious principles, etc.; and that in spite of such knowledge a man may remain *sakinchana* and so may not get salvation.

A word on Buddhistic Eschatology. All the distinguished scholars who are authorities on Buddhism, have declared that Gotama Buddha stripped himself of all illusions of popular religious ideas including what in their opinion is the illusion of a God-head. The name of Prof. Rhys Davids is a name of great authority. It will be hardly an exaggeration to state that the reading public has accepted the dictum of the learned professor 'that Buddhism, alike in its ethics and in its views of the past and of the future, ignores the two theories of God and the soul'. Paul Dhalke goes a step farther and asserts with perfect clearness that Gotama Buddha not only avoided stating anything regarding the existence of God as an irrelevant matter in the system of his religion, but was an atheist himself. Paul Dhalke asserts: 'Buddhism is the only completely atheistical system in the world. ....(In the opinion of Buddha) where there is true religion, unalloyed truth, *there is no room for possibility*, that is to say, for the idea of God'.

It has no doubt been very rightly remarked by many scholars on the authority of the Pali text-books that it did not come within the scope of the religious system of Gotama Buddha that he should teach his disciples anything regarding the existence of a supreme deity, or should be under the necessity of denying the idea of God. I give here a quotation from Paul Dhalke's work to show that the great teacher of ancient India was never positive in his statement as to the existence of an Eternal Not-ourselves. The Buddha is reported to be stating as follows: 'Whether here really is a God or no, of that I cannot say anything; of that I do not need to say anything; but comprehending the true nature of life, I have discovered that salvation is possible without God, altogether apart from God'.

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The quotation given above is not a true translation of any passage occurring in the old Pali text-books, but even accepting this to be the idea of Gotama Buddha, it cannot be stated that he was an atheist. It is quite true, as we learn from Vinayapiṭaka that the system of practical discipline adopted by the Buddha to purge a man of all his sins and iniquities, had no connection with, nay, was wholly independent of, any theory relating either to God or to after-life. The Buddha was, therefore, necessarily concerned with things seen, with the propositions which could be definitely proved and demonstrated. It is quite unsafe, therefore, to make any statements regarding the personal faith of the teacher himself, merely because he is silent regarding his own eschatological views.

It is undeniable that the Buddha never disturbed the thoughts of his disciples who believed in such gods as Indra, Brahmā and others. He never entered into theological discussions touching the unseen realities ; for, in his practical system it was quite useless to do so. When the Buddha undertook to preach his doctrines to a man, he commenced with the very sentiment the man felt ; he referred to the very facts the man could see. He proceeded with the known and perceived factors and led the man to feel and see the truth and importance of the new propositions. He gave his disciples a carefully thought-out system of self-discipline, and left it to the disciples to see it for themselves that renunciation could establish a man in a sort of happy existence, where sorrow and darkness could not cast any gloom.

It was believed, that by pursuing the prescribed system of discipline a man could shake off the sinful thought. By purging the mind of all the *āsavas* or sins a man could develop his *Sammā Diṭṭhi* or perfect insight within its own self. When a man attained a perfect insight on the basis of a pure and unsophisticated heart, truths previously unseen and undemonstrable at earlier stages of life appeared within the range of the new, enlarged and perfected vision. It was in the system itself that every man had to see the real truth for himself by extinction of illusion through a routine of self-discipline. The very system made it impossible that the Buddha should propound some theories to start with, to teach any truth which a man should himself see and believe.

As our thoughts regarding the Not-ourselves are often tainted with our anthropomorphic conceptions, so we find very often that when we interpret the thoughts of others, we read those thoughts in the light of our modern philosophical conceptions. Even though the scholars be not atheists or agnostics themselves, they are liable to give atheistic or agnostic interpretations to propositions which are found not to be in touch with theism of some form or other ;

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for, in modern times we are not familiar with any system which, not being theistic through and through, is not atheism or agnosticism. When any system is compelled by its very nature to take no account of the being of God, it cannot be considered to be atheistic. The utmost that can be said of the system is that it is *atheous*, to borrow the newly coined word of the Lord Bishop of Carlisle as used by him in his note on 'Matter' in the Appendix to the volume of his 'Oxford and Cambridge Sermons'. A system, when *atheous* or by necessity devoid of any recognition of God, as physical science is, cannot be regarded as *atheistic*. To quote the words of the learned Bishop—'it does not in any way trench upon *theism* or *theology*, and cannot be *atheistic* or in the condition of denying the being of God.'

It is a pity that in discussing the creed of Buddhism several passages to all appearances theistic, have not been taken into account. I have not the courage to pronounce any definite opinion regarding the personal eschatological belief of Gotama Buddha at this stage of my research, but I only refer to the text (VIII, 3) as occurs in the Udānam. In this text the word *Nirvāṇa* does not at all occur and it is the commentator who introduces the word *Nirvāṇa* to explain the meaning of the text. After stating that it is extremely difficult to realize the ultimate truth regarding the Not-self (*dudassam anattam nāma, na hi saccam sudassanam*) it has been uttered by the Buddha: '*Atthi Bhikkhave, ajātam abhūtam akatam asamkhatam,*' etc. The literal translation of the text is: 'O Bhikkhus there exists the unborn, the non-material, the uncreated and the non-organized. Had it not been so, the created beings born with organized material forms would not find any *nissaranam* or salvation when passing away by any means.'

Since this *udānam* is reported to have been uttered before the disciples who were greatly advanced, the special significance of it has to be noted. This verse also occurs in the 'Itivuttaka' collection of Gotama Buddha's sayings.

There are lots of passages in the 'Nikāyas' which show that by *nirvāṇa* the Buddha did not mean utter annihilation. Out of many passages occurring in the 'Udānam' relating to *nirvāṇa*, I refer only to the tenth verse of the first *Vagga*. I give here a literal translation of the text:

'Neither water nor earth exists there; no fire is there, and the wind bloweth not; the stars do not shine and the sun does not appear; the moon does not shed her light and the darkness does not exist. The Muni who has realized the *Ātman* is the true *Brāhmaṇa*, who goes to that place; and all that is form and formless with him, together with his pleasures and pain do vanish there.'

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I need hardly state that simple state of utter annihilation has not been pointed out here by explaining the idea by many antitheses. The readers may note that we meet with an improved later edition of this text in—'Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad' (II, 2, 10) and 'Kaṭha Upaniṣad' (II, 2, 15).

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# DISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN IN JAINISM (I)

*By* B. C. Law

Here I have recorded anecdotes of some men and women who became famous in the history of Jainism.

Pārśvanātha

In the past there ruled in Kāśī a king named Aśvasena, whose chief queen was Vāmādevī. One night in pitch darkness Vāmādevī, while lying on her bed saw a black snake passing by. In such darkness a black snake can hardly be seen but Vāmādevī was not frightened to see it. On the next day she spoke about it to the king who said that she would give birth to a mighty son. In due course a son of great beauty, good qualities, and immense knowledge was born to her. He was named Pārśvakumāra. He was brought up in luxury. When he grew up, he became famous for his great prowess. At that time there was a big town named Kusasthal, ruled over by a king named Prasenajit, who tried his best to make his daughter Prabhāvatī fully accomplished. When Prabhāvatī grew up, her parents began to search for a suitable bridegroom. At the same time king Prasenajit too was in vain search of a suitable husband for his daughter from amongst other kings and princes.

One day while Prabhāvatī was walking in the garden in the company of her maids, she heard a song which described the influence of Pārśvakumāra. Listening to the praise expressed in songs Prabhāvatī decided to marry none but Pārśvakumāra.

Prabhāvatī now attained puberty. She was always engrossed in the thought of her husband. This thought caused remarkable changes in her body. Her maids spoke to her parents about her thought. Her parents said, 'Pārśvakumāra is the best of all men and Prabhāvatī too is the best of all females. Prabhāvatī has found out Pārśvakumāra as her worthy husband and we are glad to hear of her decision.' Prabhāvatī heard of her parents' words from her maids and was greatly delighted. Her thought of Pārśvakumāra made her lean and thin. Her parents noticed her weakness and decided to send her to Pārśvakumāra.

By virtue of her beauty, good qualities, and immense knowledge, she won the admiration of everybody in the country. Many good kings wanted to marry her. Yavana, king of Kaliṅga, was very powerful and was almost sure of winning her. Very soon the news of Prabhāvatī's going to Pārśvakumāra on a Svayamvara spread far and wide. When King Yavana heard of this, he became very much

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displeased and announced that during his lifetime Pārśvakumāra would not be able to marry Prabhāvatī. He further announced that King Prasenajit had no power to marry his daughter to any other person and that he would see how Prabhāvatī could marry Pārśvakumāra. He then started for Kusasthal with a strong army. Quickly he reached Kusasthal and besieged it so strongly that none could come out of it.

King Prasenajit began to think out ways and means of saving himself from the powerful army. It struck him that King Aśvasena alone would be able to help him if he could be informed. He then consulted his friend Purusottama who forthwith expressed his readiness to help him. At the cost of his life Purusottama stealthily came out of the town at night and soon reached Kāśī. There he interviewed King Aśvasena while the latter was in his court hearing religious discourses, and spoke to him about the impending danger of King Prasenajit. King Aśvasena said that the Yavana king had little power to endanger King Prasenajit and that he would forthwith march with his army towards Kusasthal. Very soon king Aśvasena with his army was ready for the march but before he could start, his son Pārśvakumāra enquired of him about that enemy with whom he was going to encounter. King Aśvasena told him everything and permitted him at his entreaties to face the enemy in a battle.

In an auspicious moment Pārśvakumāra started for Kusasthal. On reaching there, according to royal custom, he sent the following words through a messenger to the Yavana king : ' O, king, King Prasenajit is a protege of my father who himself desired to wage war with you but was refrained by me from doing so. So you must give up the idea of attacking King Aśvasena. If you return to your kingdom quickly, I shall forgive you.' The Yavana king, on the other hand, said to the messenger that Pārśvakumāra should go back if he wanted to live. On hearing this the old minister of Yavana said to the king that Pārśvakumāra was too strong a match for him and advised him to take refuge in him instead of waging war with him. The Yavana king considered his minister's advice carefully, became a refugee of Pārśvakumāra and prayed for forgiveness with folded hands. Then Pārśvakumāra blessed him, asked him not to be afraid of him and advised him to go back to his kingdom to rule happily. The Yavana king removed his army from the four sides of the town of Kusasthal. King Prasenajit was greatly delighted to see this. With Prabhāvatī came King Aśvasena to the tent of Pārśvakumāra and said, ' You have saved me. I shall be greatly benefited if you will kindly agree to marry my daughter, Prabhāvatī, who wants you and thinks of you always.'

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Pārśvakumāra said, 'I have come to wage war with the enemy and not to marry. My business is done and I shall return home.' When Pārśvakumāra was about to leave the place, King Prasenajit expressed his desire to accompany him to pay respects to King Aśvasena. At this Pārśvakumāra gladly consented and king Prasenajit came to Kāśī with his daughter Prabhāvatī.

After an exchange of royal greetings King Prasenajit said everything to King Aśvasena. Both the kings tried their best to persuade Prince Pārśvakumāra to marry Princess Prabhāvatī. Prince Pārśvakumāra told his father that he did not like the married life, but ultimately his father's eagerness made him agree to marry Prabhāvatī. After marriage Prabhāvatī was greatly pleased and considered herself to be the most fortunate of all women.

One day Pārśvakumāra saw many people hurriedly coming out of the town with baskets full of flowers and learnt on enquiry that they would worship an ascetic named Kamaṭha who had kept fire round his seat at the outskirt of the city and had engaged himself in a meditation called Pañcāgni under the scorching sun. Clever Pārśvakumāra came there with his companion and saw a snake being roasted inside a piece of burning wood. He said, 'It is a folly to be engaged in meditation subjecting body to pain. Meditation is one of the accompaniments of religion. Everything is futile except *ahiṁsā*. *Ahiṁsā* (avoidance of life-slaughter) is the best of all virtues.' Kamaṭha replied, 'What do you know about Dharma? You like to mount horses and elephants; only ascetics like myself know what Dharma is.' On hearing this Pārśvakumāra thought thus: 'How much conceited are men who know nothing of kindness, yet think that they are practising Dharma?' Then he asked his companion to cut that piece of wood lengthwise. As soon as it was done, a snake almost roasted came out. Pārśvakumāra caused that snake to hear the Navakaramantra. The snake died immediately. At this Kamaṭha became greatly ashamed and felt himself defamed before many people. He was very angry, yet he continued his meditation. In a short time the ascetic died and became a kind god under the name of Meghamālī. The snake became on death a Nāgarāja named Dharanendra.

One day in the spring Pārśvakumāra and Prabhāvatī while strolling about in a forest, came to a palace and entered into it to take rest. There on the wall they found photographs of the marriage scene of Neminātha, Neminātha listening to the cries of animals, and Neminātha releasing the animals and turning back his chariot. These photographs caused Pārśvakumāra to think that the mission of one's life was not to spend one's days in pleasure but to realize the truth and act accordingly. Thereafter he began

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to keep himself aloof from worldly pleasures, and developed vairāgya (aversion to worldly life). He used to give shelter to the poor ; he was the saviour of the fallen and always used to think that he would never, by his mind, body or speech, inflict pain on anybody. His aversion towards worldly enjoyment grew more and more. He distributed gold coins for one year and fasted for three days. Then he became an ascetic.

Many men took the vow of leading saintly life and became his followers. They used to wander about from place to place.

While on his tour Pārśvakumāra came to a hermitage at night and there at the foot of a tree he became deeply absorbed in meditation. Meghamālī looked upon Pārśvakumāra as his enemy and at first he tried his utmost to frighten him but in vain. Then he caused heavy downpour with deafening peels of thunder. Water accumulated till it reached his nose. Pārśvakumāra was still in deep meditation. At this time Dharanendra quieted all these disturbances. To Pārśvakumāra both Meghamālī and Dharanendra were equal. True saint is he who sees no difference between a friend and a foe. A few days after Pārśvanātha acquired Muktijñāna. At his advice many men and women began to lead sacred and virtuous life. They formed an establishment which came to be known as Tīrtha. For establishing this Tīrtha, Pārśvanātha was called Tīrthaṁkara. Parents of Pārśvakumāra, Prabhāvatī, and other members of the family joined the Saṁgha. Pārśvanātha attained nirvāṇa at an old age of one hundred.

Neminātha

There lived a good king named Samudravijaya in Śauripura, a big town, on the banks of the Yamunā. He had a son named Ariṣṭanemi by his Queen Śivādevī, who was possessed of extensive knowledge and good quality. Ariṣṭanemi was also called Neminātha.

King Samudravijaya had nine younger brothers, the youngest of whom was Vasudeva. Many kings and rich men gave their daughters in marriage to Vasudeva for his personal beauty and good quality. Of his many queens, Rohiṇī and Devakī gave birth respectively to Valadeva and Śrīkṛṣṇa who became very powerful.

Not far from Śauripura was a big town, Mathurā, ruled over by a tyrant named Kaṁsa who was so very cruel that he sent his father to prison and tortured him in various ways. Kaṁsa was killed by Śrīkṛṣṇa and Valadeva who reinstalled Ugrasena on the throne. The powerful king, Jarāsandha, was greatly enraged when he heard of the news of the death of his son-in-law, Kaṁsa. Mathurā was not an equal match for Jarāsandha, so Ugrasena left his kingdom with his family. On reaching Kathiawar he built on the banks of the sea, a very big town which he named Dwārikā. Śrīkṛṣṇa was

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very powerful, so he became the king of Dwārikā. Big palaces and temples were built and markets were opened. Dwārikā looked pretty. Prettiest of all was the armoury of Śrīkṛṣṇa. One day while walking with his friend Neminātha came to the armoury where he found a beautiful conch. While Neminātha was about to take up the conch with the intention of blowing it, he was advised by the armoury-guard not to make futile attempt at lifting the conch as none but Śrīkṛṣṇa only had the power to do so. Neminātha smiled, took up the conch and blew it hard. Everybody became thoughtful ; Śrīkṛṣṇa, too, was greatly surprised. When he learnt from his armoury-guard that his cousin Neminātha had blown the conch, he decided to try the strength of his cousin. His invitation to a duel was accepted by Neminātha who, however, suggested that each would lower down the outstretched arm of the other. Śrīkṛṣṇa accepted this suggestion and stretched his arm which was in no time lowered down by Neminātha. Now Śrīkṛṣṇa in his turn tried his utmost to bring down the outstretched arm of Neminātha but all his efforts were in vain. He then believed that Neminātha was surely stronger. He was asked by his parents to marry but he assured them that he would marry as soon as he would find a suitable girl for him.

In the spring came Śrīkṛṣṇa with his chief queen to the mount Girnir. Neminātha and many people of Dwārikā also came there.

While on the mount Girnir, Śrīkṛṣṇa made a garland and decorated Neminātha with it. He requested his cousin to marry ; other ladies too made the same request to him. When again Neminātha was requested by Śrīkṛṣṇa and the ladies to marry, he thought within himself that he would have to pass his days in attachment like his relatives and friends. He, however, thought it wise to accede to their affectionate request and decided to make strenuous efforts for self-preservation. Everybody was pleased when Neminātha complied with their request.

Śrīkṛṣṇa in course of his search for a suitable girl found that Rājamatī, daughter of King Ugrasena, was the most suitable bride for Neminātha. The marriage was finally settled to be held on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa.

Necessary arrangements were made for Neminātha's marriage ceremony. The entire town was tastefully decorated, musical instruments were played, and sweet songs were sung. Neminātha put on white silk cloth, and pearl necklaces, his body was besmeared with sandal paste and a white umbrella was held over his head. Neminātha was seated on a chariot to which were yoked two white horses. The chariot of the bridegroom proceeded followed by rich men mounted on elephants. Then King Samudravijaya and his brothers with

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queens in palanquins, singing sweet songs, went with the chariot. The whole procession moved slowly towards the palace of King Ugrasena. Crowds assembled in the streets and ladies thronged on the balconies to see the procession.

Rājamatī, the bride-elect, put on beautiful dress and began to see the procession from the terrace of the palace. She was delighted to see Neminātha from a distance and considered herself to be the most fortunate for winning such a beautiful husband. Suddenly her right eye and right arm trembled. She was afraid of this inauspicious sign lest some evils should happen to her. She became pale and spoke out everything to her maids, who, however, assured her that her marriage would take place smoothly.

No sooner had the marriage procession reached the palace of Ugrasena than howlings of animals in chorus were heard. Goats, sheep, dear, partridges, etc., began to shout in a piteous tone. Neminātha enquired of the charioteer about the noise. The charioteer told him that the beasts which were to be cooked on the day of his marriage were shouting for fear of death. Neminātha ordered the charioteer to take the chariot close to the animals. He then saw the pitiable plight of the animals, was greatly moved and thinking of the affairs of the world, broke his attachment. His mind and soul were eager to see the real form of the world. He ordered the charioteer to release the animals. The charioteer having obeyed his command, Neminātha presented him with all the ornaments he had on and asked him to return home. His parents saw him turn back and enquired of him why he should not marry after having liberated the animals. Neminātha explained to them that he had been eager to establish a far wider and purer relationship than what it generally takes place in this world. He apologised to his parents and entreated them not to be anxious for his marriage. He did not marry and remained a celibate.

When the princess learnt that Neminātha had gone back, she became unconscious. On regaining senses, she began to think of Neminātha and shed tears. Her maids requested her not to be sorry for such a prosaic husband and assured her that a worthy husband would be brought for her in no time. Rājamatī, however, entreated them not to utter such inauspicious words and told them that Neminātha was her husband and that she would not accept any other person as her husband.

Neminātha's indifference grew more and more and he became a sādhu. He established friendliness with all his relatives and gradually became a cosmopolitan. He used to partake of simple dishes, to lie on the ground, to put on one garment and to suffer heat in summer and cold in winter. He did not feel pleasure

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or pain. He was the well-wisher of all. Whatever he said was proved to be true. To live a sacred life he used to roam about from place to place. The sojourn of saints is called a vihāra. After some time Neminātha acquired muktijñāna (knowledge of salvation). The object of acquiring such a knowledge is to attain truth and a thorough grasp of all worldly matters. Neminātha was greatly delighted after acquiring the knowledge of salvation and he began to teach the people thus : (1) ' be friendly with all ', (2) ' always speak true and sweet words ', (3) ' never take anything without the knowledge of the owner ', (4) ' observe śīla ', (5) ' always rest satisfied ', (6) ' develop kindliness ', (7) ' religion should be dearer than life itself ', (8) ' life should be sacrificed for the sake of religion if necessity arises, etc.'.

The instructions imparted by Neminātha were carried out by many people, even by Śrīkṛṣṇa himself. Many men and women began to lead a saintly life, and many human beings led pure lives as far as practicable even being householders. These two classes of men and women formed a saṁgha which was called a Tīrtha. For the establishment of this Tīrtha Lord Neminātha and his 23 successors were called ' Tīrthaṁkaras ' which means ' founders of Tīrthas '.

Rājamatī led a pure life of disinterestedness towards worldly things. She followed the example of Neminātha, heard of the latter's advice and finally attained salvation. Lord Neminātha enjoying long span of life attained Nirvāṇa on the mount of Girnir. In course of time this Girnir mountain was declared to be a sacred spot of the Jains.

Kumārapāla

Siddhvarāja-Jayasiṁha was a powerful king of Gujarat. He was childless. On learning from an astrologer that his throne would, on his death, be occupied by Kumārapāla, Siddhvarāja devised various means to kill Kumārapāla whom he considered to be of low descent. Kumārapāla was the son of Tribhuvanapāla, king of Dethalī. Bhopālde was his wife. Mahipāla and Kītipāla were his two brothers. Premaladevī and Devaladevī were his two sisters. The former was married to Kṛṣṇadeva, a feudatory of Siddhvarāja, and the latter to Arṇorāja, king of Sṁābhara. As soon as he received the news of the murder of his father by Siddhvarāja, Kumārapāla fled at night leaving his family behind. Wandering from place to place in the garb of a mendicant, he reached Pāṭhana where he was engaged as a priest in charge of the temple. On hearing of Kumārapāla's appointment as a priest, King Siddhvarāja invited all the priests on the plea of performing his father's sradh ceremony. Kumārapāla came to know that this was done to kill him. He fled and hid himself in a thorny bush and escaped detection by two cavalries who were chasing him.

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In the early hours of the following morning he ran away in spite of the painful bruises all over the body and at midday he rested himself under a tree. There he found a rat taking out of a hole twenty-one coins one after another. As soon as the rat entered the hole with one coin to keep it there, Kumārapāla picked up the remaining twenty coins. On its return the rat could not find the coins and began to strike its head against the floor till it expired. Kumārapāla was extremely sorry to see this incident and thought that a rat, too, had an attachment for money. He then left the place and went on. On the third day he got no meal and lay tired like a dead man on the roadside.

On her way from her father-in-law's house Śrīdevī noticed Kumārapāla in that sad plight, took pity on him and gave him food. Kumārapāla gratefully acknowledged the gift which, he assured her, would never be forgotten. Then Kumārapāla proceeded towards Dethalī, his native village. The news of his arrival reached Siddhvarāja who employed some soldiers to find him out but in vain, as a potter named Sajjan kept him concealed. Then Kumārapāla removed his family to Mālava country and himself went on tour. During his sojourn he contracted friendship with a Brahmin named Vosirī who used to give him a share of the alms. After a short while Kumārapāla separated himself from Vosirī and resumed his journey and reached Khambhāta in a moribund state due to starvation. There a Jain teacher named Hemacandra met him and found in him signs of a great man. He prophesied that he would be the future king of Gujarat. He made an arrangement with Udāyana, minister of Khambhāta, to stay with him. Siddhvarāja came to know about it and sent his army to find him out. Kumārapāla concealed himself in a room containing books while the house of Udāyana was being searched by the army. The army returned disappointed. Hemacandra said to Kumārapāla, 'You will not suffer any longer. You will soon be installed on the throne of Gujarat.' Kumārapāla was made to believe it and he promised to be a true follower of Jainism if his prophecy be fulfilled. Kumārapāla visited many places before he went to Mālava to be in the midst of his relatives there. He heard of Siddhvarāja lying in death-bed. He then came to Gujarat with his relatives. Siddhvarāja, while on death-bed, adopted the minister's son as his son, so that Kumārapāla might not obtain his kingdom. After his death Kumārapāla arrived at Pāṭhana and he obtained his kingdom. When Kumārapāla ascended the throne, he was fifty years old and he remembered those who helped him. He made Bhopālde his chief queen, Bhīmasiṁha his body-guard, Sajjan the Subedar of seven hundred villages, Vosirī a Judge of the Lāṭa country,

Udāyana his chief minister, Udāyana's son Bāgbhaṭṭa his Dewan and the teacher-Hemacandra his preceptor. The chiefs who were under Kumārapāla taking advantage of his weakness stopped payment of rents and rebellion took place. Kumārapāla with the help of his strong army subjugated the king of Ājmīr and brought under control Mallikārjjuna of the Konkan country, Samarasiṁha of Surat and many other smaller chiefs. Kumārapāla then became the ruler of eighteen countries. The extent of his kingdom was up to the Punjab in the north, Vindhyācala in the south, the river Ganges in the east, and the river Indus in the west. Kumārapāla used to revere his teacher Hemacandra very much and took his advice in all matters. Hemacandra was one of his sincere well-wishers. Kumārapāla prohibited life-slaughter in all his eighteen countries and repaired the temple of Somanātha and many other temples. He built the temples of Tāraṅgā, Dhandhukā, and Vagairaha. In his kingdom there was no fear of theft and dacoity. People used to live there in peace and happiness. Shooting was prohibited in his kingdom and hence the animals used to walk about being free from fear. He built 14,000 temples and repaired 16,000 dilapidated temples. He used to spend a large sum of money for good works and stopped taking money from dead persons. He asked the people of 18 countries to observe ahiṁsā (avoidance of life-slaughter). He reigned for thirty years during which his subjects used to live in peace and happiness. His preceptor died and he became very much afflicted on his death. He died at the age of eighty-one. A king like Kumārapāla and a teacher like Hemacandra are rare in this world.

Vastupāla—Tejapāla

In the thirteenth century while the power of the Solānkī kings was on the wane, the influence of King Vīradhavala was on the increase. King Vīradhavala had a minister named Āśrāja, a Buddhist monk, who used to reside in the village, Suṁhālaka. Āśrāja had by his accomplished wife, Kumāra Devī, three sons, of whom two named Vastupāla and Tejapāla became distinguished, and seven daughters. Āśrāja gave his sons and daughters good education. Of his sons, Vastupāla and Tejapāla had intense thirst for education and regard for religion. They were married respectively to two accomplished girls, Lalitā and Anupamā; after their father's death, they came to live at Māṇḍala. They took great care of their mother. After her death, they went to the holy place of Śatruñjaya. Staying there for some time they came to a village named Dholakā where they made friendship with the royal priest Someśvara. At this time King Vīradhavala sought the help of a brave man to quell the disturbances in Gujarat. The royal priest introduced the two brothers to the king saying that they

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were good administrators and staunch supporters of Jainism. The King asked them to administer his kingdom. Vastupāla said, 'It will not be possible for us to refrain from worshipping our deity in spite of urgent work of the state. We must have your permission to take away the three lacs of coins which we have in our possession, if we are to give up our services and leave your state. If Your Majesty agrees to such terms we shall be pleased to accept your offer.' The king agreed and appointed Vastupāla as the chief minister in charge of Dholakā and Khaṁbhāta, and Tejapāla as the Commander-in-chief.

Mismanagement in the affairs of the state was noticed by Vastupāla when he began to act as minister. He put a stop to malpractices, bribery, etc. with the result that the revenue of the state increased immensely. Vastupāla made over the entire administration of the kingdom to Tejapāla and himself accompanied the king with his mighty army. He realized taxes from those Zemindars who stopped payment of revenue and arrears of instalments from Jaigirdars. He maintained peace everywhere. Vastupāla then set up a powerful army and tried to conquer the neighbouring states. At this time anarchy prevailed in Kathiawar. He came there and subdued most of the chiefs of that place. He then came to Vanathali ruled over by Saṁgāṇ and Cāmuṇḍa, brothers-in-law of King Vīradhavala, who were very proud and did not agree to accept his suzerainty. So there ensued a battle in which Saṁgān and Cāmuṇḍa were killed. Thus Vastupāla conquered the whole of Kathiawar. He then accompanied the king to Girnar whence he returned home after performing religious rites.

Bhīmasiṁha, king of Bhadreśvara, a feudatory chief under King Vīradhavala was then brought under control.

While returning home Vastupāla asked the oppressive Zeminder of Godharā to accept the suzerainty of Vīradhavala but he refused to do so. Consequently a big battle took place resulting in the defeat of the Zeminder who was brought to the king as a captive. The Zeminder afterwards committed suicide being unable to pocket an insult which was too much for him.

Once Siddik, a rich merchant of Khaṁbhāta, looted the property of a banker and killed him. Vastupāla on hearing this decided to inflict proper punishment on Siddik. A great battle was fought but it ended in the victory of Vastupāla. Then Vastupāla entered into Khaṁbhāta and obtained many costly jewelleries kept under the floor of Siddik's house.

Once while Maujadīn, Emperor of Delhi, besieged Gujarat, the two brothers, Vastupāla and Tejapāla, with a large army came to Mount Abu. There a great battle was fought resulting in the

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defeat of the Emperor. Maujadīn returned to Delhi greatly disappointed. The two brothers then advanced towards the sea and extended the kingdom up to Mahārāṣṭra. Thus the two brothers successfully fought many battles, and established a peaceful suzerainty in Gujarat.

The two brothers had great regard for religion. They used to meditate on the eighth and fourteenth day of each fortnight. They loved their co-religionists. They took the vow of spending annually one crore of rupees for the spread of religion. They were very generous and charitable.

They built beautiful temples on the mountains named Śatruñjaya, Girnar and Abu at a cost of 12 crores of rupees. Many other temples and resthouses were also built and many libraries were founded. Saṁghas were established on Mounts Śatruñjaya and Girnar. One of the Saṁghas consisted of one lac of people. The generosity of the two brothers extended not only to Jains and people of Gujarat but also to people professing other religions. From Kedārnāth to Kanyākumārī there was not a tīrtha which did not receive financial help from them. Every year they used to spend much in charity in Somanātha Pāṭana and in such countries as Kāśī and Dwārakā. They also built many temples of Śiva and mosques.

On the death of King Vīradhavala, the two brothers installed Prince Viśaladeva on the throne and they managed the administration of the state. Vastupāla, conscious of his death in near future, started for Mount Śatruñjaya in the company of Saṁgha, but on the way he breathed his last. His funeral took place on the Mount Śatruñjaya on which a Jaina temple was built. Lalitādevī then starved herself to death. Five years later Tejapāla and his wife, Anupamadevī, met with the same fate.

Queen Celanā

In the past a just and powerful king named Ceṭaka, the maternal uncle of Lord Mahāvīra, was a ruler of Vaiśālī. He had seven daughters of whom the two maids, viz. Sujeṣṭhā and Celanā, were clever and versed in all arts. They were provided with beautiful residences, nice clothings, agreeable food, yet to these they were never attached. They used to read good books, sing good songs, and hold religious discussions. They were noted for their beauty.

Śreṇika, the powerful king of Magadha, sent word to King Ceṭaka that he had desired to marry one of these two daughters. But King Ceṭaka intimated his inability to accede to the request on the ground of inferiority of the family to which King Śreṇika belonged. On hearing this King Śreṇika grew angry.

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Sujeṣṭhā, the older of the two maids, happened to see a photograph of King Śreṇika and decided to marry him. In conspiracy with the seller of the photograph through her maids, Sujeṣṭhā got a trench cut from outside the town to the harem. On the appointed day Sujeṣṭhā in the company of her sister, Celanā, who liked to be her co-wife, left the harem through the trench. On the way she remembered that she had forgotten to bring the box containing ornaments ; so she asked Celanā to take her seat in the chariot waiting outside the trench and herself returned to the harem to take the box. When she came back with the box she found the chariot running fast and she shouted loudly that Celanā had been kidnapped. At once the royal guards followed the chariot but in vain. This grieved the princess so much that she determined to lead a nobler life. She then took ordination.

Celanā became the most beloved queen of King Śreṇika. She was deeply attached to her husband. She liked Mahāvīra's teachings very much and explained them to the king who became in course of time a great devotee of Mahāvīra. When Queen Celanā conceived, an evil desire for eating the flesh of her husband's chest grew in her and she thought that the child in the womb would be its father's enemy. As soon as a son was born, a maid-servant took him out of the town and placed him amongst refuges. While the maid-servant was returning home, she was met by King Śreṇika who enquired as to where she had been. The maid-servant spoke the truth and the king rushed to the Aśoka forest and found that a crying child was lying on the ground and that one of its fingers had been eaten up by a hen. At once he took up the child and began to suck its injured part. The child became quiet. The king brought it home and reprimanded the queen who told him that all the signs had indicated that the child would be its father's enemy whom she would not be able to rear up as the son was not dearer to her than the husband. At the behest of the king, the queen began to bring up the son who was called Kauṇika on account of his finger having been cut. Celanā had two other sons, viz. Halla and Vihalla.

At a very cold night in winter Queen Celanā in her sleep spoke out how greatly distressed were the saints due to extreme cold. The king heard her speak and thought that the queen had been speaking in her sleep about some other person to whom she must have been attached. At daybreak the king ordered his son Abhaya Kumāra to set fire to the harem which he considered to have been polluted. Just at that time Mahāvīra had been staying in a garden outside the town and Śreṇika left the palace to see him.

Abhaya Kumāra thought that his father must have been very angry otherwise he would not have given such an order. He did

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not venture to carry out the royal order. He set fire to a few huts near the elephant shed and announced that the royal harem had caught fire.

Śreṇika enquired of Mahāvīra as to whether Queen Celanā had one husband or more. Mahāvīra told him that the queen had only one husband in Śreṇika and her fidelity should never be doubted. The King had great regard for Mahāvīra, and he found out his mistake. On his way back he met Prince Abhaya Kumāra who, on being questioned, said that the royal orders had been strictly carried out. On hearing this he became angry and enquired why the unjust orders had been carried out and how the prince could entertain the idea of burning his mother. Abhaya Kumāra then acquainted the king with the real fact. Thenceforth the King's love towards Celanā became deeper and deeper. A beautiful quarter with a nicely-laid garden was built and both the king and the queen lived there happily.

Though an heir-apparent, Kauṇika desired to ascend the throne during the lifetime of his father. So he conspired and achieved his object in no time. He sent his father to prison and ordered the warders to prevent any person from visiting the prisoner. Celanā loved her husband very much and could not tolerate his suffering. She mustered up courage and proceeded towards the prison. Her influence was so very great that the sentinels could not prevent her from seeing her husband in spite of the royal command. She was glad to see her husband but she was greatly mortified to learn that her husband was not being supplied with proper food and drink and that he was being daily beaten. Permitted by King Kauṇika, Celanā used to visit her husband daily with the hair of her head moistened with a liquid medicine and carrying a ball of leguminous seeds within her chignon. The hungry husband used to eat that ball and drink the liquid medicine.

Kauṇika used to love his son very much. He enquired of his mother as to whether there was any other person whose affection for his son was greater than his. His mother answered in the negative and pointed out that he had deeper love for his son than anybody else.

Fully realizing the situation he decided to set his father free and to beg pardon of him. As there would be some delay in sending for the blacksmith, Kauṇika himself took an iron rod and proceeded towards the prison to open it. The warder told Śreṇika that his death was certain as King Kauṇika had been coming there with an iron rod. Śreṇika thought it better to put an end to his life rather than being subjected to painful death by Kauṇika. So he took poison and died immediately.

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When Kauṇika reached the prison, he found his father dead. He then attributed his father's premature death to his own folly. Celanā was overwhelmed with sorrow at the death of her husband. At this time Lord Mahāvīra came there. Thus afflicted with grief Celanā, fully conscious of the impermanence of worldly attachment, gave up household life. By self-control and meditation she made her life sacred and beautiful. At last living the full span of her life she attained nirvāṇa.

Candanavālā

King Dadhivāhana and Queen Dhāriṇī of Campā were very honest and were always ready to help their subjects and poor people in getting rid of dangers and difficulties. The people were delightful and free from fear and torture. Premature death was unknown to them. The kingdom was on the banks of the Ganges and there was no dearth of fruits and flowers. Princess Vasumatī was so very beautiful and spirited that nobody could dare look at her. She was well-versed in letters and music and had no equal in playing upon vīnā (a seven-stringed musical instrument). Her religious knowledge was very deep. Every morning she used to remember God Jineśvara before leaving bed. After saying prayers with her mother, she used to accompany her mother to the temple of God Jineśvara and was charmed by the peacefulness of the place. On returning home she used to read good books. Once while the king and the queen were engaged in offering prayers to their family deity, some guards hurried to the spot and informed the king that the army of Satānika, king of Kauśāmbī, had besieged the kingdom, that all the doors of the city had been closed and that royal orders had been awaited. The king ordered that war notes should be sounded and war preparations should be made. The royal orders were carried out ; the people armed themselves with all sorts of weapons and standing on the walls of the city they began to shoot arrows which caused many deaths ; but the number of enemy's soldiers being large, the arrow-charging could not deter the onward march of the enemy who succeeded in crossing the trench near the walls with the help of a wooden bridge and began to climb the walls by means of big ladders. Then ensued charging of spears which caused some of the aggressors to drop dead to the ground but that, too, could not prevent the rest from mounting the fort where a battle ensued with swords and King Satānika became victorious. A few Kauśāmbī soldiers succeeded in opening the door of the city with the result that the entire Kauśāmbī army entered the city and plundered it ; King Dadhivāhana fled for fear of life as he knew that death was certain at the hands of King Satānika. Queen Dhāriṇī and Princess Vasumatī, too, fled from the harem. King Satānika then held sway over the entire

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city. Queen Dhāriṇī and Princess Vasumatī were caught hold of during their flight and were placed on the back of a camel by a camel-rider. As soon as Queen Dhāriṇī learnt that the camel-rider would make her his wife, she thought it better to die than to live an unchaste life, and she fell down from the camel's back and died. The camel-rider consoled the princess and brought her to Kauśāmbī.

The city of Kauśāmbī was populous ; its roads were always crowded. Merchants used to flock there for trade. All kinds of articles, vegetables, birds and animals were sold in the market. Even human beings were also sold. The camel-rider brought Vasumatī to the market for sale. Vasumatī's beauty attracted a large crowd and she stood with head downwards silently imploring the Lord of the World to save her chastity. At this time there came a banker named Dhanavāha who taking the girl to be of noble birth, bought her at a very high price, and brought her home. The banker's wife, Mūlā, began to bring her up with great care and affection. Vasumatī, too, regarded the banker and his wife as her parents, and pleased everybody with her sweet words. She was called Candanavālā for her words were as pacifying as sandal paste. When her beauty was greatly enhanced with the attainment of youth, Mūlā was afraid lest her husband should marry Vasumatī being enamoured of her exquisite beauty.

One day the banker came home and found no servant nearby to wash his feet. Vasumatī who happened to be standing there at that time brought water. While she was washing the banker's feet, her chignon loosened and fell on the muddy ground ; Dhanavāha took up the heavy bunch of long hair and tied it. This was seen by Mūlā from the upper storey. When Dhanavāha went out, Mūlā had Vasumatī's head well shaved and her legs tied together with iron fetters and kept her confined in an outhouse far away from the main building. On returning home Dhanavāha could not find Vasumatī. Dhanavāha thought that Vasumatī must have been playing somewhere. He enquired of Vasumatī and grew angry and declared that heavy punishment would be inflicted on all the servants and maid-servants until he was informed of the whereabouts of Vasumatī. At last an old woman took courage and made a clean breast of the whole affair. She showed to Dhanavāha the room where Vasumatī had been confined. Dhanavāha came to the room and found Vasumatī chanting Navakāra mantra with tears streaming down her cheeks incessantly. He took Vasumatī to the kitchen, and gave her in the absence of any other thing a few boiled leguminous seeds to eat. He then went out to call for a blacksmith to have the iron fetters broken. Vasumatī or Candanavālā sat on the threshold with one leg in and another out of the room. She began

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to think of the vicissitudes of her life. Though hungry she did not like to partake of the boiled leguminous seeds without feeding guests and she awaited the advent of a guest.

A hermit roamed in the city of Kauśāmbī for five months and twenty-five days but he did not accept offerings from anybody after looking at his face. On being questioned, he said that he had determined to accept food from a chaste and beautiful princess passing her days as a maid-servant shedding tears under starvation, whose legs were under iron fetters, whose head was well shaved, who had been sitting with one leg in and another out of the room and who could find out boiled leguminous seeds kept in a winnowing basket in a corner. This hermit appeared before Candanavālā but finding no tears in her eyes he left the place. Candanavālā became extremely sorry and with tears in her eyes she implored the hermit to be kind to her and to accept the boiled leguminous seeds. The hermit who was no other than Lord Mahāvīra saw tears in Candanavālā's eyes and stretched his hands on which Candanavālā placed the boiled seeds. Immediately the iron fetters of Candanavālā fell down, beautiful hair covered her head and the entire world became cheerful. On his return from the blacksmith's place the banker was astonished to find Candanavālā in her former beauty. The banker's wife, too, became pensive. Candanavālā saluted both Dhanavāha and Mūlā and addressing the latter said that it was through her kindness that she had been fortunate in feeding Mahāvīra, the Lord of the three worlds. As soon as this news spread, many people, even the king and the queen, came there to see and thank Candanavālā. A sentinel fell at Candanavālā's feet and began to weep saying that he had been a servant of Candanavālā who was princess Vasumatī, daughter of King Dadhivāhana and Queen Dhāriṇi, and that he was deeply concerned to find the princess in a more painful plight. The king and the queen were astonished to learn the fact. The queen said that Dhāriṇī was her sister whose daughter was also her daughter. She took Candanavālā to the palace where she remained engrossed in deep meditation of Lord Mahāvīra, remembering her mother's words that the grandeur and comfort of the palace were but fleeting allurements. Shortly afterwards Mahāvīra attained muktijñāna (knowledge of salvation). Candanavālā took ordination from him and became his first and chief disciple. She became pure in mind, body, and speech. Many kings, queens, and ladies became her disciples. She was the chief of 36,000 chaste women. She attained nirvāṇa at a ripe old age.

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# A CORRELATION OF THE MAYAN AND HINDU CALENDARS

*By* DHIRENDRA NATH MUKERJI

Sometime ago Dr. Bibhutibhusan Datta requested me to inquire if there was any relationship between the calendars of the Mayas of Mexico and that of our Hindu calendar and supplied me with necessary pamphlets for the purpose. The results of prolonged and painstaking investigations involving laborious calculations are put forth in the following pages.

The following quotation from the article 'Mexico' in the Enc. Britannica (13th ed.) on the prehistoric civilization of the Mayas leads one to the belief that there must be some connection between the Mayan and Hindu calendars. '. . . . . So that the general tendency among anthropologists has been to admit a common origin, however remote between the tribes of Tartary and of America. . . . . Humboldt also discussed the Mexican doctrine of four ages of the world belonging to water, earth, air and fire and ending respectively by deluge, earthquake, tempest and conflagration. The resemblance of this to some versions of the Hindu doctrine of the four ages or Yugas is hardly to be accounted for except on the hypothesis that the Mexican theology contains ideas learnt from Asiatics. Among Asiatic points of resemblance to which attention has been called is the Mexican belief in the nine stages of heaven and hell, which nothing in nature could suggest directly to a barbaric people but which corresponds to the ideas of successive heavens and hells among Brahmins and Buddhists who apparently learnt it (in common with our ancestors) from the Babylonian Greek theory of successive stages or concentric planetary spheres belonging to the planets, etc. The Spanish Chronicles also give account of a Mexican game called 'potolli' played at the time of the conquest with coloured stones moved on the squares of a crosslegged figure according to the throws of beans marked on one side; the description of this rather complicated game corresponds closely with the Hindu backgammon called Pachisi . . . . . It was believed that the destruction of the world, which after the Hindu manner the Mexicans held to have already taken place three or four times, would happen again at the end of a cycle. As the time (the end of the 52 year cycle) drew near the anxious population cleared their houses and put out all fire and on the last day after sunset the priests, dressed in the garb of gods, set out in procession for the hill of Huixachtle there to

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watch for the approach of the Pleiades to the zenith which gave the auspicious signal for the lightning of the new fire. . . . . Marriage depended much as they do still in the East, on the comparison of the horoscopes of the pair to ascertain if their birth signs were compatible. Old women were employed as go-betweens, and the marriage ceremony was conducted by a priest who after moral exhortations united the young couple by tying their garments together by a knot, after which they walked seven times round the fire, casting incense into it ; after the performance of the marriage ceremony, the pair entered together on a four days' fast and penance before the marriage was completed.' The very early and later funeral rites also closely resemble those of the Hindus. It is to be noted that the lightning of the new fire was begun on the approach of the Pleiades (the Hindu Nakshatras *Krittika*) on the zenith (or, on the horizon ?). The statement in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa '... कृत्तिकासु अग्नी आदधीत। एताः ह वै प्राच्यै दिशः न च्यवन्ते।...' 'One should light the fire on the appearance of the Krittikas. These never swerve from due East . . .' The custom of the Mayas and the importance of the Krittika (the Sapta Matriká, the seven mothers, wives of the Saptarshis—the Great Bear)—the Mataliki or Matariki of the Maoris of New Zealand deserve special attention. There are numerous evidences in support of the fact that these Mayas and the Maoris of New Zealand migrated from India in prehistoric times.

We now come to the astronomical verification that the epoch of the Mayan and the Hindu calendars are identically the same. J. E. Thompson in his 'A correlation of the Mayan and European Calendars' (publication No. 241 of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago) calculated the epoch of the Mayan calendar and fixed this to August 13 (Gregorian), 3113 B.C. But it should be noted that his conversion of the Mayan dates into their Julian equivalents by the addition of the Ahau equation of 584285 days does not lead to 3113 B.C., but the year—3113 of the astronomers or the year 3114 B.C. Now this year 3114 B.C. is twelve years prior to the epoch of the Hindu Kali Yuga era, which is also the epoch of the sixty year cycle of Jupiter by the Telinga reckoning of Southern India. But the examination of several Mayan dates with this epoch of 3114 B.C. does not lead to any satisfactory result. Mr. Thompson submitted six dates from the Dresden Codex after converting them into their Julian equivalents by the addition of his supposed Ahau equation of 584285 to the U.S. Naval Observatory. The importance of the dates was supposed to be due to some phenomena connected with the planets Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. But the information received from Captain W. S. Eichelberger, the

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Director of the American Nautical Almanac who calculated with the help of tables of Dr. Paul V. Neugebauer shows clearly that none of the dates has any connection with any phenomenon connected with the supposed planets. It struck me that the epoch of the Mayan dates may have some connection with the Hindu calendar—the epoch of the Kali Yuga era, 18th February, 3102 B.C. (the day begins from midnight, so that 18·00 February, Ujjaini time was midnight of February 17, Julian day number 588465). Julian day number 588466. The dates in the Dresden Codex in the long count were converted to their Julian equivalents by applying the Kali Yuga equation of 588466 with the following results :—

| Long count dates. | | Julian equivalents. |
|---|---|---|
| (1) 8-16-14-9-3 | =1860889 | =Nov. 2, A.D. 382. |
| (2) 8-16-14-11-5 | =1860931 | =Dec., 14, A.D. 382. |
| (3) 9-13-10-15-14 | =1981980 | =May 14, A.D. 714. |
| (4) 9-18-0-12-9 | =2014315 | =Nov. 23, A.D. 802. |
| (5) 9-19-7-2-14 | =2023840 | =Dec. 21, A.D. 828. |
| (6) 9-19-7-17-7 | =2024133 | =Oct. 10, A.D. 829. |

On the first date, November 2, A.D. 382 the planets Venus and Saturn were in geocentric opposition and the planet Mercury attained the greatest western elongation.

On the second date, December 14, A.D. 382 the planets Mars and Jupiter were in geocentric opposition. Mercury—superior conjunction ; and Jupiter rose heliacally on this date. [All the heliacal phenomena have been computed for lat. 17°N.]

On the third date, May 14, A.D. 714 the following planetary phenomena occurred : Jupiter in opposition with the sun. Only two days before retrogradation ended and direct motion of Saturn began and Venus attained the greatest brilliancy.

On the fourth date, November 23, A.D. 802, Jupiter and Venus were in mean heliocentric opposition.

On the fifth date, December 21, A.D. 828 the following phenomena occurred : Jupiter and Saturn in conjunction ; Venus and Jupiter in geocentric opposition ; and Mercury set heliacally in the east.

The sixth date as given is 9-19-7-17-7 equivalent to October 10, A.D. 829. But on calculation no planetary phenomenon is found to have occurred on this date. It seems to me that the date may either be 9-19-7-11-7 or 9-19-7-16-7. The former date is equivalent to June 12, A.D. 829 on which date Jupiter was in geocentric conjunction with Saturn. The latter date is equivalent to September 20, A.D. 829 on which date Venus was in geocentric

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conjunction with Saturn and the autumnal equinox occurred the previous day.

There is another date in the Dresden Codex about which Mr. Thompson remarks ' The Dresden Codex seems to indicate that a lunar count began on the day 9-16-4-10-8 or a day earlier or later. Presumably the date either of a new moon or less likely a full moon and possibly an eclipse date. Dr. Teeple's elucidation of glyphs C, D and E of the lunar series has established the fact that this date was actually the basis from which the lunar count was reckoned.' Now referring this date 9-16-4-10-8 to the epoch of the Kali Yuga era we come to April 20, A.D. 767. On the 18th of April A.D. 767 there was a total lunar eclipse the passing phase of which was visible from Mexico for a short time in the evening. A fortnight before on April 3, there was a total solar eclipse and a fortnight later on May 2, there was the chance of solar eclipse.

I now come to a few dates found in J. E. Thompson's ' The Civilization of the Mayas ' in the chapter entitled ' the Maya Collection of Field Museum ' (pp. 94–102).

The date in Altar Q from Copan has been read as 6 Caban 10 Mol corresponding to the long count date 9-16-12-5-17. This date is equivalent to December 8, A.D. 774. This was a new moon day on which Mercury was stationary in the morning and two days later Jupiter set heliacally. This is a date most frequently recorded at Copan but Mr. Thompson could not find out the exact significance of this date.

Six other dates have been read in this altar Q at Copan. The first one is 5 Caban, 15 Yaxkin corresponding to the long count date 9-15-6-16-7 equivalent to November 29, A.D. 749. Full moon occurred the previous day. Jupiter and Saturn approached within a degree on this date and the sun entered the ancient Hindu constellation Sagittarius.

The second date is 8 Ahau, 18 Yaxkin, only 3 days later than the previous date, i.e., December 2, A.D. 749. The importance of this date lies in the fact that on this date Mercury was in conjunction with Jupiter and Saturn and Saturn rose heliacally on this date.

The third date is 5 Ben, 11 Muan, i.e., 153 days later than the previous date, equivalent to May 4, A.D. 750. On this day the planets Venus and Mercury were in conjunction.

The fourth date is 6 Ahau, 13 Kayab written in the long count 9-17-5-0-0. This date is equivalent to June 6, A.D. 787. This was a full moon day on which planet Mars set heliacally. Only 2 days later Mercury was in superior conjunction with the sun. In his ' Civilization of the Mayas ', p. 95 Mr. Thompson remarks, ' In F 3 there is the glyph for the observation of the sun at the horizon.

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Possibly this is to call attention to the fact that the important hotun date is only a few days off the winter solstice.' Curiously the fourth date (the important hotun date) June 6, A.D. 787 is only 12 days previous to the Summer solstice. Hence the indication in the glyph for the observation of the sun relates to a coming phenomenon, with Thompson's epoch winter solstice occurred 7 days before the date deduced by him (25th December, Jul. A.D. 775).

The last date is 3 uinals and 4 kins to be added to the fourth date. This brings us to August 9, A.D. 787. On this day Venus had the greatest eastern elongation.

Stela K from Quirigua contains the date 9-18-15-0-0 3 Ahau, 3 Yax equivalent to December 31, A.D. 816. On this day Mercury rose heliacally and the mean sun entered the ancient Hindu constellation Capricornus.

There is another date, 1 Oc, 18 Kayab got by deducting 10 Uinals and 10 Kins from the former date and equivalent to June 3, A.D. 816. On this day Saturn began to retrograde and the planets Mercury and Jupiter were in conjunction.

Altar G at Copan contains the date 10 Ahau, 8 Zac corresponding to the long count date 10-1-2-13-0. This date is equivalent to January 13, A.D. 864. This was a new moon day on which there was the circumstance of a solar eclipse and Mercury set heliacally on this day. There was a lunar eclipse the very next fortnight on January 27. These eclipses are represented in the Altar as will be evident from the following description: 'The Altar (G at Copan) represents a double headed feathered serpent. From the open jaws at both ends protrudes the upper half of a human figure'. This is evidently the Hindu demon Rahu (*Caput Draconis*) having a body consisting of *head and tail, the figure of a snake,* devouring and disgorging the sun and the moon, with Thompson's epoch the date is equivalent to August 2, A.D. 852 which was not a new or full moon day even. Mr. Thompson, however, considered the date 10 Ahau, 8 Zac to correspond to the long count date 9-18-10-0-0 equivalent to the Gregorian date August 20 (August 15 Jul.), A.D. 800 ('Civilization of the Mayas', pp. 96-97). But this date again is not even a new or full moon day, nor any planetary phenomena occurred on this day. Mr. Thompson remarks: 'The connection with Venus is not very clear'. With Kreichgauer's epoch of the Mayan calendar, June 7, 2997 B.C. ('Anthropos' for 1927) the above dates are equivalent to May 2, A.D. 969 and May 15, A.D. 917. But none of these days are even a new or full moon day.

Altar U from Copan contains the corrected date 3 Caban O Pop corresponding to the long count date 9-15-9-10-17 and equivalent

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to July 16, A.D. 752. This was a new moon day on which occurred a partial solar eclipse and on this day Venus attained her greatest brilliancy. A fortnight later on July 31 there occurred a total lunar eclipse visible from Mexico. Another fortnight later on August 14 there occurred a partial solar eclipse. The two solar eclipses one on each side of the total lunar eclipse are evidently represented on the Altar U. 'The front is carved in the form of a grotesque face, probably that of a conventionalized snake. On each side are represented serpents in whose jaws is seated in each case a human figure.' That new moons and eclipses are described in this altar will be evident from this : 'Then follow a number of other dates including at the top left hand corner of the side the date 6 Caban, 10 Mol,—the date most frequently recorded at Copan'. We have already discussed this date corresponding to the long count date 9-16-12-5-17 in connection with Altar Q from Copan. This date has already been found to be a new moon day (December 8, A.D. 774). Now the interval between this date (9-16-12-5-17) and 9-15-9-10-17 is one of 8180 days which we know is exactly 277 lunations. Thus the significance of this date 9-15-9-10-17, 6 Caban 10 Mol most frequently recorded at Copan is now evident. Mr. Thompson could not find the exact significance of the date and remarked, 'The exact significance of this date can only be surmised. Possibly it marked some important political event in the history of Copan.' Neither Kreichgauer's nor Thompson's epoch yields any eclipse, or new or full moons on the above dates.

Stele 1 from Copan contains the date 9-12-3-14-0 equivalent to August 30, A.D. 687. On this day Mercury set heliacally and the sun entered the ancient Hindu constellation Virgo. Two days previous to this date full moon occurred and three days later Jupiter rose heliacally. These are perhaps mentioned in the two or three other dates which are not stated by Mr. Thompson remarking that these are of little interest to the general public. The back of Stele 1 contains the above-mentioned date. But there are other dates also on this side which are not found mentioned by Mr. Thompson. We find that one fortnight before the full moon date, i.e. on August 13, A.D. 687 there occurred a partial solar eclipse. One fortnight before this latter date, i.e. on July 30, A.D. 687 there occurred a total lunar eclipse visible from Mexico, the middle of the eclipse occurring about midnight. Another fortnight before this latter date, i.e. on July 15, A.D. 687 there occurred a partial solar eclipse. These two solar eclipses one on each side of the total lunar eclipse of July 30 are evidently represented by the two heads of the sun god peeping forth from the jaws of the double headed snake : 'The front of Stele 1 represents a full length figure

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above whose head is an elaborate mask with the four leaf hieroglyph symbol of the sun . . . . . Inthe folded arms of the figure rests the body of a double-headed snake, from whose jaws peep forth two heads, which, judging by their filed teeth represent the sun god.' Compare with this the Hindu belief of the sun (*Pushan*) being toothless (*adantakah*).

Altar K from Copan contains the date 9-12-16-7-8 equivalent to February 11, A.D. 700. On this day planet Saturn set heliacally and full moon occurred two days previously on February 9.

Altar D from Copan opens with the date 13 Ahau 8 Zac. This date is equivalent to the long count date 9-19-6-4-0 and equivalent to January 22, A.D. 828. Only two days previously on January 20 there occurred a partial solar eclipse. One fortnight before this date on January 6, A.D. 828 there occurred a total lunar eclipse visible from Mexico. Another fortnight before this latter date, i.e. on December 22, A.D. 827 there was the circumstance of a solar eclipse. From the description of the carvings on the Altar it is clear that eclipses are being mentioned there : 'The front side is carved with a large double headed dragon monster. From one head protrudes a human face.' All this reminds one of the Hindu Rahu devouring and disgorging the sun and the moon. [In the above three dates from Copan a difference of two days has been observed from new or full moon days. If, however, the Julian day number 588465 of February 17, 3102 B.C. is applied in converting the dates —the resulting dates differ from new or full moon days by one day only.]

In the last picture of the lunar count in the Dresden Codex occurs the date 9-17-17-14-6, equivalent to January 15, A.D. 800. This was a full moon day on which occurred a partial lunar eclipse and the two planets Jupiter and Saturn were in geocentric opposition.

The Stela 8 at Copan contains the date 9-17-12-6-2 9 Ik 15 Zip, equivalent to August 30, A.D. 794. This was a new moon day on which Jupiter was in conjunction with the sun.

Stela J at Quirigua opens with the date 9-16-5-0-0. This date is equivalent to September 19, A.D. 767. The autumnal equinox occurred on this day and the planets Mercury and Venus set heliacally in the east jointly on this day. 'In glyph C 4 of this Stele there is a secondary series of one uinal and one kin. Subtracting this the date 9-16-4-16-19 is reached', i.e. 21 days before the previous date, equivalent to August 29, A.D. 767 which curiously we know was a new moon day.

Altar L at Copan contains the date 9-16-11-0-5, equivalent to August 23, A.D. 773. This was a new moon day. Mercury set

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heliacally in the west three days before and Saturn set heliacally three days after this date.

I now append a few other Mayan dates in a tabular form with their equivalents in Christian years after referring these to the epoch of the Kali Yuga era (February, 18·00, 3102 B.C. Julian day number 588466) with the calculated results of astronomical phenomena occurring on those days.

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) 8-6-2-4-17=25th Aug., A.D. 173. | Sun's long. 150°. Jupiter stationary on the 26th and greatest eastern elongation of Mercury on the 27th: New moon on the 26th on which there was the circumstance of a solar eclipse. The next fortnight a lunar eclipse and another fortnight later a solar eclipse. Mars in opposition with sun on the 30th. |
| (2) 8-14-10-13-15=21st Sept., A.D. 339. | Sun's mean long. 180° and autumnal equinox two days later. New moon on the 19th, very nearly an eclipse. The next fortnight a lunar eclipse and another fortnight later a solar eclipse. |
| (3) 9-6-10-0-0=9th July, A.D. 575 | Full moon day. Retrogradation of Jupiter begins on 13th. |
| (4) 9-9-0-0-0=19th Oct., A.D. 624 | Sun's mean long. 210°. New moon on the 18th and greatest eastern elong. of Mercury on the 17th. |
| (5) 9-9-10-0-0=27th Aug., A.D. 634. | New moon on the 29th. Jup. in opp. with sun on 30th. |
| (6) 9-13-17-12-10=2nd Feb., A.D. 721. | New moon on February 1. |
| (7) 9-15-0-0-0=28th Jan., A.D. 743. | Hel. rising of Mercury in west. New moon and a solar eclipse on the 30th. |
| (8) 9-15-9-13-0=28th Aug., A.D. 752. | Venus and Jupiter in opp. in R.A. Greatest eastern elong. of Mercury on the 25th. Full moon on the 29th. |
| (9) 9-16-10-0-0=23rd Aug., A.D. 772. | Venus and Jupiter in conjunction. Greatest eastern elong. of Mercury on the 20th. |
| (10) 9-17-5-4-5=30th Aug., A.D. 787. | Hel. rising of Mars and greatest eastern elong. of Mercury on the 31st. A lunar eclipse two days later and a solar eclipse the next fortnight on Sept. 16. Mars and Saturn in opp. on Sept. 4. |

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# THE DISCOVERY OF SANSKRIT AND ITALY IN THE 16TH CENTURY

*By* A. M. PIZZAGALLI

Vasco de Gama in 1498 sailing beyond the Cape of Good Hope discovered the way to the Indies. Religious zeal and still more a longing for riches urged Europeans to come into contact with the New World. Few of those conquerors felt the need of getting to know the civilization of India.

The Indians were judged idolatrous and barbaric people and it was not worth while troubling about them except to convert them to Christianity. It was only three centuries later that the knowledge of Sanskrit enabled Europeans to learn something about Indian Civilization and its discovery is a glory of the 19th century and above all of England and Germany, still it would be a mistake to think that in the 16th century Europeans had no glimpse at all of this civilization; two men endorsed with uncommon talent, a Portuguese and an Italian, Luigi de Camoens and Filippo Sassetti, lived long in India in that century and tried to understand her spirit.

It is said in fact that Camoens had some notion of the great Indian Poems: certainly he felt the charm of Indian Civilization.

Sassetti[1] on the contrary gave the Europeans their first knowledge of Sanskrit, the holy language of India.

Sassetti was born in Florence in 1540: he studied well at the University of Pisa, and though he had taken up commerce, he studied literature. In 1582 we find him at Goa, in 1585 at Calicut, whence he sent letters which although published only later on in 1716=1743; circulated in M.S. in Florence at that time.

In one of these letters he speaks in the following way of Sanskrit: 'So different is the language of the Indians from the one in which their science is expressed that it takes six years to learn it. They possess a grammar and use it. The language is pleasant to hear, owing to the numerous elements it has, as many as fifty-three, which they can produce by different movements of their mouths and tongues. They translate into their own language easily all own thoughts and they assert we cannot do the same with theirs, for want of elements'; and in another letter of 1588 to Bernardo

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[1] T. Mansion-Esquisse d'une historie de la langue Sanscrite, Paris, 1931, pp. 1f.

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Davanzati he writes: 'Their science is all written down in a language which they call Sanskrit, and which nobody knows when it was written with the auxiliary to have .... very ancient works. They learn it first as we do Greek and Latin ..... And the language of to-day has many things in common with the old one, in which there are many of our substantives, and particularly some numbers, 6, 7, 8, 9 and God, snake and many others. Pliny wrote about their doctors, mentioning them as philosophers; Herodotus, an ancient writer, mentions these Bragmen and their customs, so that we cannot laugh at their opinion that sciences have had their sources here .....'[1]

Therefore Sassetti knew first about the sacred language of India, second, about its phonetic structure and grammar, third, about its character as a dead language and the mother of the living Indian languages, fourth, about its sweetness and wealth of expressions, fifth, about the antiquity of Brahmanic science, sixth, about the relationship of Sanskrit with the European languages.

Still his discovery did not impress anybody: at most it excited curiosity. It is worth while finding out the reason.

First of all men's minds were not ready to perceive its importance. The problem of the origin of languages interested the literary men of the 16th century. In that very Florence, where Pier Vettori and Davanzati lived, and to which Sassetti sent his letters, Benedetto Varchi in his dialogue—The Ercolano—speaks about it extensively; but like all the scholars of his time, he started from the Biblical tradition. The primitive language, or language of Adam, having been lost on account of the confusion following the destruction of the Babel tower, the languages of mankind differed from one another.

Perhaps the language nearest to the old one is Hebrew, first as the religious traditions, was preserved purer among the Hebrews.

Varchi writes: 'There is somebody who thinks that Adam and his descendants spoke first the language which in the course of time was called, after Ebèr, first Eberea and then by the suppression of the middle sillable, Ebrea; and the same opinion seems to have been expressed by Augustine in the 3rd and 4th chapters of the 17th book of the Town of God; and he also thought that this language was the same as that used by Moses when he wrote the law on Mount Sinay, and as that which is spoken even to-day by the Hebrews among themselves.'

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[1] Filippo, Sassetti, Lettere, Milan., pp. 265, 368.

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'Some people say that the first language spoken was not Hebrew but Chaldean, but the two languages resembled each other strongly.'

'Some write that the first inhabited country was Scitica, and there are also some writers who seek to prove that the language spoken by the Hebrews nowadays is not the old one spoken by Adam and in which Moses' law was written, asserting that when Ejdras, the High Priest of the Hebrews, either for fear that the law might be lost, or for some other reason, ordered the law to be written again in seventy-two volumes, after the Carrying away into Babylon, he altered not only the language but also the alphabet, finding new letters and new points. Dante not being satisfied with either of these two opinions, under the pretext of learning it himself, but really wanting to teach other people the truth, introduces into the XXVIth canto of Paradise already quoted here twice, Adam himself who, questioned by him, about this doubt replies :—

'La lingua che io parlai fu tutta spenta
innanzi che all'opra inconsumm abile
fosse la gente di Nembrot intenta'

The language that I spake was quite extinct before that in the work interminable the people under Nimrod were employed. (Par., XXVI, (transl. by Longfellow), v. 124.)

However the opinion most widely diffused and accepted even by Dante in—De Vulgari Eloquentia—is that the Hebraic language was the continuation to some extent of the language of Adam, and therefore the primitive language—because Christ was to use the language of Grace and not that of Confusion—(Varchi, L'Ercolano, pag. 55 ed., Milano, 1919).

So the biblical prejudice in the 16th century hindered progress in the discovery of Sassetti, and it found no support.

Except for Gelb who asserted the priority of Dutch, most of the scholars of the 16th and 17th centuries looked for the primitive language in the semitic branch.[1]

Revolt came only with Leibnitz in the 18th century.

Another cause may be found in the poor knowledge of languages which people in general had in the 16th century. In order to show the link between Sanskrit and Greek and Latin it was not enough to point out the resemblance of a few names, but it was necessary

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[1] Jour. Perzi. Introd. alla Scienza del linguaggio, in Schlescher Componliece Jurin, 1869, pag. 1f.
B. Delbmck, Einlitung,[4] Leipzig, 1904, pag. 24.

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to possess the knowledge of the intermediate links which unite up the great chain of the Indo European languages in time and space.

A third obstacle is to be found in the district of India which the Europeans first got to know. It was Southern India inhabited by races speaking Dravidic languages, into which the brahmanic civilization had been imported. Only when Europeans could enter Bengal, did they really understand the greatness of Indian Civilization.

But the reason which in my opinion caused Sassetti's discovery to be useless is the fact that the information about Sanskrit by him was, in general, concerned with the language separated from thought. He said nothing of its morphologic structure, of its rich literature.

If he had known some of the great Indian epics, or some of their episodes and had not handed down to us information about isolated works, but about songs and poems, the interest in India would have been quite different, first as happened when at the end of the 18th or early in the 19th century, Europeans became acquainted with the Bhagavadgîtâ, with Nala, and with Sakuntalâ.

Yet it is a merit in Sassetti to have realized the existence of what led to one of the most fruitful and genial discoveries of Modern Science.

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# THE OPENING YEAR OF HUMAYUN'S REIGN—EXPEDITION TO KALINJAR—1530-1

*By* S. K. Banerji

Humayun was a young man of 23, when he ascended the throne of Delhi (December 30, 1530). Like most of the mediæval kings, he signalized his accession by a generous gesture towards his subjects, by retaining the officers of the preceding reign in their respective posts and rewarding his warm partisans by an increment of salary [1] and conferment of titles. Distinctions were also bestowed upon the high *amirs* or the princes of his family. Thus, Kāmrān was continued as governor of Kābul and Qandahār, with a semi-independent status. To Askari, the third brother, was transferred his own province of Sambhal,[2] and to the youngest, Hindāl, was granted Babur's favourite retreat of Alwar. The distant Badakhshān remained with Sulaimān Mirza, while the eastern frontiers were guarded by Sultān Junaid Birlas,[3] from his headquarters at Jaunpur.

The event was further marked by joyous feasts and bestowal of largess. On the very first occasion, a boat-full of gold was distributed, the distribution being made in large trays. The chronogram کشتی زر *'kashti-i-zar'*, indicates the double significance of the occasion. The other chronograms giving the year of accession, 937 A.H. are همایون بود وارث ملک وی *'Humayun būd waris-i-mulk-i-wai'* and خیرالملوک *'khair-ul-mulūk'*,[4] one asserting Humayun's claims to the throne and the other proclaiming him as one of the best rulers of the country. If they were penned at the time of accession, they should be taken as mere panegyrics of a courtier.

Boundaries of the Mughal kingdom.

At the outset, it may be thought proper to indicate the boundaries of the Mughal kingdom that Humayun inherited. On the north-west, the river Oxus defined the boundary and the provinces of Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshān formed part of the Delhi empire along with Kābul,

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[1] *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh* (*Kh. T.*) writes :—
جمهور خلایق و عموم طوائف را از انعام خود بهرهٔ مند ساخت - بمواجب سپاه را علی العموم ده بست و ده سی و ده چهل فرمود - یک ساله مواجب از خزانه داده از خود راضی و شاکر ساخت *

[2] At present, a *tahsil* in the Moradabad Dist. (U.P.).

[3] He had married Babur's sister, Shahr-bānū Begam.

[4] According to Persian *Abjad*, the numerical figures added come to 937 A.H.

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Ghazni, and Qandahār. The far-famed Herāt, probably belonged to Persia.

In India proper, the Punjab and Multan had been occupied early by Babur.[1] Even before his occupation of the Punjab, Babur considered it as belonging to himself as the lineal descendant of the great Timur. To the jurist of modern times, his claims might appear flimsy, but, at any rate, he himself was serious enough to put them forward. The south-western limit of the Mughal kingdom under him may be taken to correspond more or less to that of the modern Punjab. Thus, while, Abohār, Sirsā, Hānsi and Hissār were included in his territory, places like Ganeshgarh, Hanumāngarh and Jītpura lay beyond it.[2] To the south of Multan lay the extensive kingdom of Sindh, then under the suzerainty of the Arghūns, Shah Beg and his son, Mirza Shah Husain.

In order to maintain a strong government, Babur's uniform policy had been to place his elder sons to the north-west or western regions of his kingdom. Accordingly, he had appointed Humayun as the governor of Badakhshān, Kāmrān of Kābul, Ghazni and Qandahār, and Askari of Multan. Humayun also continued his father's policy in allowing Kāmrān to govern, undisturbed, the territories he possessed ; afterwards, he strengthened his hands by adding the provinces of the Punjab and Multan, thus extending his administrative sphere as far east as the river Sutlej. The provinces of Sambhal and Alwar he made over to Askari and Hindāl respectively. Alwar, Dhōlpur and Gwalior and further east, Kalpi, Kālinjar, and Benares formed the southern frontiers of the kingdom.[3] Thus, as we proceed eastward, the Mughal territory, south of the river Jamna, lessened, until at Allahabad and further east, it practically coincided with the river.

The Dōāb between the Jamna and the Ganges, commanded by the twin capitals, Delhi and Agra, on the west, and Allahabad, Chunār and Benares on the east, was the prize secured after the victories of Panipat and Khānwah. On the north of the Ganges, Sambhal, Bahraich, Lucknow, Ajudhiya, Gorakhpur and Ballia roughly indicated the boundaries. The Mughal control over these districts was maintained from their headquarters at Jaunpur, where resided the governor.

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[1] For Babur's conquest of Multan, see Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I (Babur), p. 398.

[2] Any good map of India would indicate the places.

[3] Babur's campaigns against Chandīrī (1528 A.D.) and consequential territorial arrangements had only an ephemeral importance.

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The state of the Mughal kingdom.

The kingdom had been hastily acquired and its provinces were loosely knit. It is true that there was no popular outburst against the new-comers; yet in the matter of government, it was not all a smooth sailing for them. Thus, first of all, there was the absence of efficient administration all over the country. Babur's plans were crude and consisted of the appointment of a governor, as well as a *Diwan* in a province and of minor officials like the *Shiqdār* and *Kotwāl* at its headquarters. As a support to these officials, were the local *jagirdars* who had received *jagirs* from the State on feudal terms. This simple machinery was all that Babur could conceive of. The defect in his system was that he never thought of linking the rural areas with the Central government. Of the subjects, the Hindus and most of the country Muslims had accepted the Mughal supremacy as a matter of course; the former, because the change of rulers did not affect them in the least; and the latter, because the Mughal culture was more welcome to them than that of the Lodis.

But there was one very strong element of opposition in the country, viz., the Afghans. They had been the rulers of the country since the days of Buhlūl Lodi and had even in the earlier periods supplied the military element in the administration.[1] Since the advent of the Islamic government in North India, the Afghans had established their military and political importance.[2] They had invited Babur not to rule, but to help them in deposing Sultān Ibrahīm Lodi, and raising some other member from among them, as ruler. At first Babur was willing to place Ibrahīm's uncle, Ālam Khan Alāuddīn on the throne of Delhi, but the latter's incompetence made the scheme unworkable. The rapid successes that ended in the victory at Panipat, the support that he obtained from the Indian Muslim nobles like Dilāwar Khan, Ārāish Khan,[3] Mulla Muhammad Mazhab,[3] Ismail Jilwāni, Malik Bīban Jilwāni, Mahmud Khan Nūhāni and Shah Muhammad Farmūlī and the passive quiescence of the ryots changed his views and he decided to keep his conquests in his own hands. He had expected that his past record of military powers and administrative fairness would not make him unacceptable to the Indians; and his expectations were fulfilled except in one quarter. The Afghans in India were solidly

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[1] *cf.* The reigns of Muhammad Shah and Ālam Shah of the Sayyid dynasty.

[2] Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266–87) garrisoned his fortresses that guarded the roads to Bengal, with the Afghan soldiers. The earliest Muslim conquerors of Bengal were Khaljis, who were generally included among the Afghans.

[3] *Babur-nama*, p. 463. Ārāish Khan's name again occurs at the time of deliberation held at Babur's death. See Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun-nama*, fol. 20*a*.

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opposed to him and considered him as a usurper of their ruling privileges. They were a selfish group and did not realize that their hereditary eminence during the Lodi rule was undermining their own character, as well as the self-respecting instincts of the non-Afghans. To all efforts of Babur and Humayun [1] towards conciliation, they turned a deaf ear. They yearned for the full privileges of a ruling class and refused to be content with the favours bestowed on them by the new rulers.

Humayun inherited this Afghan antipathy from his father. Perhaps it could have been eradicated by the consistent pursuit of a threefold policy of (i) carrying on continuous military expeditions against them, (ii) undertaking prudent administrative measures which would make no distinction between the different classes or creeds, and (iii) diffusing the superior Mughal culture in all parts of the kingdom.

The problems for the Mughals.

The Afghan opposition was perhaps the most serious problem which Humayun had to face. There were other political problems of no mean significance with which he was confronted after his accession, of which one was the potentates on the borders of his kingdom, among whom might be mentioned the following :—

(1) Mirza Shah Husain Arghūn, who had recently subdued the Langās and approached nearer the Mughal frontiers.[2]
(2) Maharana Ratan Singh who had succeeded his father, the far-famed Maharana Sāngā.
(3) Bahadur Shah of Gujrat who had extended his territories in all directions and annexed Malwa.
(4) The minor king Jilaluddin Nūhāni and the Afghans of South Behar. The minister of the State was Sher Khan, a man of remarkable ability and talent.
(5) Nasrat Shah of Bengal, son of the more famous Alāuddin Husain Shah.

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Humayun was willing, at least for the present, to leave these potentates alone, for he had not the ever-impelling instinct of a conqueror. But it was known that some of them were jealous of his good fortune and would not lose an opportunity to create trouble for him.

There was yet another political problem which required his constant attention. From the prince downwards, everyone loved power and riches and aimed at autonomy in the district or province

[1] For a few of such efforts, see *Babur-nama*, pp. 527, 537, 544.
[2] See Erskine : *Babur*, pp. 390-1.

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assigned to him. For instance, Kāmrān would have nothing to do with his elder brother except to render nominal submission. As the guardian of the frontier provinces, he certainly removed Humayun's anxiety, so far as the political relations with Persia or Central Asia were concerned; but the semi-independent status of the prince made his capitals Kābul and Qandahār look like rivals to Delhi and Agra and hence, to some extent, divided the resources of the Mughals. In later years Askari and Hindāl too, at times, imitated their elder brother's ambition and lust for power, causing distress and ruin to the kingdom.

But Humayun's worst enemies were his brother-in-law, Muhammad Zemān Mirza, and cousin, Muhammad Sultān Mirza, and his innumerable progeny. They were a set of high-born, but restless princes, who proud of their lineage, were ever bent on adventure and caused unrest everywhere.

The solution of the problems is not far to seek. A constant vigilance on the part of the king was imperative. While he should initiate a benign policy towards the loyal and the faithful, towards the recalcitrant he must be relentless and cruel and wage a continuous war. Also, he should not make any distinction among the rebels, be they the Afghans, or his brothers, or other relations. If Humayun had followed this judicious course, the unrest within the kingdom would have speedily come to an end, and his external foes like Bahadur Shah, certainly, would not have dared to create any trouble for him.

But the Emperor himself was too soft-hearted to punish any of the Mirzās, least of all, his brothers. The Afghans, he ignored, either because he considered the ablest of them, Sher Khan, to be favourably inclined towards the Mughals, or because he ruled over Afghanistan, their ancestral home. He failed to realize that the Indian Afghans formed a large community of great political importance and that the Afghans of Kabul and Qandahār did not owe direct allegiance to him but to Kāmrān. So long as the latter was indifferent to the interests of the Mughal kingdom, Humayun was running some risk in neglecting them.

Humayun's troubles began almost from the commencement of his reign. Muhammad Zemān Mirza, his brother-in-law and husband of his elder half-sister, Masūma Sultān Begam, rebelled.[1] It subsided almost as quickly, because Humayun's munificence and Babur's choice of him as successor had disposed the nobles to his favour. The Mirza submitted and was pardoned.

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[1] *Akbar-nama*, p. 123 and *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Or. 157 (British Museum), fol. 328*a*.

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Campaign against Kālinjar.

Humayun realized that the Khalifa's deliberations and Muhammad Zemān Mirza's rebellion indicated dissatisfaction in some quarters and that it was essential for him to satisfy his followers by achieving some striking success. Fortunately, he had an easy way of accomplishing it. At the end of the last reign, he had been conducting a campaign against the Raja of Kālinjar. The serious nature of Babur's illness, which resulted in his death, had recalled him to Agra and thus Kālinjar was out of his mind for several months. Now when he had some leisure, he thought of renewing the campaign.

The geography and past history of Kālinjar.

The celebrated fort of Kālinjar is situated on the top of a hill in the south-eastern extremity of Bundelkhand.[1] The hill is isolated from the adjacent range of Bindhāchal, by a chasm or ravine, some 1,200 yards wide. It is some 1,200 feet above the sea-level and is several hundred feet high from the plains below. The top of the hill which forms a plateau is four or five miles in circuit and is fortified by a rampart.[2] Just below the rampart, the scarp of the rock for some 150 feet is nearly perpendicular and, thus, an easy access to the summit was by no means possible. Numerous rock-cut tanks are to be seen at the top, though the quality of its water is not supposed to be good.

It is a holy place for the Hindus and supposed to have existed in the Satya-yuga under the name of Ratnakūta, in the Tretā, of Mahāgiri, and in the Dvāpara, of Pingālu. The present name, Kāliñjara, occurs in the Mahābhārata, in Ptolemy's geographical work and also in Shiva-Purāna. The word is supposed to be one of Shiva's name, Kālañjara, ' He, who causes time to grow old '. There are Shiva lingas, Jaina statues, caves and inscriptions [3] all over the place.

In the Muslim period, we see its Chandēl ruler fighting in Jaipal's camp against the ruler of Ghazni in 978 A.D. and later on, taking part in the battle of Peshawar, 1008 A.D. Fifteen years later, Mahmud besieged Kālinjar, but failing in its capture, made terms with the Raja, Nanda.[4] Prithvi Raj of Delhi defeated the Chandēl

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[1] To-day, it is included in the district of Banda.

[2] The description would apply to the fort of Chitor or Gwalior also. Mandu fort has a much larger space at the top.

[3] One of the inscriptions reads as :

محمد همایون بادشاه غازی بتاریخ سلخ رجب المرجب سنه ۹۳۶ *

The date would correspond to 30th March, 1530.

[4] The full description may be read in Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 21-2.

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ruler of his time in 1182, when the latter removed his capital from Mahoba to the hill-fortress. Qutbuddin, Iltūtmīsh and Nāsiruddin Mahmūd attacked the place but their successes do not seem to have been of a permanent character; for the Chandēl chief continued to rule till the close of the 13th century. The history of the next two hundred and thirty years is rather obscure.[1]

Humayun's campaign against Kālinjar.

In 1531 A.D. Humayun made a fresh attempt to occupy the fort of Kālinjar. The siege lasted for some time, when the Raja purchased peace by an offer of twelve *man* or 6,720 *tolas* of gold.[2] The Raja was then made a grandee of the Mughal kingdom.[3]

A discrepancy between the two official records, written about the same time, may be noted here. Abul Fazl, followed by most other writers, dates the Raja's submission in the Hijri year 937 (1530-1 A.D.), while *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* post-dates it by two years. The political insignificance of the Raja and the express mention in the *Tārīkh* that the siege was of a short duration, prevent us from inferring that the campaign lasted for two years, and thus reconciling the two authorities. We choose to follow Abul Fazl, as he is supported by most of the contemporary writers.

Humayun's gain in the expedition to Kālinjar was much greater than the mere acquisition of 12 *man* of gold or 67,200 rupees.[4] However welcome that treasure might be to him, it was merely a portion of what he had spent in the festivities that were held at the time of his accession. But his success had great political significance. The submission of an ancient Rajput family like the Chandēl added to the dignity and prestige of the victor, who could now assume the title of *Ghāzi*[5] and boast of having extended the bounds of the Mughal kingdom.[6]

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[1] Much of the account is taken from the Imperial Gazetteer of India and Trotter's Gazetteer.

[2] Babur's measure of weight as given in *Babur-nama*, pp. 517-8 is

14 *tolas* = 1 *seer*
40 *seers* = 1 *man* or *mānbān*.

See Mrs. Beveridge's note also.

[3] Or as expressed by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad in his *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 194

* داخل دولت خواهان شد

[4] Taking one *tola* of gold to equal ten rupees of modern times, in value.

[5] i.e., the conqueror.

[6] The chronology of the reign is as follows:—

(*a*) Accession . . . . . December 30, 1530.
(*b*) Humayun at Agra and Delhi . . . January to June, 1531.
(*c*) Humayun at Kālinjar, July-August, 1531.

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# THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE SINDHIS

*By* C. R. Roy

The following account is based on the anthropometrical measurements and observations of 100 individuals taken by me during my stay at Mohen-jo-daro, Larkana (Sind), in connection with the Archæological excavations in 1928-29. The difficulty in getting these kinds of measurements from the illiterate people in the interior villages have been so great that sometimes my attempts were met with failure. However with the exercise of great persuasion and influence I succeeded in taking a large number of measurements.

The racial history of Sind is very much complicated owing to the various invasions and admixture of different racial elements. It is not an easy problem to find out true racial significance. No serious attempt has been made before this to record any anthropometric measurements of the Sindhis ; so from my collected data, which are very elaborate, scholars will get ample food for further researches in this direction,—specially those who are interested in the racial history of the Prehistoric people of the Indus Valley, as most of the subjects measured belong to the villages near about Mohen-jo-daro.

## General Description

All individuals measured by me belong to the Mahomedan community of different castes or sects, and all are adults with their ages varying from 20–68 years.

Their complexion varies from dark-brown to brown with a few cases of light-brown. The colour of the iris also varies from dark-brown to brown. The hair is wavy with long curls and the colour of hair varies from dark-brown to black.

The supra-orbital ridges are slightly or moderately developed in the majority of cases, about 35% being without such prominences. The root of the nose is slightly or moderately depressed and the bridge of the nose in a majority of cases is straight, only 12% being more or less concave and 12% more or less convex.

The eyeslits are round and horizontal. In a few cases they are narrow or slightly oblique. There is no epicanthic fold. The Zygomatic bones are not prominent. The shape of the face is long oval.

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From the analysis of metric data we find that :—In the Cephalic Index 6 are Dolicocephalic, 48 Mesocephalic, and 46 Brachycephalic. The Cephalic Indices vary from 71.7 to 93.

The Nasal Index shows 51 Leptorrhine, 45 Mesorrhine, and 4 Platyrrhine. The Nasal indices vary from 42.5 to 96. As to stature 11 were found short, 59 medium, 18 tall, and 12 very tall.

By combining the Cephalic and Nasal indices we arrive at the following results :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dolicocephalic | Leptorrhine | 3% |
| ,, | Mesorrhine | 3% |
| Mesocephalic | Leptorrhine | 21% |
| ,, | Mesorrhine | 24% |
| ,, | Platyrrhine | 3% |
| Brachycephalic | Leptorrhine | 27% |
| ,, | Mesorrhine | 18% |
| ,, | Platyrrhine | 1% |

From the above analysis it is evident that these people are not homogeneous but admixtures of different racial elements. We may suggest the following conclusion from the analysis :—

1. The Dolicocephalic Leptorrhine element probably due to the admixture of Indo-Afghan stock allied to the Punjabis and the Rajputs, but the percentage of this element is very low.

2. A few per cent. of the Platyrrhine element is to be seen. The Platyrrhine of the Pre-Dravidian is so marked that where this character is exhibited in other peoples we may suspect that they have more or less Pre-Dravidian origin. So in this case also the Pre-Dravidian character like the Bhils of Rajputana and Kathiawar has permeated through the lower castes. In the substratum of the population there was a Pre-Dravidian element which has been dominated or absorbed by the later migration of Mesocephalic, Mesoleptorrhine and Brachyleptorrhine people.

3. We find a large percentage of the Brachyleptorrhine element which suggests that in this group of people there has been a mixture with a strong brachycephalic stock which must have belonged to a Eurasiatic group since there is little trace of Mongolian character. The type appears to have been medium to tall stature with narrow leptorrhine nose, colour not particularly black, and wavy hair. This may be allied to the Homoalpinus group such as Galcha, Tajik, Wakhi, etc.

4. We also find another group of Mesocephalic leptomesorrhine people which may be affiliated to a somewhat different group, the Irano-Mediterranean stock—which includes Persians, Susians, etc. These are the mixtures of so many different sub-races that it is at

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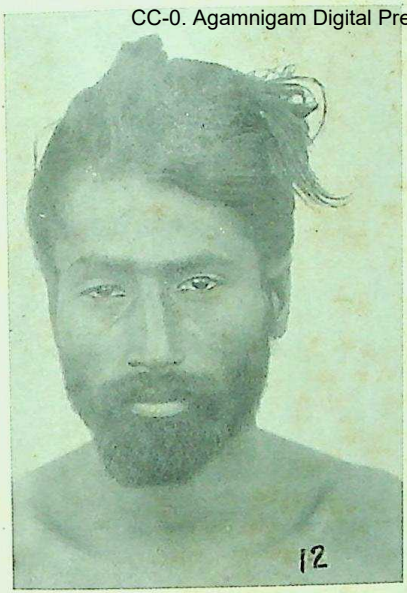

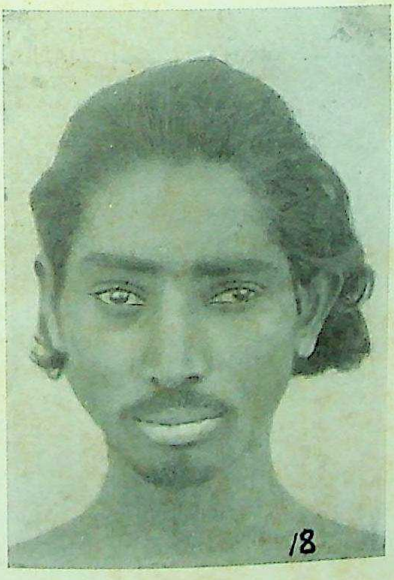

12 Dolicocephalic Leptorrhine
18 Mesocephalic Leptorrhine

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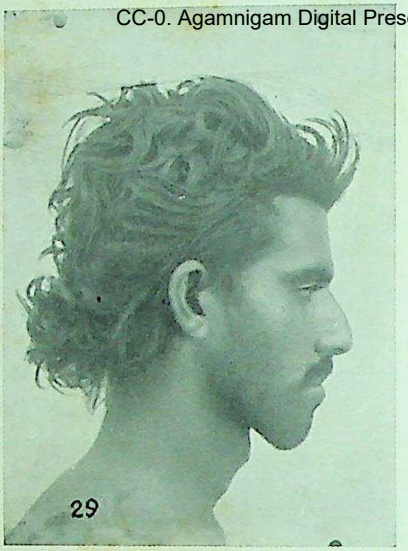


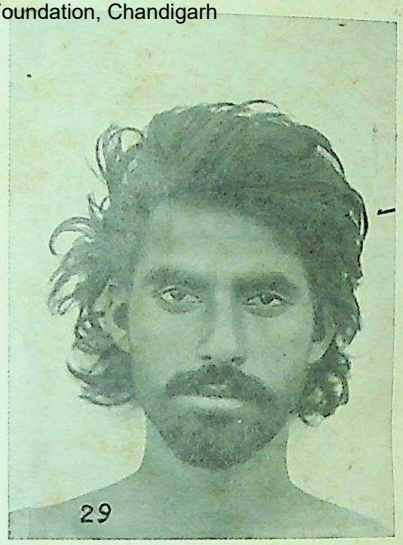

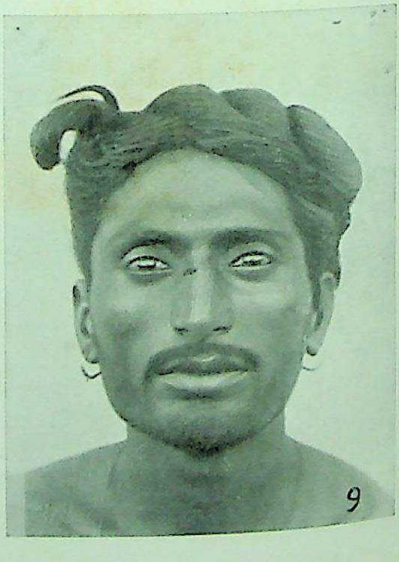


Brachycephalic Leptorrhine Group
Profile and Side view

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present impossible to disentangle the knot until further data are available.

No elaborate attempt has been made here to compare the Sindhis with the neighbouring people as adequate data of the latter are not available. Further investigation is being carried on by me and that report will be published later on.

The detailed measurements and observations taken by me are given on the next page.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| D.B. | .. .. .. | Dark Brown. |
| B. | .. .. .. | Brown. |
| Bl. | .. .. .. | Black. |
| L.B. | .. .. .. | Light Brown. |
| W. | .. .. .. | Wavy. |
| N. | .. .. .. | Narrow. |
| V. | .. .. .. | Very. |
| R.H. | .. .. .. | Round Horizontal. |
| Str. | .. .. .. | Straight. |
| CC. | .. .. .. | Concave. |
| CV. | .. .. .. | Convex. |
| M. | .. .. .. | Moderately. |
| S. | .. .. .. | Slightly. |
| Dp. | .. .. .. | Depressed. |
| Dv. | .. .. .. | Developed. |
| O. | .. .. .. | Out. |
| I. | .. .. .. | In. |
| D. | .. .. | Down. |

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| | Name | Caste and Religion | Locality | Sex (Adult) | Head length | Head breadth | Cephalic Index | Head height | Nasal length | Nasal breadth | Nasal Index | Stature | Min. Front : Diameter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Saliman s/o Yusuf .. | Mahomedan | Vil. Gud, Dt. Larkana. | Male | 16·6 | 14·6 | 87·9 | 12·9 | 5·6 | 3·7 | 66·0 | 169·4 | 11·5 |
| 2. | Haji s/o Hussain .. | do. | do. | do. | 15·1 | 13·7 | 71·7 | 12·5 | 4·9 | 3·7 | 75·5 | 167·1 | 9·6 |
| 3. | Ladho s/o Koro .. | do. | do. | do. | 18·0 | 13·7 | 76·1 | 12·6 | 6·3 | 3·9 | 61·9 | 171·0 | 9·5 |
| 4. | Rasulbux s/o Gul .. | do. | do. | do. | 17·7 | 14·2 | 80·2 | 13·7 | 5·2 | 3·9 | 75·0 | 174·4 | 10·5 |
| 5. | Alibux s/o Shahib-uddin. | do. | do. | do. | 17·6 | 15·6 | 88·6 | 13·0 | 5·8 | 3·1 | 53·4 | 171·8 | 10·5 |
| 6. | Karimbux s/o Musso | do. | do. | do. | 17·3 | 14·6 | 84·3 | 12·7 | 5·8 | 4·2 | 72·4 | 165·3 | 10·4 |
| 7. | Ali Bux s/o Khair Mhd. | do. | Vil. Dhand, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·7 | 14·7 | 83·0 | 13·2 | 5·7 | 3·8 | 66·6 | 170·1 | 10·0 |
| 8. | Punah s/o Chatto .. | do. | Vil. Gud, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·7 | 15·0 | 80·2 | 13·5 | 5·1 | 3·7 | 72·5 | 167·4 | 10·6 |
| 9. | Sarif s/o Sukhid .. | do. | Vil. Shukh, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·4 | 14·1 | 81·0 | 11·4 | 5·5 | 3·6 | 65·4 | 166·6 | 9·8 |
| 10. | Chattal s/o Mitho .. | do. | Khayerpur | do. | 17·8 | 14·2 | 79·7 | 12·6 | 5·2 | 4·9 | 94·2 | 157·3 | 10·0 |
| 11. | Immabux s/o Ramzan | do. | Vil. Gud. | do. | 18·2 | 14·3 | 78·4 | 12·2 | 5·6 | 4·0 | 71·4 | 174·5 | 10·6 |
| 12. | Kauro s/o Khairo .. | do. | Vil. Dhand. | do. | 17·5 | 14·3 | 81·7 | 13·2 | 5·8 | 3·8 | 65·5 | 166·4 | 9·5 |
| 13. | Maldad s/o Faqir Mhd. | do. | Vil. Gud. | do. | 18·2 | 15·2 | 83·5 | 12·9 | 5·2 | 3·9 | 75·0 | 159·9 | 9·7 |
| 14. | Anirbux s/o Jaro .. | do. | do. | do. | 17·2 | 14·1 | 81·9 | 13·4 | 5·5 | 3·8 | 69·0 | 168·9 | 10·4 |
| 15. | Mhd. Kassim s/o Punjoo. | do. | do. | do. | 17·2 | 14·5 | 84·3 | 14·2 | 5·2 | 3·5 | 67·3 | 168·4 | 10·3 |
| 16. | Saifal s/o Abdul Rahman. | do. | Vil. Dundh | do. | 17·8 | 15·1 | 84·8 | 12·1 | 5·4 | 3·9 | 72·2 | 169·1 | 10·9 |
| 17. | Imma Bux s/o Abdul Aziz. | do. (Pirzado). | Shiekh | do. | 17·5 | 14·1 | 80·6 | 13·7 | 5·0 | 3·9 | 78 | 162·0 | 10·1 |
| 18. | Umar s/o Hamzo .. | do. | Vil. Chaudio, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·4 | 13·8 | 75·0 | 13·2 | 5·4 | 3·4 | 62·9 | 164·4 | 10·1 |
| 19. | Haji Yoosup s/o Makoro. | do. | Vil. Kalhora, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·5 | 14·4 | 82·2 | 12·5 | 5·6 | 3·5 | 62·5 | 168·5 | 10·6 |
| 20. | Ahmad s/o Sumar .. | do. | Vil. Khuhara, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·0 | 14·7 | 81·6 | 11·8 | 5·6 | 3·7 | 66·0 | 164·4 | 10·2 |
| 21. | Mohammad s/o Kutal | do. | Vil. Gud, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·7 | 14·5 | 81·9 | 13·0 | 5·6 | 4·0 | 71·4 | 170·6 | 10·6 |
| 22. | Alladinoh s/o Sumer | do. | Vil. Chakar, Dt. Larkana. | do. (18 yrs.) | 17·2 | 14·9 | 86·6 | 12·2 | 5·1 | 4·9 | 96·0 | 165·7 | 9·8 |
| 23. | Haji s/o Varam .. | do. | Vil. Balerji, Dt. Larkana. | do. (16 yrs.) | 18·1 | 14·0 | 77·3 | 13·9 | 5·4 | 3·5 | 64·8 | 163·2 | 9·6 |
| 24. | Phul s/o Jumon .. | do. | Daudh | do. | 17·1 | 14·6 | 85·3 | 12·7 | 5·6 | 3·8 | 67·8 | 168·9 | 10·1 |
| 25. | Rasul Bux s/o Khudabux. | do. | Vil. Tatri, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·7 | 13·6 | 76·8 | 11·1 | 4·4 | 3·4 | 77·2 | 165·8 | 10·1 |
| 26. | Ali Bux s/o Alladinoh | do. (Weaver). | Vil. Khurara, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·2 | 14·3 | 83·1 | 13·5 | 5·2 | 3·5 | 67·3 | 164·6 | 10·2 |
| 27. | Mian Dad s/o Amin | do. (Mushori). | Vil. Mushori, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·1 | 13·9 | 76·7 | 12·5 | 5·2 | 3·7 | 71·1 | 159·1 | 10·1 |
| 28. | Wali Mhd. s/o Mohabat. | do. (Kiro). | Vil. Hassanwan Dt. Larkana. | do. (68 yrs.) | 18·3 | 14·0 | 76·5 | 15·5 | 6·2 | 3·7 | 59·6 | 171·1 | 10·0 |
| 29. | Gulsher s/o Alladito | do. (Machi). | Vil. Daud, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·2 | 14·6 | 80·2 | 13·4 | 5·8 | 3·7 | 63·7 | 157·5 | 9·6 |
| 30. | Chatto s/o Saifal .. | do. (Awan). | Vil. But, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·2 | 16·0 | 87·9 | 13·8 | 5·5 | 3·6 | 65·4 | 171·8 | 11·1 |
| 31. | Wali Mhd. s/o Khuda Bux. | do. (Mushori). | Vil. Mushori, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·4 | 14·6 | 83·9 | 14·3 | 6·0 | 3·9 | 65·0 | 174·5 | 10·8 |
| 32. | Abdulla s/o Rajal .. | do. (Magnejo). | Vil. Gud | do. | 17·6 | 14·4 | 81·8 | 12·6 | 5·2 | 3·9 | 75 | 169·1 | 10·5 |
| 33. | Kassim s/o Daud .. | do. (Soho). | Mushori | do. (56 yrs.) | 19·2 | 15·1 | 78·6 | 14·9 | 5·3 | 4·2 | 79·2 | 163·8 | 10·1 |
| 34. | Alladinoh s/o Bhalidinoh. | do. (Bachau). | Vil. Shahjamal, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·5 | 14·6 | 78·9 | 15·2 | 4·9 | 4·2 | 85·7 | 162·8 | 10·7 |
| 35. | Dhani Bux s/o Kasim. | do. (Butcher). | Vil. Shiekh, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·5 | 14·9 | 85·1 | 12·5 | 4·7 | 3·8 | 80·8 | 167·1 | 10·3 |
| 36. | Alladinoh s/o Ali Mhd. | do. (Shoemaker). | Vil. Jakro, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·2 | 14·1 | 77·4 | 13·0 | 4·8 | 3·9 | 81·2 | 170·0 | 9·5 |
| 37. | Suleman s/o Wasan Khan. | do. (Jessar). | Sheikh. | do. | 18·3 | 14·8 | 80·8 | 14·7 | 5·2 | 4·0 | 76·9 | 167·8 | 10·4 |
| 38. | Ali Bux s/o Umer .. | do. (Fisherman). | Gud. | do. | 18·3 | 13·3 | 72·6 | 14·4 | 5·2 | 3·7 | 71·1 | 164·3 | 9·6 |
| 39. | Umedali s/o Mahkumdin. | do. (Sumro). | Shiekh | do. | 16·2 | 14·0 | 86·4 | 12·0 | 5·2 | 3·5 | 67·3 | 154·3 | 9·0 |
| 40. | Shabaji s/o Bhai Khan. | do. (Mumrani). | Vil. Bubaji, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·0 | 14·6 | 85·5 | 15·1 | 4·9 | 3·8 | 77·5 | 171·1 | 10·3 |

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| Max. Bizygomatic Br. | Bigonial breadth | Inter-orbital breadth | Orbitonasal length | Orbitonasal arc | Superior Facial length | Total Facial length | Horizontal ⊙cc of head | Sagittal arc | Transverse arc | Complexion | Hair colour | Type of Hair | Eye Colour | Eye Form | Nose Form | Root of Nose | Supra-orbital ridges |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13·8 | 10·8 | 2·4 | 10·9 | 12·1 | 7·3 | 12·5 | 51·8 | 32·6 | 35·5 | D.B. | Bl. | W. | G.B. | N. | S.C.V. | S.Dp. | nil. |
| 12·8 | 10·2 | 2·7 | 9·7 | 11·1 | 6·4 | 10·6 | 52·4 | 32·0 | 32·5 | B. | Bl. | W. | B. | V.N. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 12·7 | 9·8 | 2·7 | 9·6 | 13·0 | 7·9 | 12·5 | 51·5 | 31·0 | 31·5 | B. | Bl. | W. | B. | R.H. | do. | do. | M.Dev. |
| 13·5 | 10·2 | 2·5 | 10·7 | 13·2 | 6·5 | 11·6 | 52·5 | 33·5 | 35·0 | B. | Bl. | W. | B. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·6 | 10·2 | 2·2 | 10·8 | 13·5 | 7·7 | 11·8 | 53·5 | 34·5 | 33·5 | L.B. | D.B. | W. | D.B. | S.I.D. | do. | S.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·4 | 9·6 | 2·6 | 11·2 | 15·7 | 7·2 | 11·7 | 53·2 | 31·7 | 33·4 | B. | V.D.B. | W. | B. | N.H. | Str. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·8 | 11·3 | 2·8 | 10·4 | 12·2 | 7·2 | 12·2 | 52·5 | 31·2 | 33·1 | B. | do. | W. | B. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·6 | 10·1 | 2·6 | 10·9 | 13·2 | 6·7 | 11·3 | 54·5 | 35·2 | 35·9 | L.B. | Bl. | Cur. | B. | do. | do. | Dp. | Dev. |
| 15·5 | 10·4 | 2·7 | 10·6 | 12·7 | 7·1 | 11·5 | 50·7 | 31·2 | 33·2 | D.B. | Bl. | S.W. | B. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·0 | 9·5 | 2·6 | 10·4 | 12·4 | 6·5 | 11·5 | 52·5 | 33·3 | 32·2 | B. | Bl. | .. | D.B. | do. | C.C. | do. | nil. |
| 12·5 | 9·7 | 2·4 | 10·7 | 14·5 | 6·9 | 12·0 | 52·8 | 31·5 | 33·2 | D.B. | D.B. | W. | B. | R.H. | Str. | S.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·5 | 10·0 | 2·6 | 9·9 | 12·0 | 7·2 | 11·8 | 52·0 | 32·5 | 33·3 | B. | do. | W. | B. | do. | S.C.V. | do. | nil. |
| 13·6 | 9·4 | 2·7 | 9·9 | 12·9 | 6·9 | 11·6 | 53·9 | 34·5 | 35·5 | B. | Bl. | W. | B. | do. | Str. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·1 | 10·2 | 2·7 | 10·5 | 12·7 | 7·2 | 11·7 | 50·7 | 30·5 | 33·2 | B. | Bl. | Str. | B. | S.I.D. | S.C.V. | do. | nil. |
| 13·0 | 9·9 | 2·6 | 10·1 | 11·7 | 6·7 | 11·2 | 52·3 | 34·5 | 34·0 | B. | D.B. | W. | B. | R.H. | Str. | V.S.-Dp. | M.Dev. |
| 13·9 | 9·7 | 2·8 | 10·5 | 12·0 | 7·1 | 11·9 | 53·1 | 32·5 | 34·2 | L.B. | Bl. | Str. | D.B. | S.O.D. | do. | M.Dp. | do. |
| 12·9 | 9·5 | 2·6 | 9·7 | 11·3 | 6·6 | 10·7 | 51·3 | 31·8 | 34·0 | D.B. | D.B. | W. | do. | R.H. | do. | do. | S.Dev. |
| 13·1 | 10·5 | 2·3 | 10·2 | 12·2 | 7·5 | 11·9 | 53·0 | 31·5 | 32·3 | L.B. | do. | W. | do. | I.D. | S.C.V. | do. | nil. |
| 13·3 | 10·5 | 2·5 | 10·3 | 11·2 | 7·5 | 11·6 | 51·2 | 31·2 | 32·5 | B. | do. | W. | B. | R.H. | do. | do. | S.Dev. |
| 13·0 | 10·5 | 2·7 | 9·8 | 12·2 | 7·2 | 12·0 | 52·5 | 32·0 | 32·5 | D.B. | Bl. | W. | D.B. | S.I.D. | Str. | S.Dp. | do. |
| 13·7 | 10·2 | 2·7 | 10·6 | 12·5 | 6·6 | 12·3 | 53·1 | 32·2 | 34·2 | L.B. | Bl. | W. | B. | R.H. N | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·1 | 9·3 | 2·1 | 10·2 | 11·8 | 6·9 | 10·7 | 52·0 | 32·5 | 33·1 | do. | D.B. | W. | D.B. | S.O.D. | do. | M.Dp. | V.S.Dv. |
| 12·2 | 9·0 | 2·1 | 9·0 | 11·2 | 7·5 | 11·2 | 50·0 | 31·1 | 32·5 | B. | Bl. | .. | do. | N.H. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·6 | 10·1 | 2·6 | 10·5 | 11·8 | 6·8 | 11·3 | 52·1 | 31·4 | 33·2 | B. | D.B. | W. | do. | S.I.D. | S.C.C. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 13·1 | 10·2 | 2·2 | 9·8 | 11·5 | 5·8 | 11·1 | 51·0 | 32·5 | 32·8 | D.B. | Bl. | W. | do. | N.H. | do. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 12·8 | 9·1 | 2·3 | 9·9 | 12·2 | 6·7 | 11·8 | 51·5 | 34·8 | 33·2 | L.B. | D.B. | W. | B. | R.H. | C.V. | do. | do. |
| 12·7 | 9·5 | 2·6 | 9·8 | 11·2 | 6·9 | 11·4 | 52·2 | 32·0 | 32·4 | B. | do. | W. | D.B. | N.H. | C.C. | S.Dp. | V.S.Dv. |
| 13·1 | 9·5 | 2·6 | 10·7 | 12·5 | 8·1 | 12·9 | 51·8 | 30·5 | 32·2 | B. | G. | .. | Bl. | R.H. | Str. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 12·7 | 9·9 | 2·3 | 9·9 | 12·1 | 7·4 | 12·4 | 52·4 | 34·5 | 34·7 | B. | Bl. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 14·0 | 10·7 | 2·5 | 11·2 | 12·5 | 7·6 | 12·6 | 56·1 | 34·0 | 37·5 | D.B. | Bl. | .. | D.B. | do. | do. | do. | V.S.Dv. |
| 13·4 | 9·8 | 2·1 | 10·8 | 12·3 | 7·4 | 12·7 | 51·8 | 31·0 | 35·0 | do. | V.D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | S.C.V. | M.Dp. | S.Dv. |
| 13·1 | 10·7 | 2·6 | 10·5 | 11·5 | 7·0 | 11·1 | 53·2 | 32·0 | 34·2 | do. | D.B. | W. | D.B. | do. | Str. | S.Dp. | do. |
| 13·2 | 10·2 | 2·2 | 10·6 | 12·5 | 6·2 | 10·6 | 54·2 | 33·5 | 34·8 | do. | Bl. | W. | do. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 14·3 | 10·6 | 2·5 | 11·3 | 12·8 | 6·6 | 11·6 | 53·9 | 33·0 | 34·4 | B. | D.B. | W. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | M.Dv. |
| 12·7 | 10·7 | 2·3 | 10·1 | 11·5 | 6·7 | 11·5 | 52·3 | 32·0 | 32·2 | D.B. | do. | W. | do. | do. | S.C.C. | do. | nil. |
| 12·9 | 9·6 | 2·5 | 10·1 | 10·8 | 6·5 | 10·7 | 51·9 | 30·4 | 32·5 | B. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·4 | 9·9 | 2·8 | 10·2 | 11·3 | 6·7 | 11·4 | 53·5 | 33·5 | 34·2 | D.B. | Bl. | W. | Bl. | S.I.D. | Str. | S.Dp. | M.Dv. |
| 12·8 | 9·3 | 2·5 | 10·0 | 11·5 | 7·2 | 11·2 | 51·5 | 32·5 | 32·5 | do. | Bl. | W. | Bl. | R.H. | do. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 12·2 | 9·7 | 2·4 | 9·3 | 11·3 | 6·7 | 11·3 | 49·2 | 29·3 | 33·5 | do. | D.B. | W. | D.B. | do. | S.C.C. | do. | do. |
| 13·5 | 9·5 | 2·4 | 10·6 | 11·5 | 6·7 | 11·3 | 51·1 | 30·5 | 34·1 | D.D. | do. | W. | do. | do. | Str. | Dp. | nil. |

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| Name | Caste and Religion | Locality | Sex (Adult) | Head length | Head breadth | Cephalic Index | Head height | Nasal length | Nasal breadth | Nasal Index | Stature | Min. Front.: Diameter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41. Sultan s/o Ibralim .. | Mahomedan (Hulio). | Vil. Hukra, Dt. Larkana. | Male | 18·4 | 15·6 | 83·2 | 14·7 | 5·7 | 3·3 | 57·8 | 164·1 | 10·5 |
| 42. Ramzan s/o Noor Mhd. | do. (Tario). | Vil. Bindi, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·7 | 13·7 | 77·4 | 14·2 | 5·2 | 3·5 | 67·3 | 170·1 | 9·5 |
| 43. Dariya Khan s/o Dost Mohd. | do. (Abropolo). | Vil. Bagi, Dt. Larkana. | do. (56 yrs.) | 18·9 | 15·2 | 80·8 | 13·8 | 5·3 | 3·9 | 75·4 | 168·1 | 11·0 |
| 44. Faquir Mohd. s/o Bazed. | do. (Kalohrs). | Vil. Tatri, Dt. Larkana. | do. (58 yrs.) | 18·1 | 14·1 | 78·5 | 13·8 | 5·4 | 3·6 | 66·6 | 162·0 | 9·3 |
| 45. Taggid s/o Mehro .. | do. (Mushori). | Vil. Challowahan, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·6 | 14·1 | 80·0 | 12·3 | 5·3 | 4·4 | 86·7 | 170·5 | 10·1 |
| 46. Pario s/o Gul Mohd. | do. (Abro). | Tatri. | do. | 17·2 | 15·1 | 87·7 | 14·8 | 6·0 | 3·6 | 60 | 168·8 | 10·8 |
| 47. Bachal s/o Kadan .. | do. (Kerio). | Hassanwan. | do. | 18·3 | 14·6 | 79·7 | 13·9 | 5·3 | 3·8 | 71·6 | 161·3 | 10·1 |
| 48. Hamzo s/o Rabdo .. | do. (Machi). | Vil. Sagi, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·2 | 14·3 | 83·7 | 13·2 | 4·6 | 3·6 | 78·2 | 163·1 | 10·3 |
| 49. Musso s/o Maharam | Do. (Soho). | Vil. Gaji, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·3 | 14·3 | 78·6 | 15·3 | 5·2 | 3·9 | 73·0 | 165·5 | 10·4 |
| 50. Dhani Bux s/o Suleman. | do. (Chunoon). | Vil. Kot, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·5 | 14·1 | 76·2 | 14·6 | 5·5 | 4·1 | 74·5 | 173·2 | 9·9 |
| 51. Saukatali s/o Ramzan | do. (Bund). | Vil. Haudi, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 16·2 | 14·2 | 87·6 | 13·1 | 5·5 | 3·6 | 65·4 | 160·3 | 9·4 |
| 52. Kassim s/o Jan Mohd. | do. (Bughed). | Gud. | do. | 18·2 | 14·8 | 81·8 | 15·0 | 5·2 | 3·7 | 71·1 | 167·5 | 10·3 |
| 53. Andal s/o Minoon .. | do. (Machi). | do. | do. | 18·9 | 13·7 | 72·4 | 13·2 | 5·5 | 3·7 | 67·2 | 158·2 | 9·6 |
| 54. Isso s/o Alladinooh .. | do. (Machi). | Haji Shirushino | do. | 17·1 | 14·1 | 82·4 | 13·8 | 5·4 | 3·9 | 72·2 | 167·1 | 10·5 |
| 55. Ali Bux s/o Pario .. | do. (Machi). | Vil. Bularji, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 18·2 | 14·9 | 81·8 | 12·0 | 4·8 | 4·0 | 83·3 | 160·4 | 10·1 |
| 56. Dur Mohd. s/o Sain Dad. | do. (Kiriyo). | Hassanwan | do. | 18·3 | 15·0 | 81·9 | 15·4 | 5·0 | 3·7 | 74 | 170·5 | 10·3 |
| 57. Abdul s/o Achar .. | do. (Kiriyo). | do. | do. | 19·1 | 14·6 | 76.4 | 14·2 | 5·3 | 3·5 | 66·0 | 156·6 | 10·1 |
| 58. Khilboo s/o Morio .. | do. (Shiek). | Bubarji | do. | 17·6 | 14·5 | 82·3 | 13·6 | 5·2 | 3·8 | 73·0 | 162·4 | 10·3 |
| 59. Kadir Bux s/o Gul Mohd. | do. (Abro). | do. | do. | 17·4 | 14·4 | 82·7 | 14·1 | 6·0 | 3·7 | 61·6 | 158·0 | 10·0 |
| 60. Haji Khan s/o Nabi Bux. | do. (Kerio). | Hassanwan. | do. | 18·8 | 14·7 | 78·1 | 14·1 | 5·8 | 3·3 | 56·8 | 166·4 | 10·7 |
| 61. Kassim s/o Quadir Bux. | do. (Memon). | Haji Musari. | do. | 17·1 | 13·1 | 71·6 | 14·2 | 5·2 | 3·6 | 69·2 | 179·0 | 9·9 |
| 62. Maula Bux s/o Abdul Aziz. | do. (Pirzadu). | Shiekh. | do. | 18·5 | 14·6 | 78·9 | 15·2 | 4·9 | 4·1 | 83·6 | 158·5 | 10·5 |
| 63. Habibulla s/o Khair Mohd. | do. (Dhukan). | Vil. Jakhira, Dt. Larkana. | do. | 17·6 | 14·5 | 82·3 | 14·8 | 5·3 | 3·7 | 69·8 | 165·5 | 10·3 |
| 64. Khabbar s/o Faqir Mohd. | do. (Behan). | Vil. Shajamal. | do. | 16·6 | 15·5 | 93·3 | 14·1 | 5·5 | 3·4 | 61·8 | 173·2 | 9·8 |
| 65. Mohd. Siddiq s/o Ismail. | do. (Shoemaker). | Vil. Shiekh. | do. | 17·5 | 14·6 | 83·4 | 14·0 | 5·2 | 3·8 | 73·0 | 153·9 | 10·3 |
| 66. Haji s/o Piru .. | do. (Hakro). | Vil. Hakra. | do. | 18·6 | 15·0 | 80·6 | 14·3 | 5·6 | 3·5 | 62·5 | 171·2 | 10·7 |
| 67. Sumar s/o Karimbux | do. (Kalhoro). | do. | do. | 17·5 | 14·0 | 80·0 | 15·3 | 6·0 | 3·5 | 58·3 | 172·5 | 8·9 |
| 68. Dariya Khan s/o Daroon. | do. (Fisherman). | Vil. Gud. | do. | 17·0 | 14·7 | 86·4 | 13·6 | 4·6 | 3·5 | 76·0 | 155·2 | 9·3 |
| 69. Shahdad s/o Allabux | do. (Machi). | do. | do. | 17·8 | 14·2 | 79·2 | 13·9 | 5·7 | 3·7 | 64·9 | 175·5 | 10·3 |
| 70. Pinjal s/o Gumbo .. | do. (Sumzo). | Vil. Hassanwan | do. | 17·2 | 14·5 | 84·3 | 14·0 | 5·6 | 3·7 | 66·0 | 163·5 | 9·2 |
| 71. Dost Mohd. s/o Gul Mohd. | do. (Chano). | Vil. Gaji Daro. | do. (60 yrs.) | 18·3 | 14·5 | 79·2 | 14·8 | 5·6 | 3·7 | 66·0 | 163·6 | 10·0 |
| 72. Suleh s/o Mubin .. | do. (Kirio). | Vil. Hassanwan | do. | 19·1 | 14·6 | 76·4 | 15·6 | 5·8 | 3·8 | 65·5 | 166·5 | 10·3 |
| 73. Osman s/o Chatto .. | do. (Chano). | Vil. Areja. | do. | 17·3 | 15·0 | 86·7 | 14·2 | 5·8 | 3·6 | 62·0 | 167·0 | 10·1 |
| 74. Makoro s/o Mehardito | do. (Rind). | Vil. Hallian, Dt. Nawabghar. | do. (20 yrs.) | 15·6 | 14·9 | 95·5 | 14·5 | 5·8 | 3·5 | 60·3 | 161·8 | 10·2 |

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| Max. Bizygomatic Br. | Bigonial breadth | Inter-orbital breadth | Orbitonasal length | Orbitonasal arc | Superior Facial length | Total Facial length | Horizontal ⊙cc of head | Sagittal arc | Transverse arc | Complexion | Hair colour | Type of Hair | Eye Colour | Eye Form | Nose Form | Root of Nose | Supra-orbital ridges |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13·3 | 9·2 | 2·9 | 10·3 | 11·6 | 7·5 | 11·5 | 54·7 | 32·5 | 34·4 | B. | D.B. | .. | D.B. | R.H. | Str. | V.S.-Dp. | M.Dv. |
| 12·5 | 9·7 | 2·6 | 9·7 | 11·0 | 6·5 | 11·0 | 52·3 | 30·5 | 32·2 | B. | do. | W. | do. | do. | S.C.V. | Dp. | Dv. |
| 14·0 | 11·0 | 2·6 | 10·9 | 12·5 | 7·4 | 12·4 | 55·4 | 35·5 | 35·1 | D. | G. | W. | do. | do. | Str. | M.Dp. | V.Dv. |
| 13·3 | 10·2 | 2·2 | 9·8 | 11·0 | 7·2 | 11·9 | 52·7 | 33·5 | 33·0 | B. | G. | W. | B. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 13·3 | 10·7 | 2·4 | 10·5 | 11·3 | 6·4 | 11·8 | 52·2 | 34·5 | 34·9 | D.B. | D.B. | W. | D.B. | do. | do. | M.Sp. | do. |
| 13·7 | 10·5 | 2·3 | 10·4 | 11·5 | 8·0 | 12·8 | 52·8 | 32·0 | 35·0 | B. | Bl. | W. | B. | do. | S.C.V. | M.Dp. | do. |
| 13·5 | 9·4 | 2·3 | 9·9 | 11·5 | 6·9 | 11·7 | 54·3 | 32·2 | 34·5 | D.B. | D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | Str. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 13·2 | 9·5 | 2·3 | 9·8 | 11·0 | 6·4 | 11·2 | 51·2 | 32·5 | 33·0 | B. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | S.Dp. | M.Dv. |
| 12·9 | 10·3 | 2·3 | 10·3 | 11·5 | 6·9 | 12·1 | 54·7 | 34·5 | 34·5 | D.B. | do. | W. | D.B. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | do. |
| 12·5 | 9·2 | 2·2 | 10·4 | 11·4 | 6·4 | 11·7 | 52·9 | 34·4 | 35·2 | B. | G. | W. | B. | do. | do. | do. | Dv. |
| 12·9 | 9·0 | 1·8 | 9·8 | 11·0 | 6·9 | 12·4 | 49·3 | 30·8 | 32·3 | D.B. | Bl. | .. | D.B. | do. | S.C.V. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 13·7 | 9·8 | 2·5 | 10·2 | 12·0 | 6·8 | 11·6 | 53·3 | 32·5 | 34·5 | B. | D.B. | W. | do. | do. | Str. | S.Dp. | do. |
| 12·5 | 9·8 | 2·3 | 9·7 | 10·9 | 6·9 | 10·9 | 53·2 | 32·0 | 31·7 | D.B. | do. | .. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | S.Dv. |
| 13·9 | 10·7 | 2·7 | 10·3 | 12·0 | 6·9 | 11·7 | 51·5 | 31·5 | 32·7 | B. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 13·0 | 10·5 | 2·3 | 10·3 | 11·0 | 6·6 | 10·8 | 54·5 | 31·0 | 35·0 | D.B. | V.D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | C.C. | Dp. | S.Dv. |
| 13·6 | 10·5 | 2·7 | 10·0 | 12·0 | 6·3 | 10·4 | 54·5 | 31·5 | 34·0 | do. | D.B. | W. | D.B. | do. | Str. | S.Dp. | do. |
| 13·3 | 9·4 | 2·6 | 9·8 | 11·0 | 6·6 | 11·6 | 54·5 | 36·8 | 33·0 | do. | G. | .. | do. | do. | C.C. | Dp. | do. |
| 13·3 | 10·0 | 2·4 | 10·3 | 11·5 | 6·8 | 11·3 | 52·5 | 31·5 | 32·9 | do. | D.B. | W. | do. | do. | S.C.C. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 13·3 | 9·2 | 2·6 | 10·1 | 11·8 | 7·3 | 12·4 | 52·0 | 31·2 | 34·5 | do. | G. | W. | do. | do. | Str. | S.Dp. | do. |
| 13·7 | 10·1 | 2·7 | 10·3 | 11·8 | 7·3 | 11·6 | 55·2 | 35·0 | 34·5 | B. | D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 12·9 | 11·1 | 2·1 | 9·9 | 11·8 | 6·9 | 11·5 | 49·6 | 31·5 | 33·0 | B. | do. | .. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·3 | 9·9 | 2·6 | 10·2 | 11·2 | 6·5 | 11·0 | 54·2 | 32·0 | 35·0 | D.B. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·1 | 10·2 | 2·1 | 9·9 | 11·2 | 6·4 | 11·4 | 53·0 | 31·5 | 34·5 | do. | do. | W. | do. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 12·8 | 8·8 | 2·2 | 9·2 | 11·4 | 7·3 | 12·2 | 51·7 | 31·6 | 36·8 | do. | do. | W. | D.B. | do. | do. | S.Dp. | nil. |
| 12·4 | 9·0 | 2·3 | 10·1 | 12·0 | 6·4 | 11·4 | 52·5 | 31·2 | 33·3 | do. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·5 | 10·6 | 2·6 | 10·0 | 11·8 | 6·9 | 11·6 | 53·7 | 31·5 | 32·5 | do. | Bl. | .. | D.B. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·1 | 9·9 | 1·9 | 9·5 | 11·6 | 7·6 | 12·6 | 50·8 | 31·5 | 34·9 | do. | Bl. | W. | B. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | Dv. |
| 12·1 | 9·3 | 2·8 | 9·1 | 10·8 | 6·7 | 11·0 | 50·9 | 31·7 | 33·3 | do. | Bl. | .. | D.B. | do. | S.C.C. | S.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·0 | 10·3 | 2·5 | 10·5 | 11·4 | 7·1 | 12·0 | 51·5 | 32·0 | 33·5 | do. | Bl. | .. | Bl. | do. | Str. | M.Dp. | M.Dv. |
| 12·3 | 9·6 | 2·4 | 9·9 | 11·5 | 7·3 | 12·0 | 50·8 | 31·5 | 34·0 | B. | D.B. | .. | D.B. | do. | do. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 13·3 | 10·1 | 2·2 | 10·2 | 12·2 | 7·6 | 12·0 | 53·3 | 32·0 | 31·6 | B. | G. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | do. |
| 12·7 | 10·0 | 2·6 | 10·3 | 12·5 | 7·3 | 11·8 | 54·8 | 33·5 | 35·0 | B. | Bl. | .. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·6 | 9·1 | 2·7 | 10·4 | 11·8 | 7·4 | 12·0 | 52·5 | 31·3 | 34·8 | D.B. | D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | nil. | nil. |
| 12·9 | 9·7 | 2·1 | 9·8 | 12·0 | 7·4 | 11·8 | 50·2 | 30·7 | 34·5 | B. | do. | .. | D.B. | do. | do. | S.Dp. | nil. |

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| Name | Caste and Religion | Locality | Sex (Adult) | Head length | Head breadth | Cephalic Index | Head height | Nasal length | Nasal breadth | Nasal Index | Stature | Min. Front : Diameter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 75. Noor Mohd. s/o Pario | Mahomedan (Dhahan). | Vil. Tabri. | Male (60 yrs.) | 18·3 | 14·2 | 77·0 | 13·2 | 4·9 | 3·9 | 79·5 | 158·8 | 10·1 |
| 76. Yussuf s/o Allahawazyid. | do. (Fisherman) | Vil. But. | do. | 18·5 | 14·5 | 78·9 | 16·0 | 5·8 | 3·9 | 67·2 | 166·5 | 10·1 |
| 77. Piral s/o Gulam .. | do. (Sario). | Vil. Bindi. | do. | 17·4 | 14·0 | 80·0 | 14·3 | 5·2 | 3·4 | 65·3 | 161·8 | 10·0 |
| 78. Darhoon s/o Ramzan | do. (Fisherman). | Vil. Gud. | do. (50 yrs.) | 18·3 | 13·4 | 73·8 | 13·3 | 5·8 | 3·9 | 67·2 | 148·5 | 9·5 |
| 79. Gulam s/o Mato .. | do. (Mungnijo). | do. | do. (60 yrs.) | 18·4 | 14·2 | 77·1 | 15·3 | 5·6 | 3·8 | 67·8 | 161·8 | 10·1 |
| 80. Gulam Nabi s/o Chatto. | do. (Mirashi). | Vil. Khokhar. | do. | 17·4 | 14·5 | 83·3 | 15·6 | 5·1 | 3·4 | 66·6 | 156·8 | 9·3 |
| 81. Jaro s/o Haji .. | do. (Machi). | Vil. Hassanwan | do. (60 yrs.) | 17·3 | 13·5 | 78·0 | 13·7 | 5·3 | 4·2 | 79·2 | 163·1 | 10·0 |
| 82. Shahdad s/o Rakhial | do. (Shiekh). | Vil. Mehrabpur, Dt. Ranipur. | do. | 18·7 | 14·0 | 74·8 | 13·6 | 4·7 | 3·8 | 80·8 | 153·4 | 10·1 |
| 83. Budho s/o Ramzan | do. (Chano). | Vil. Gud. | do. | 19·7 | 13·5 | 68·5 | 14·2 | 5·4 | 4·1 | 75·9 | 160·6 | 10·3 |
| 84. Khuda Bux s/o Guham. | do. (Abro). | do. | do. | 16·8 | 14·8 | 88·0 | 14·3 | 5·7 | 3·7 | 64·9 | 162·5 | 9·5 |
| 85. Bahawal s/o Gazi .. | do. (Machi). | do. | do. | 18·0 | 14·5 | 80·5 | 14·9 | 5·4 | 3·4 | 62·9 | 158·3 | 10·0 |
| 86. Mohomed s/o Saleh Jamal. | do. (Washerman). | do. | do. | 18·3 | 14·1 | 77·0 | 15·9 | 5·4 | 2·3 | 42·5 | 165·5 | 9·9 |
| 87. Mujnoon s/o Rahimdad. | do. (Shiekh). | Vil. Mahrian. | do. | 18·1 | 13·9 | 76·7 | 13·1 | 4·8 | 3·6 | 75 | 151·0 | 9·3 |
| 88. Waras s/o Shaban .. | do. (Machi). | Vil. Daud. | do. | 18·5 | 15·0 | 81·0 | 13·0 | 5·2 | 3·9 | 73·0 | 161·7 | 10·7 |
| 89. Karim Bux s/o Marid | do. (Machi). | do. | do. | 19·0 | 14·0 | 73·6 | 14·2 | 5·4 | 3·7 | 68·3 | 173·6 | 10·5 |
| 90. Parial s/o Imma Bux. | do. (Bechan). | Vil. Shajamal. | do. | 17·0 | 14·3 | 84·1 | 13·0 | 4·2 | 3·4 | 80·9 | 157·6 | 9·3 |
| 91. Wahaiddin s/o Jumma. | do. (Chammo). | Vil. Mahbat, Dt. Daro. | do. | 17·1 | 14·9 | 87·7 | 13·0 | 5·8 | 3·8 | 65·5 | 167·4 | 10·4 |
| 92. Ak s/o Sher Khan .. | do. (Kalhoro). | Vil. Bagodaro. | do. | 18·5 | 14·2 | 76·7 | 13·1 | 5·1 | 3·9 | 76·4 | 161·8 | 10·3 |
| 93. Osman s/o Mario .. | do. (Kumbhar). | Vil. Shajamal. | do. | 17·4 | 14·4 | 82·7 | 13·4 | 5·4 | 3·7 | 68·3 | 161·0 | 10·0 |
| 94. Kamal s/o Datudmon | do. (Washerman) | Vil. Hassanwan. | do. | 17·5 | 14·8 | 84·5 | 15·4 | 5·5 | 4·0 | 72·7 | 172·2 | 9·8 |
| 95. Abdulla s/o Murad .. | do. (Fisherman). | do. | do. | 17·8 | 13·6 | 76·4 | 13·8 | 5·2 | 3·6 | 69·2 | 174·0 | 9·9 |
| 96. Saleh s/o Chatto .. | do. (Sumro). | do. | do. | 17·1 | 13·8 | 80·7 | 13·3 | 5·2 | 4·0 | 76·9 | 158·5 | 9·2 |
| 97. Noor Mohd. s/o Alladinooh. | do. (Dhankan). | Vil. Jakra. | do. (50 yrs.) | 17·8 | 13·8 | 76·9 | 14·0 | 5·2 | 3·9 | 75·0 | 158·5 | 9·5 |
| 98. Mohamod s/o Shaban | do. (Machi). | Vil. Dhoda. | do. | 18·1 | 15·5 | 85·6 | 12·6 | 5·5 | 4·1 | 74·5 | 164·4 | 10·6 |
| 99. Kadan s/o Sadik .. | do. (Sarian). | Vil. Valarji. | do. | 17·1 | 14·3 | 83·6 | 14·0 | 5·8 | 3·8 | 65·5 | 167·8 | 9·5 |
| 100. Bachal s/o Maledinooh. | do. (Machi). | Vil. Daud. | do. | 18·7 | 14·6 | 78·0 | 14·4 | 5·5 | 4·1 | 74·5 | 178·5 | 10·2 |

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| Max. Bizygomatic Br. | Bigonial breadth | Inter-orbital breadth | Orbitonasal length | Orbitonasal arc | Superior Facial length | Total Facial length | Horizontal ⊙ce of head | Sagittal arc | Transverse arc | Complexion | Hair colour | Type of Hair | Eye Colour | Eye Form | Nose Form | Root of Nose | Supra-orbital ridges |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13·1 | 9·9 | 2·3 | 9·6 | 10·5 | 5·8 | 11·3 | 52·9 | 34·7 | 39·8 | B. | G. | .. | D.B. | R.H. | Str. | Dp. | S.Dv. |
| 13·3 | 9·4 | 2·9 | 9·8 | 11·0 | 7·5 | 11·8 | 54·8 | 33·0 | 36·5 | D.B. | D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 12·8 | 9·1 | 2·3 | 10·1 | 11·5 | 7·0 | 12·1 | 51·8 | 31·5 | 33·5 | B. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 11·9 | 9·1 | 2·6 | 8·8 | 9·9 | 5·5 | 10·8 | 51·2 | 32·5 | 32·5 | D.B. | G. | .. | D.B. | do. | do. | do. | do. |
| 12·7 | 10·2 | 2·3 | 9·3 | 11·2 | 7·4 | 11·5 | 52·5 | 31·8 | 34·2 | B. | G. | .. | do. | do. | do. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 12·2 | 9·4 | 2·4 | 9·6 | 11·8 | 6·7 | 12·0 | 51·8 | 32·0 | 35·0 | B. | D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | do. |
| 13·1 | 9·6 | 2·2 | 10·0 | 11·8 | 6·5 | 11·4 | 51·5 | 30·8 | 33·5 | D.B. | G. | W. | D.B. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 12·5 | 10·0 | 2·1 | 9·7 | 10·2 | 6·6 | 11·4 | 53·2 | 32·5 | 33·0 | do. | D.B | W. | Bl. | do. | C.C. | Dp. | do. |
| 13·4 | 10·1 | 1·8 | 10·3 | 11·4 | 7·2 | 11·3 | 55·8 | 35·2 | 32·8 | do. | B. | W. | Bl. | do. | Str. | do. | do. |
| 13·2 | 9·9 | 2·1 | 9·7 | 11·0 | 7·1 | 11·6 | 51·5 | 31·5 | 33·0 | do. | D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·4 | 9·9 | 1·6 | 9·5 | 11·2 | 6·9 | 11·6 | 53·5 | 32·0 | 34·0 | do. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | S.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·1 | 9·2 | 2·4 | 9·5 | 11·5 | 7·4 | 11·9 | 52·9 | 33·6 | 34·0 | do. | do. | .. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 12·4 | 10·8 | 2·5 | 9·1 | 11·0 | 6·5 | 10·9 | 51·4 | 31·3 | 32·5 | B. | .. | .. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | nil. |
| 13·5 | 9·8 | 2·6 | 10·4 | 12·2 | 6·7 | 11·8 | 54·2 | 34·6 | 34·5 | D.B. | D.B. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | nil. |
| 13·7 | 10·1 | 2·6 | 10·6 | 12·2 | 7·1 | 11·6 | 53·0 | 33·5 | 32·5 | do. | do. | W. | B. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dv. |
| 12·1 | 8·9 | 2·4 | 9·2 | 10·2 | 6·5 | 10·8 | 50·3 | 30·2 | 31·8 | do. | Bl. | .. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | S.Dv. |
| 13·3 | 9·9 | 2·1 | 9·9 | 11·5 | 7·8 | 12·8 | 53·1 | 32·4 | 34·5 | do. | D.B. | W. | D.B. | do. | do. | S.Dp. | do. |
| 12·9 | 9·8 | 2·3 | 10·3 | 12·5 | 6·9 | 11·5 | 53·5 | 32·3 | 35·0 | B. | do. | W. | Bl. | do. | do. | do. | do. |
| 13·1 | 10·0 | 2·3 | 10·1 | 11·2 | 7·2 | 11·5 | 51·4 | 32·0 | 33·5 | D.B. | do. | W. | D.B. | do. | do. | do. | do. |
| 13·4 | 10·1 | 2·1 | 9·8 | 11·0 | 6·9 | 11·7 | 52·6 | 32·8 | 37·3 | do. | Bl. | W. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | Dv. |
| 13·1 | 9·9 | 2·4 | 9·7 | 11·0 | 6·7 | 11·2 | 52·8 | 34·2 | 35·0 | do. | G. | W. | do. | do. | do. | Dp. | S.Dv. |
| 12·8 | 10·4 | 2·2 | 9·3 | 11·0 | 6·7 | 10·9 | 50·2 | 31·8 | 31·7 | B. | D.B. | W. | H.Z. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | M.Dv. |
| 12·7 | 9·8 | 2·2 | 9·8 | 11·8 | 7·3 | 12·2 | 50·9 | 32·3 | 33·0 | D.B. | G. | .. | D.B. | do. | do. | Dp. | do. |
| 13·9 | 9·3 | 2·3 | 10·5 | 11·5 | 6·9 | 11·2 | 55·9 | 33·5 | 33·5 | do. | D.B. | W. | do. | do. | do. | do. | do. |
| 12·1 | 9·1 | 2·2 | 9·3 | 11·5 | 7·2 | 11·6 | 52·1 | 31·0 | 33·5 | do. | G. | W. | do. | do. | do. | M.Dp. | do. |
| 13·3 | 11·1 | 2·3 | 10·2 | 11·0 | 7·1 | 12·1 | 54·0 | 32·5 | 35·0 | do. | Bl. | .. | do. | do. | do. | do. | S.Dv. |

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# MUDRĀ

*By* JEAN PRZYLUSKI

In Sanskrit the word *mudrā* appears in post-Vedic literature only. It has frequently the meaning of 'seal', and describes the actual seal as well as its impression. In the modern languages of India, the word is often written with a second nasal. Both *mundrā* and *mudrā* exist in Hindi; in Khas the seal is called *munrō*, in Sindhi *muṇḍrī*. The nasalization is ancient. In the *Mahāpratyaṅgirā Dhāraṇī*, *mundragaṇā* appears instead of *mudrāgaṇāḥ*.[1] And in the Prakrit of the Kharoṣṭhī-documents of Niya, the equivalent forms can already be found: *kilamudra*, *kilamuṇdra*, *kilamuṃtra*.[2]

The origin of the word *mudrā* is not certain. F. HOMMEL has tried to demonstrate that it derives from the Assyrian *musarū* 'writing, seal', through the Old-Persian which changed *z* into *d*, thus giving: *musarū* > **muzrā* > *mudrā*.[3] But this theory has been rejected, with good reason probably, by JUNKER and LÜDERS.[4]

The sense of 'seal' has led rapidly to that of 'coin'. In the modern vernaculars, Hindī, Marāṭhī, Bengali, Kanarese, *mudrā* means 'coin' sometimes. Besides, *mohur*, the official name of the chief gold coin of British India, comes through the Hindustāni from Persian *muhr*, a 'seal' and thence a 'gold coin'. 'The term *muhr*, as applied to a coin, appears to have been popular only and quasi-generic, not precise. But that to which it has been most usually applied, at least in recent centuries, is a coin which has always been in use since the foundation of the Mahommedan Empire in Hindustan by the Ghūrī kings of Ghazni and their freedmen, circa A.D. 1200 . . .'.[5] In Sanskrit, *mudrā* can already be found with the sense of 'coin' in the commentary of Hemacandra 3, 81, by Mahendra. Moreover, LÜDERS has proved that in the language

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[1] Hoernle, *Man. Rem.*, I, 54, quoted by H. Lüders, *Die śākischen Māra*, SBPAW., XXXIX, p. 742, n. 3.

[2] H. Lüders, *ibid.*, p. 742. See bal. *mundrīg*, *mundarī* 'ring, finger-ring', afgh. *mūndra* 'ring, ear-ring'.

[3] F. Hommel, *Pali muddā=babylonisch musarū und die Herkunft der indischen Schrift*, SII., pp. 73–84.

[4] See Hübschmann, KZ., 36, 176; Junker, IF., 35, 273ff.; Lüders, *ibid.*, p. 742, n. 1.

[5] Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 573.

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of Khotan, *mūra* is the term for ' coin ', and that it derives from an antique *mudrā*, which meant ' seal '.[1]

*Mudrā* means also ' mode of holding the fingers (in religious worship or magic rites) '. These practices hold an important place in tantric Buddhism. Chapters XXXII–XXXIV of the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* are devoted to the *mudrā*, and Mr. FINOT has shown that ' notwithstanding the diversity of the tantric ceremonies, the following four elements remain always unchanged : the *maṇḍala*, the *mantra*, the *pūjā*, the *mudrā*. The gods are put on the *maṇḍala*, *mantras* are recited, *pūjās* offered to them, with the accompaniment of *mudrās*, or ritual gestures.' [2]

In the rituals of the Śaiva and of the Vaiṣṇava also, the *mudrās* play an important part. They are described in the *Rāmapūjāśaraṇi* and in Book 3rd of the *Nāradapañcarātra*. The 24 *mudrās* are performed daily in the Sandhyā-ceremonies. DAṆḌIN relates (*Daś.* 91), that a man, who calls himself a *narendra*, cures a serpent bite *mudrātantramantradhyānādibhiḥ*.

The mode of holding the fingers does not bear a magic or religious sense in every case. In Pali *muddā* is ' the art of calculation mentioned as a noble craft (ukkaṭṭhaṃ sippaṃ) at Vin. IV, 7 (with gaṇanā and lekhā), as the first of the sippāni (with gaṇanā) at M., 1, 85=Nd[2] 199. Further at Miln., 3, 59, 78 sq., 178. Cp. BSk. mudrā in same sense (e.g. at Divy., 3, 26, 58 in set lipyā, sankhyā, gaṇanā, m.). Bdhgh's explanation of muddā D. I. 11 m. +gaṇanā (see DA., 1, 95) as " hattha-muddā-gaṇanā " is doubtful ; since at Miln., 78 sq. muddā and gaṇanā are two quite different things. See also Franke, *Dīgha trsl.*, p. 18 with note (he marks muddā " Finger-Rechnen " with ?) ; and cp. Kern, *Toev.*, 1, 166 s.v. muddā. The *Dial.* 1, 21 trsl. " counting on the fingers " (see Dial., 1, 21, 22 with literature and more refs.).—Hattha-muddā is sign-language, gesture (lit. hand-arithmetic), a means of communicating (question and answer) by signs, as clearly evident fr. J., VI, 364 (hattha-muddāya naṃ pucchissāmi . . . muṭṭhiṃ akāsi, sā " ayaṃ me . . . pucchati " ti ñatvā hatthaṃ vikāsesi, so ñatvā . . . ; he then asks by word of mouth).' [3]

Going back to the Vedic times, however, one finds the word and the gesture on one plane, and being given the same magical or

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[1] Lüders, *ibid.*, pp. 734–742.

[2] *Manuscrits sanskrits de sādhana's retrouvés en Chine*, Journ. As., Juil.—Sept. 1934, p. 13.

[3] *The Pali Text Society's English-Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *muddā*.

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religious importance. The *Vāj. Prāt.*, I, 121 prescribes to study *hastena*. The Pāṇinīyā Śikṣā, Ṛ., 55 says :

*hastena vedaṃ yo 'dhīte svaravarṇārthasaṃyutam |*
*ṛgyajuḥsāmabhiḥ pūto brahmaloke mahīyate ||*

And *Yājñavalkyaś.* 25 :

*samam uccārayed varṇān hastena ca mukhena ca |*
*svaraś caiva tu hastaś ca dvāv etau yugapat sthitau ||*

Recitation without gestures is of no use, not to say harmful :

*hastabhraṣṭaḥ svarabhraṣṭo na vedaphalam aśnute ||*
*hastahīnaṃ tu yo 'dhīte mantraṃ vedavido viduḥ |*
*na sādhayati yajūṃṣi bhuktam avyañjanaṃ yathā ||*
*hastahīnaṃ tu yo 'dhīte svaravarṇavivarjitam |*
*ṛgyajuḥsāmabhir dagdho viyonim adhigacchati ||*
*ṛco yajūṃṣi sāmāni hastahīnāni yaḥ paṭhet |*
*anṛco brāhmaṇas tāvad yāvat svāraṃ na vindati ||*
*svaravarṇaprayuñjāno hastenādhītam ācaran |*
*ṛgyajuḥsāmabhiḥ pūto brahmalokam avāpnuyāt ||*[1]

The *Vāj. Prāt.*, I, 122, 124 notifies that the accents were indicated by moving the hand upwards, downwards, or laterally. Later texts mention gestures which marked the accents and explained the sense also.

In Tantrism, moreover, mudrā means 'female consort of a deity, wife'. About this interpretation, L. FINOT writes :

'*Mudrā*—or more usually *mahāmudrā*—has in the Tantras, besides the ordinary sense, that of "woman", when a woman is associated to the rites. For instance, in the abhiṣeka, the master and disciple both have their mudrā, and, however discreet the expression may voluntarily be, the context does not leave any doubt upon the part which these feminine assistants play. Vajravārāhī is given the name of Mahāmudrā, in quality of Heruka's First Wife (agramahiṣī). (V.S., Mūlamantra, p. 61).'[2]

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[1] The texts have been brought together by Lüders, *ibid.*, pp. 757-8. See Weber, *Abh.d.K.Ak.d.W.zu Berlin*, 1871, p. 91ff.

[2] Finot, *ibid.*, p. 17.

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We see that *mudrā* has very different meanings :—

(1) Seal (also the impression), and thence : stamp, mark, coin ;
(2) Mode of holding the fingers ;
(3) Female consort.

Is it possible to connect all these meanings with one another ? The first link appears between 1 and 3. The French word *matrice* describes : (1) the feminine organ where the embryo is formed ; (2) the cast used for the stamping of metal things, or any drawing intended to the purpose of reproducing similar drawings. The same connection exists between 1 and 3 of *mudrā*. The woman gives a shape to the substance of the embryo and the seal stamps the ball of clay. This seems to account for the fact that the Sanskrit *mudrā*, the Latin *matrix* and the French *matrice* belong to the feminine gender. Under the two acceptations ' seal ' and ' wife ', lies the notion of power, strength, efficacy which creates the form. This sense of *mudrā* is extended to the shape itself : impression of the seal, mark, badge. From this point of view, it is easy to see the importance of the remarkable essay in which H. LÜDERS points out the frequent connections between *rūpa* and *mūdra*.[1]

In the Tantric texts, Vajravārāhī is indiscriminately called the *mudrā* or the *śakti* of Heruka.[2] *Mudrā* and *śakti* must then serve as equivalent terms sometimes. Śakti means ' power, strength, efficacy ', and especially in Tantrism ' the female energy of a deity '. Here again we find the idea of ' power ' which we have already recognized in *mudrā*.

Besides, the mudrās, mystic positions of the hand, are also the expressions of an efficacy. *Dhyānamudrā, dharmacakramudrā, varada-mudrā*, etc., are the symbols of an activity of meditation, teaching, giving, etc. . . . Then it seems easy to understand that *mudrā* may mean all the manifestations of magical efficacy : meditation, teaching, giving, etc. And it is the spiritual energy again which expresses itself by means of sign-language and calculating by gestures.

The same idea makes it possible also to explain a number of particular uses of the term *mudrā* in Indo-Aryan. According to the rhetoric, mudra is the fact of calling a thing by its proper name. Now, in ancient India like in many other countries, there was a belief that to name a thing or a being by its proper name was an act which put this being or this thing under the domination of the

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[1] Lüders, *ibid.*, pp. 745–749, 751–752, and 760–762.
[2] Finot, *ibid.*, p. 15.

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person who spoke.[1] Here again, *mudrā* is associated with a magical operation.

The Pali texts offer an even more pregnant sense of word. At DhA., II, 4, *muddikā* (from *muddā*), is used with the meaning of 'authority'. Likewise, in Mln., 379, *muddikaṃ deti* means 'to give the order, to command'.[2] 'Authority, command', the notion takes us back very nearly to the initial sense which we have offered: 'power, strength, efficacy'. At DhA., I, 394; II, 4, *muddikā* is a ring given by the king to the keeper of the city gates as a sign of authority, and withdrawn when the gates are closed at night.

The same connection exists between the command and the royal authority as between a stamped amulet and divine authority, or between the ritual gesture and the magic power. The amulet is an order stamped by the divine seal, and it plays the same part as a command stamped with the royal seal. Whether the authority in question be that of the king, of the deity, of the priest or of the magician, the notion is always the same, and in this notion lies the origin of the word *mudrā*.

It is likely that the verb *mudraya*, 'stamp, seal, print', describes an operation originally magical. In the days of yore, magic influed upon both the religious and economical spheres, and this must prevent us from separating the seals of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, punch-marked coins and stamped amulets of the Buddhist pilgrimages. 'In medieval Europe, says M. FOUCHER, the signacula, that is to say the emblematic badges used by pilgrims, were generally made out of stamped metal. In India, they were chiefly small balls of clay stamped with a print, that every purse could afford evidently, and which can still be found almost everywhere from Afghanistan to Annam. And nobody will question, I feel confident of it, that the trade of these little amulets be of immemorial use and practically universal, and answer to one of the religious instincts of humanity. Now, in these little material souvenirs sold to the pilgrims of the 5th century prior to the Christian era by the religious amulet-makers established in the four big holy places, is precisely where I would seek, and where I believe to find the origin of Buddhist sculpture.'[3] The study of the word *mudrā* in fact, shows the permanence of the tendencies which have ruled the first manifestations of Buddhist art, and through it very different aspects of the political, economical and religious life of India may be linked together.

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[1] See for instance the story of the *kinnarī* Manoharā in *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 96.
[2] *The Pali Text Soc. Dict.*, s.v. *muddikā*.
[3] *Etudes sur l'art bouddhique de l'Inde*, Tokyo, pp. 12-13.

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# THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

## III

### THE PARAMĀTMA-SAṂDARBHA

*By* S. K. De

The concept of the Paramātman, which is the main theme of this Saṃdarbha, may be briefly described as the concept of the godhead in relation to Nature (Prakṛti) and Spirit (Jīva). In relation to the concept of Brahma, which implies the indiscrete and unconditioned (*nirviśeṣa*) Absolute, the concept of the Paramātman indicates a particular conditioned (*sa-viśeṣa*) state ; but in relation to the concept of the infinitely conditioned Perfect Person implied in the concept of the Bhagavat, the Paramātman is not a complete but a partial manifestation, having relation chiefly to the Māyā-śakti and the Jīva-śakti. In a passage in his *Krama-saṃdarbha*, which is repeated in his *Bhakti-saṃdarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmin concisely sums up the three concepts thus : 'By Brahma is termed pure consciousness, which is other than that of the particular attributes characterized by the group of Śaktis ; the Paramātman indicates consciousness conditioned by (the Jīva-śakti which is) a part of the abundant Cit-śakti, and by the Māyā-śakti, and consists of the function of inward regulation (in all beings) ; the Bhagavat is the consciousness conditioned by the complete and perfect manifestation of all the Śaktis' (*śakti-varga-lakṣaṇa-taddharmātiriktaṃ kevalaṃ jñānaṃ brahmeti śabdyate, antaryāmitvamaya-māyāśakti-pracura-citśaktyaṃśa-viśiṣṭaṃ paramātmā, paripūrṇa-sarva-śakti-viśiṣṭam bhagavān*). It would follow from this that the Paramātman has two aspects, viz., Bhagavad-aṅgatva in relation to the Jīva, and Jagadgatatva in relation to Prakṛti or Pradhāna, i.e. the Paramātman is that phase of the godhead which is immanent, on the one hand, in the conscious Jīva, and on the other, in the non-conscious or material Prakṛti.

The necessity for postulating these three concepts is not difficult to understand. For a theistic sectarian faith which believes in a personal god, the concept of the Bhagavat as a Person is a philosophical necessity and justification ; while the Advaita concept of Nirviśeṣa Brahma has to be recognized and reconciled, from its sectarian point of view, as a lower manifestation, vouchsafed to the

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religiously defective but intellectually keen seekers after spiritual truth. The reason for the third concept of the Paramātman is somewhat more complex. The idea of the Antaryāmin as the inward ruler is Upaniṣadic, and Deussen is probably right in thinking that from this idea developed the concept of a personal god in later theistic systems, in which the idea is, as here, implicitly recognized. The term as well as the underlying idea of the Paramātman in relation to the Jīvātman, in which is also absorbed the idea of the evolution of Prakṛti, is a legacy of older philosophical systems. The difficulties, however, of the Advaita doctrine of Māyā and of its highly monistic and idealistic interpretation of the relation of the Jīva to Brahma made these theories unacceptable in their entirety to the dualistic school which Jīva Gosvāmin represents. As the school believed, somewhat in the Sāṃkhya manner, in the relative reality of the world, the Vedāntic theory of the unreality of the illusory world was not consistent with its dualistic position. To obviate these difficulties and to reconcile the traditional ideas mentioned above with its own view of a personal god, the deity in the lower form of the Paramātman had to be endowed with two real and eternal Śaktis in relation to the Jīva and Prakṛti, the working of which, however, is supposed not to affect the essential selfhood of the god, just in the same way of the Advaitavādin's Māyā does not affect the impersonal and unconditioned Brahma.

The theme of the present Saṃdarbha is therefore the consideration of the relation of the Jīva and Prakṛti to the Paramātman and the corresponding functions of Jīva-śakti and Māyā-śakti, of which the Paramātman-form is, as it were, the presiding deity.

We have already seen that the Jīva is an expression of the Jīva-śakti of the Bhagavat. This Śakti is called Taṭastha or aloof, because it does not come under either of the categories of Svarūpa-śakti and Māyā-śakti, but is still closely connected with both. As the Bhagavat is the ground of the Jīva-śakti, the Jīva is indeed a part, albeit an infinitesimal part, of the Bhagavat ; but as the Jīva is liable to the influence of the Māyā-śakti it cannot come directly under the Svarūpa-śakti, which is unaffected by this influence. But on account of its ultimate affinity with the Bhagavat, the Jīva even in bondage has the inherent capacity of releasing itself ; and when emancipated, it becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti and is placed eternally beyond the influence of the Māyā-śakti. This release, we have seen, comes through Bhakti, which itself is an expression of the Hlādinī or blissful aspect of the deity's Svarūpa-śakti ; but this topic will be further dealt with in its proper place in the *Bhakti-saṃdarbha*.

This idea of the Jīva-śakti will be clear from a consideration of

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the essential character of the Jīva. In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin quotes the authority of Jāmātṛmuni, who is said to have been a predecessor of Rāmānuja. This authority informs us that the Jīva is neither a deity nor a man, nor a movable animal, nor an immovable plant ; it is neither the body, nor the senses, nor the mind, nor life, nor intellect ; it is neither an unconscious material object (*jaḍa*), nor liable to change, nor yet consisting of mere consciousness ; but, positively considered, a long list of distinguishing attributes can be predicated of it. It is self-luminous to itself (*svasmai svayaṃ-prakāśaḥ*), uniform (*eka-rūpaḥ*), possessing its own identity (*svarūpa-bhāk*), conscious (*cetanaḥ*), having the attribute of pervading (*vyāpti-śīlaḥ*), consisting of Cit and Ānanda (*cidānandātmakaḥ*), subject of the consciousness of ' I ' (*ahamarthaḥ*), different in different organism (*pratikṣetraṃ bhinnaḥ*), atomic in size (*aṇuḥ*), always pure (*nitya-nirmalaḥ*), possessing its own peculiar attribute of knowledge, action and enjoyment (*jñātṛtva-kartṛtva-bhoktṛtva-nijadharmakaḥ*), and always possessing the natural tendency of resolving into a part of the Paramātman (*paramātmaika-śeṣa-svabhāvaḥ*).

These terms will not be fully intelligible from the imperfect English rendering given above but will require some explanations to make them clear. From the negative characteristics described above, the Jīva appears to possess two prominent attributes which are interrelated, viz., the attribute of unchangeableness and of retention of identity in the midst of difference. In other words, the Jīva retains its identity in whatever individual existence it may lie, divine, human or otherwise. It is indeed an entity whose presence is brought about in the organic body by the Māyā-śakti, but it is distinct from the several parts (the senses, the mind, the body, etc.) of its receptacle. It is thus distinct from the body, and unlike the body it is not subject to change or decay ; it is only through the Māyā-śakti that the Jīva in delusion identifies itself with the body. It is, however, not a mere aggregate of (gross or phenomenal) consciousness (*jñāna-mātrātmako na ca*), nor yet a production of material nature (*na jaḍaḥ*). It is a single permanent principle which manifests itself in and unifies a system of temporal and spatial states and activities, but is still different from this system and retains its identity through all these states and activities. This idealistic interpretation of the Jīva, however, is not new, but its differentiation, by means of the Māyā-śakti, as a subtle principle, which is neither mere consciousness nor mere unconsciousness, is presented in a way which is entirely peculiar to this dualistic school.

Positively considered, the Jīva possesses a large number of distinguishing characteristics, but since they are interconnected, they may be briefly explained under a few broad headings. One of

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the chief attributes of the Jīva is that it is an entity which possesses consciousness (*cetana*). This must not be understood to mean that it is made up of a mass of gross consciousness alone, which view really resolves into a materialistic position, but that it is the underlying conscious principle itself. It follows from the acceptance of this attribute that the Jīva is self-luminous, i.e. it reveals itself to itself by its own consciousness (*svasmai svayaṃ-prakāśaḥ*) ; but it also has the capacity of revealing others (*svayam eva prakāśate, anyān api prakāśayati*). Its state of consciousness means that by its own consciousness it can stimulate the body etc. into consciousness, like the light of a lamp which by revealing itself reveals others (*cetanatvaṃ nāma svasya cid-rūpatve'nyasya dehādeś cetayitṛtvam, dīpādi-prakāśasya prakāśayitṛvat*). This self-luminosity, however, cannot be in relation to the Paramātman, whose self-luminosity does not depend on anything else, and from whom its ultimate illuminating power comes ; but it is self-luminous in relation to material objects (*jaḍa-pratiyogitvena*).

But the Jīva is atomic (*aṇu*), the word 'atom' meaning the smallest and finest indivisible entity conceivable. Hence the Jīva is called 'a particle or atom of consciousness' (*cit-kaṇā* or *aṇu-cit*). And yet by virtue of its being a conscious principle it is capable of pervading the whole body (*vyāpana-śīlaḥ*). In other words, it does not occupy space, yet pervades by consciousness the whole of the organism which it may inhabit.

This conscious principle is represented by the word 'I' and signifies the ego (*aham-arthaḥ*) ; but this *Aham* is not the empirical ego (*prākṛta ahaṃkāra*), which is an act of material nature (*prakṛti*) upon the Jīva. This consciousness, we have seen, is pure and indivisible, and is therefore to be distinguished from the ephemeral, diverse and impure consciousness given by the senses (*jñānam ekam, indriyabalena vividhaṃ kalpitam*). This is what is meant by saying that the Jīva is not a mere aggregate of consciousness given by the senses, but it is the essential conscious principle itself (*upalabdhi-mātra* or *jñāika-rūpa*). For, the Jīva is beyond the reach of the body which is liable to change and decay (*vikāra* or *vyabhicāra*) ; it is the eternal witness as distinguished from the thing witnessed (*draṣṭṛ-dṛśya-bheda*). The true nature of this consciousness or the real ego can be realized in the state of dreamless sleep, when the phenomenal consciousness (*ahaṃkāra*) is set at rest, and the Jīva remains as a self-conscious witness (*sākṣya-sākṣi-bheda*). This can also be inferred from the ordinary experience that the body is liable to suffering, but the Jīva is always the object of divine love (*duḥkhi-premāspada-bheda*).

It follows from the above characteristics of the Jīva that it is

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always pure (*nitya-nirmalaḥ*). This purity consists in its real ego, which is not affected by the impure effects of the Māyā-śakti; for the Śuddha Jīva is said to be *māyātīta* or beyond the sphere of Māyā. In relation to the body and the phenomenal world, however, its gross consciousness, which is the effect of the Māyā-śakti, overpowers it and obscures its real nature even to itself. Even if the Jīva, like the Bhagavat, consists of pure consciousness (*cidrūpa*), it is yet inferior as well as different in this respect from the Bhagavat, who is eternally superior to and unaffected by his own extraneous Māyā-śakti. But in its essence it is a part or Aṃśa of the Bhagavat. Its liability to Māyā and bondage in Saṃsāra, as well as its individual separate existence even after emancipation, makes it different from the Bhagavat, both in Svarūpa and Sāmarthya; but it is at the same time identical in its intrinsic affinity with the Bhagavat who is its ultimate source. This peculiar relation of identity in difference is also expressed by the postulate that the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat, conceived not as the ground of Svarūpa-śakti, but as the ground of Jīva-śakti, which latter, being a Taṭasthā Śakti, is different and yet closely connected with both the Svarūpa-śakti and the Māyā-śakti.

From this point of view all Jīvas have been classified into two groups, viz.: (i) those who are eternally inclined to the Bhagavat (*anādita eva bhagavad-unmukhaḥ*) and naturally susceptible to his Svarūpa-śakti, and (ii) those who are eternally averse to him (*anādita eva bhagavad-parāṅmukhaḥ*) and therefore naturally prone to the Māyā-śakti. The former are still Taṭastha, like the latter, and are Jīvas who cannot be included in the category of Īśvara; but they possess in a greater degree the capacity of releasing themselves. Possessing in a potential state the intrinsic attributes of consciousness and bliss, which are also divine attributes, they are easily disposed to the influence of the deity's highest Svarūpa-śakti. Those coming under the second group become, on account of their hostile attitude, an easy prey to the Māyā-śakti and its bondage, and are therefore overwhelmed into rebirth (*saṃsāra*), from which their only way of release is through Bhakti, which brings them again under the influence of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat.

From the dualistic conclusion that the Jīva, in spite of its essential identity, is yet different and has a separate existence as an eternal spiritual atom, which continues even after emancipation, it follows that the Jīva is not one but many. Our author does not believe in the extreme monistic theory that the Paramātman is the only so-called Jīva (*eka-jīvavāda*), the apparent multitude of Jīvas being no other than the Paramātman. On the other hand, he appears to agree with Rāmānuja's interpretation of *Vedānta-sūtra*

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ii, 3, 48 that although the Jīva is a part of Aṃśa or the Paramātman, and is essentially of the same character as an entity, it is yet actually separate and resides in separate Kṣetras or spheres (*pratikṣetraṃ bhinnaḥ*). But, even admitting a plurality of Jīvas, this school does not accept the theory of actionless Puruṣa who only looks on and experiences the consequences of the acts of Prakṛti. A dualistic view, such as this school upholds, cannot make the Jīva altogether independent of the fruits of action, even though its extreme theistic leanings make it present a somewhat modified dualism and make all actions subordinate to the will of the Lord. In its view, therefore, the Jīva is both a knower and an agent, and an enjoyer of the fruits of his own Karma. This capacity for activity as an agent is a permanent and inherent capacity, but the activity is not independent of divine control, inasmuch as the Jīva is an eternal servant of the Lord.

This intrinsic connexion of the Jīva with the Paramātman is indicated by the qualifying epithet *svataḥ sarvadā paramātmaika-śeṣa-svabhāva*, i.e., the Jīva has always the natural tendency of ultimately resorting to the Paramātman alone as its ground. From this divine source it receives not only its attribute of consciousness but also its attribute of bliss (*cidānandātmaka*), of which more will be said hereafter.

Although the Jīvas are many and separate, they are yet related to one another. There is a sameness in all Jīvas (*eka-rūpa-bhāk*) because of the Jīva's essential divine character. Differences, however, arise, in the first place, from a difference in the nature of acts done in this or previous births, which make each suffer weal or woe accordingly and possess different character. Apparently, this occurs in the phenomenal world ; but even when bereft of the gross body and freed from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti, the different Jīvas occupy different positions as the Parikara of the Bhagavat in the hierarchy of spiritual existence, according to the difference in their respective devotional attitude.

This brings us now to the consideration of the character of the Māyā-śakti in relation to the Jīva and the Bhagavat. The Vaiṣṇava idea of Māyā as a Śakti, even if it is presented as a Bahiraṅgā or extraneous Śakti, is not the same as the Śaṅkarite idea of Māyā as a kind of illusion, from which, however, the original idea might have been borrowed and assimilated. Enough has already been said above which would give a general idea of this Māyā-śakti, but one of the principal themes of this Saṃdarbha is to expand this idea and consider in detail the functions of this Śakti. It is called Bahiraṅgā, i.e. outer or external, because it does not form an ingredient of the real or intrinsic selfhood of the Lord. As a Śakti or Energy, how-

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ever, it is real, and its effects are also real, but as it appertains to the deity in his partial or incomplete manifestation and not in his true nature, it is felt only at a lower plane of existence. In a verse quoted from the *Bhāgavata* ix, 33 in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* (p. 92), the Śakti is defined as :—

*ṛte'rthaṃ yat pratīyate na pratīyata ātmani |*
*tad vidyād ātmano māyām ||*

According to the interpretation given by Jīva Gosvāmin the verse may be translated thus : 'What is perceived outside the substance, i.e. outside the intrinsic selfhood of the Lord (*arthaṃ paramārtha-bhūtaṃ māṃ vinā*), and what is not perceived irrespectively of it, is called the Lord's own Māyā'. If the Lord in his essence is perceived, the Māyā is not perceived, i.e. the Śakti is perceived outside his self (*mat-pratītau tat-pratītyabhāvāt, matto bahir eva yasya pratītir ityarthaḥ*). But the Śakti cannot be perceived by itself without the Lord as the substratum (*yasya ca mad-āśrayaṃ vinā svataḥ pratītir nāsti*), i.e. as an energy it presupposes the idea of an energizing substance or being, and cannot stand by itself.

The Māyā as a Śakti has been classified into Jīva-māyā, which is also called Nimitta-māyā, and Guṇa-māyā, which is also called Upādāna-māyā. The classification is based upon the two functions of the principle of causality, viz., efficient and material causation, ascribed to the Māyā-śakti; and each of the aspects has a reference respectively to the Jīva and the Prakṛti, the individual self and material nature. In the first aspect the Māyā-śakti obscures the pure consciousness of the Jīva (*jīva-jñānam āvṛṇoti*), and in the second it brings about the material world as a balance of the three Guṇas (*sattvādi-guṇa-sāmya-rūpāṃ guṇa-māyākhyāṃ jaḍām prakṛtim udgirati*), or causes change or evolution of forms by disturbing the equilibrium of the three Guṇas (*kadācit pṛthag-bhūtān sattvādi-guṇān nānākāratayā pariṇamati ca*). Hence Māyā is called *sṛṣṭi-sthityanta-kāriṇī* or the Śakti which causes the creation, support and dissolution of the world; and in the Upaniṣads the Māyā is represented figuratively as tri-coloured (tri-varṇa), which term has a reference to the three Guṇas.

The function of the Nimitta or Jīva-māyā is twofold, consisting of science (Vidyā) and nescience (Avidyā), the first causing emancipation and the second bondage. The Jīva in itself is eternally self-conscious of its true nature and is, therefore, as Śuddha Jīva, eternally emancipated (*svato mukta eva*). Sometimes this consciousness, however, is explicit (as in the case of eternally emancipated souls), but more often it is implicit or obscured (as in the case of those who are subject to ignorance or nescience caused by Māyā). The Vidyā

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is the gateway for the ingress of this implicit consciousness. It may be objected that if the Vidyā leads to deliverance, it should be an aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti and cannot be counted as an expression of the Māyā-śakti. But the Vidyā-vṛtti as a Māyā-śakti must be taken to imply that it is not a form of that consciousness itself, but only a door or opening to the revelation of that consciousness which is an aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti, and it cannot by itself make that revelation (*atra vidyākhyā vṛttir iyaṃ svarūpaśakti-vṛtti-viśeṣa-vidyā-prakāśe dvāram eva, na tu svayam eva seti jñeyam*). The Avidyā or nescience has again twofold function, viz. : (i) it acts as a covering which causes the concealment of the true nature of the Jīva (*āvaraṇ-ātmikā*), and (ii) it acts as a source of distraction (*vikṣepātmikā*), which overpowers the Jīva by causing a conflicting consciousness in the form of the empirical experience of the body and the senses.

The Jīva-māyā or Nimitta-māyā, as the source of efficient causation, involves the four concepts of Kāla, Daiva, Karma and Svabhāva, which terms are now briefly explained. The Kāla is described as the Kṣobhaka or source of provocation, and a verse from the *Bhāgavata* (iii, 5, 26) is quoted to show that by this function the Paramātman, in erotically figurative imagery, places the seed of creation in the Guṇamayī Māyā.[1] It follows from this description that the Kāla is not a substance but only a function or mode (*vṛtti*) of the Paramātman as the dispenser of the Māyā-śakti, by which the equilibrium of the three Guṇas in Prakṛti is disturbed and effects are brought about. It thus regulates in a sense the process of creation but is in its turn regulated by the Paramātman; it has therefore no effect on the Bhagavat, who is eternally beyond Kāla. The Karma is described as the Nimitta or efficient cause of this disturbance, and constitutes acts done not by the real ego but by the empirical ego in phenomenal existence, causing rebirth and bondage. Such acts, therefore, as devotional worship, which proceed from the real ego of the Jīva are not to be included in this category. The express proneness of Karma for the production of consequences is called Daiva (*tad eva phalābhimukham abhivyaktaṃ daivam*). The Svabhāva consists of impressions left by Karma (*tat-saṃskāraḥ*). The Jīva in its bondage to the Māyā-śakti, is possessed of all these (*tadvān*).

The Guṇa-māyā or Upādāna-māyā, as the source of material causation, consists of Dravya, Kṣetra, Prāṇa, Ātman and Vikāra, which terms also require explanation. The Dravya indicates the five elements in subtle states (*bhūta-sūkṣmāṇi*) ; the Kṣetra is Prakṛti ;

[1] *kāla-vṛttyā tu māyāyāṃ guṇamayyām adhokṣajaḥ |*
*puruṣeṇātmabhūtena vīryam adhatta vīryavān ||*

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the Prāṇa means the vital principle, which is also called Vāyu; the Ātman is the gross consciousness or the Prākṛta Ahaṃkāra operated upon by the senses; and the Vikāra consists of the five senses (*indriyāṇi*) and the five gross elements (*mahābhūtāni*), of which the Deha or material body is a collective effect (*saṃghāta*), continuing in an uninterrupted stream like the sprout of seeds (*bīja-rohavat pravāhaḥ*). All these constitute in their totality the ingredients of material creation, which is the Upādāna aspect of the Māyā, called Guṇa-māyā. The Jīva is related to it, as well as to the Jīva-māyā described above. The primal matter is called indiscrete (Avyakta or Avyākṛta), because it is the equipoised condition of these constituents and of the Guṇas. In itself it is unintelligent or unconscious, but creation proceeds through the Īkṣaṇa or look of the Lord, by which is perhaps meant this exercise of the Māyā-śakti by the Paramātman. The state of equilibrium being thus disturbed, the three Guṇas intermingle with one another and give rise to the manifold evolutes and effects, ultimately producing the concrete and real world as a feat of the Māyā-śakti. In spite of the professed adverse attitude of the school to the Sāṃkhya theory, the influence of Sāṃkhya ideas and the borrowing of its terminology are obvious. The school holds firmly to Sāṃkhya in regarding Matter as a reality, and there is nothing specifically Vedāntic in its conception in this respect. The Māyā is not Matter itself as the Vedāntin believes, but it is a particular mode in which Matter, which is a reality, is apprehended. But a theistic interpretation is given to this mode by regarding it as a cosmic effect of the Lord's energy or function, which obscures the vision of the undevout to the ultimate reality. In relation to this ultimate reality, which is the Lord himself, Matter must, however, be regarded not as an absolute reality, as Sāṃkhya maintains, but only as a relative reality.

According to the views of the Bengal school, therefore, the creation of the world is not an instance of Vivarta (illusory production) but an instance of Pariṇāma (transformation). The theory of Vivarta, which is a corollary from Śaṃkara's Māyā-vāda, speaks of the illusory production of an effect, viz., the unreal world, from a real cause, viz., the Brahma, just as a serpent is a Vivarta or illusory appearance of a rope. But the theistic Vaiṣṇava school believes in the reality and phenomenally separate existence of the world, relatively to the reality and absolute existence of the Bhagavat; and therefore it regards its creation as the result of Pariṇāma or direct evolution, by which an effect of the same kind is produced as the material cause. There is a difference, no doubt, in the reality of the world and that of the Bhagavat, for the former is relative and non-eternal and the latter absolute and eternal. In a sense,

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however, the world may be regarded as eternal, because even after dissolution it continues to exist in a subtle form in the Bhagavat, but it must still be regarded as non-eternal so far as it exists phenomenally and presents itself to our gross senses. But its being non-eternal or perishable does not mean that it is false or unreal, as some Vedāntins hold. The world as an effect has the same character of reality as its material cause, viz., the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, although this reality may not be absolute reality. Since the deity, as the material and efficient cause of the world, evolves it out of himself by the Māyā-śakti, he does not suffer any change or loss of essence, inasmuch as this Śakti cannot affect his true Svarūpa. The deity is immutable even if he is the cause of the mutable world, and creation in this sense is a mystery (*Sarva-saṃvādinī*, pp. 142-3). It is also further established that the creation is spontaneous to the nature of the Lord. It does not proceed from any particular purpose or motive, in the sense in which the term is used with reference to human beings ; for, the divine being in his perfection cannot be endowed with a particular purpose or motive.

The concept of the Paramātman as a partial manifestation of the Bhagavat has relation mainly to these energies of the Lord, viz., the Jīva-śakti and the Māyā-śakti, and is therefore presupposed for this special purpose. The Paramātman is accordingly endowed with the powers of creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world, as well as of being the inward regulator of the individual self. The relation between the Bhagavat and the Paramātman is really one of gradation in the hierarchy of manifestations of one and the same reality. But since the two energies assigned to the Paramātman are regarded either as Taṭasthā or Bahiraṅgā (aloof or external) in relation to the intrinsic divine energy, the function of the Paramātman operates only so long as the Jīva is still at a lower plane and is blind to the nature of true reality. Jīva Gosvāmin refers in this connexion to Gītā texts (xiii, 1ff.) relating to the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña, and explains that the Kṣetra (' field ' or ' dwelling place ') is matter or material body as the seat of the conditioned self, who as a conscious entity is technically styled Kṣetrajña. But he rejects the Sāṃkhya interpretation of Kṣetrajña, and maintains the theistic view that the Jīva is Kṣetrajña only relatively ; for, the Paramātman as the inward ruler of the world and of the individual self, is the only and real Kṣetrajña. As the regulator of the individual self in its conditioned state, the Paramātman may again be the regulator either of the totality of individual Jīvas (*samaṣṭi-jīvāntaryāmin*) or of each individual Jīva (*vyaṣṭi-jīvāntaryāmin*). In theological language we are told further that since the Avatāras have relation to the phenomenal world, they all proceed from the Paramātman,

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and the Bhagavat is thus superior to all of them. One of the primal evolutes of the Paramātman in this respect is the Puruṣa, who is regarded as the first (*ādya*) of the Avatāras. This Puruṣa, in its twofold aspect as the Garbhodaka-śāyin and the Kṣīroda-śāyin, is the presiding deity of the Jīva in its singleness (*vyaṣṭi*) and totality (*samaṣṭi*) respectively. These two aspects of the Puruṣa, again, are regarded as two subtle emanations of the Saṃkarṣaṇa-Vyūha, who is Karaṇārṇava-śāyin and who, according to the Vyūha-doctrine, is supposed to preside over the Jīva. Thus, as the immanent regulator of the individual souls and the phenomenal world, the Saṃkarṣaṇa of the Vyūha-theory is absorbed as being identical with the Paramātman, just as the much older conception of Puruṣa is assimilated within the theological scheme of the Paramātman in relation to the Avatāras.

From what has been said above it will not be difficult to understand the theory which Jīva Gosvāmin propounds on the relation of the Jīva to the Bhagavat. As the Jīva is an aspect of the Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti, the relation is the same as between a Śakti and the possessor of the Śakti. The Bhagavat as the Śaktimat is no doubt the ground or source of the Śakti which cannot exist without him, but the Śakti has also a capacity and existence of its own. The analogy of the sun and its scattered rays has already been cited above to illustrate the conception. The relation is thus one of non-difference as well as of difference (*bhedābheda*) in an inscrutable manner (*acintya*). The Jīva is non-different from the Bhagavat because it is a part or Aṃśa, even if an atomic part (*aṇu*), and possesses essentially the same characteristics of eternity, non-liability to change, etc. as well as the same attributes, in an infinitesimal amount, of Cit and Ānanda. If the Bhagavat is Pūrṇā Cit and Pūrṇa Ānanda, the Jīva is Cit-kaṇā and Ānanda-kaṇā. But as the superlativeness of the attributes and characteristics belongs to the Bhagavat alone and not to the Jīva, there is an inevitable difference; and absolute identity can never be maintained. The Jīva is also eternally subordinate to the Lord, for the common attributes in the case of the Jīva is obscured and controlled by the Māyā-śakti, while the Lord is never affected by this Śakti, which indeed springs from him but which is yet external to him. The non-difference makes it possible for the Jīva to approach him and be a part of his intrinsic Svarūpa-śakti, but the difference keeps the Jīva eternally separate and subordinate. Jīva Gosvāmin maintains this position not only by the citation of Purāṇa and other texts, but also by a peculiarly dualistic interpretation of the *Vedānta-sūtra* i, 2, 12; ii, 1, 22 and ii, 3, 42–45. The Advaita texts, which

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speak of identity, should, in his opinion, be understood to affirm resemblance; for the Jīva, being an Aṃśa, naturally retains some of the divine character and becomes *like* the Bhagavat, but it is never the same. It might be objected that if the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat, then all the imperfections of the Jīva must also attach to the Bhagavat; but the reply to this is furnished by the authority of the *Vedānta-sūtra* ii, 3, 45 which is interpreted to mean that the imperfections of the Jīva, who is an expression of the Bhagavat's Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti and not of his essential Svarūpa-śakti, can never be ascribed to the highest being.

In his *Tattva-saṃdarbha* and elsewhere Jīva Gosvāmin takes some pains to refute the views of the Advaita-vādins that the difference between the Jīva and Brahma is not real but is due to Upādhi or conditioned attributes, by means of which the really unconditioned Brahma appears to condition himself (*pariccheda-vāda*) or ephemerally reflects himself as Jīva (*pratibimba-vāda*). The arguments against these Advaita theories are well known and need not be repeated in detail. Jīva Gosvāmin employs the usual arguments against the validity of the assumption of Upādhi made by the Advaita-vādins. He argues that the Upādhi, which according to the Advaita-vādins, gives rise to a perception of difference which does not really exist, must be either real or unreal. If it is real (*vāstava*), i.e. if it is not imagined through Avidyā, then how can the Brahma who is always unconditioned, be conditioned? Being without any *dharma*, he cannot have any Upādhi; and being all-pervasive (*vyāpaka*) and without a form (*niravayava*), like the Ākāśa, he cannot be visible and reflect himself as Jīva. The mere knowledge of the identity of the Jīva and Brahma, again, can never get rid of the Upādhi which, *ex hypothesi*, is real and therefore persists in spite of such knowledge. If, on the other hand, the Upādhi is presumed to be unreal (*avāstava*), i.e. due to the Avidyā, then how can it touch the Brahma who is eternally free from any touch of Avidyā? In such a case, the Brahma, who is the sole reality, becomes unreal. It must be assumed therefore that those scriptural texts which have been often cited in support of identity, only speak of resemblance due to analogy, and are therefore instances merely of that form of expression which is known as *sādṛśya-lakṣaṇā* (secondary application based on resemblance). It is not denied that the Jīva resembles Brahma and is identical in some essential characteristics, but there is also a real distinction which cannot be transcended.

This relation of non-identity in identity is expressed by the supposition that the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat as the ground or substratum of the Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti, and not of the Bhagavat as the displayer of the Svarūpa-śakti (*jīva-śakti-viśiṣṭasyaiva tava*

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*jīvo'ṃśaḥ, na tu śuddhasya, jīvasya tat-śakti-rūpatvenaivāṃśatvam ityetad vyañjayati*). But since the capacity for bliss is an inherent attribute of the Jīva, it finds a point of contact with the intrinsic Hlādinī Śakti or blissful energy of the Bhagavat through the mode of Bhakti, which is nothing more than an aspect of this intrinsic divine energy. This natural capacity of the Jīva restores his affinity or contiguity to the Bhagavat and counteracts its averseness, which springs from the effect of the external Māyā-śakti. But the Jīva is never an equal but a servant or *Sevaka* to the Lord, who is the *Sevya*; and its function is to carry out the Lord's will. Even Bhakti, however inherent in the Jīva as an expression of the divine energy, can awaken only through divine grace (*prasāda* or *anugraha*). Even when freed from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva persists in its real and eternal character as an eternal spiritual atom worshipping the Lord. There are Śrutis which affirm the distinction in the Jīva's phenomenal existence and also in its state of release. The state of release, therefore, is only release from the earthly bondage of the Māyā-śakti, but no extinction on perception of identity, or the merging of the Jīva in the Bhagavat (*laya*). The emancipated self is in reality no longer the Jīva or a part of the Jīva-śakti, but becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat as his Parikara or Associate in his Paradise. But since the relation of the Śakti to the possessor of the Śakti is, as we have seen, one of non-identity in identity, the relation naturally continues in the state of emancipation.

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# PĀṆINI AND THE VEDA

*By* A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

The questions raised by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are of perennial interest and they have been once more attacked with equal courage and industry by a young docent at Goettingen, Dr. Paul Thieme, whose results deserve careful consideration.[1] The problems presented, in point of fact, are too complex to permit of any facile solution, and every new piece of evidence demands fair consideration.

It is well known that Whitney[2] levelled a strong attack on the Vedic side of Pāṇini's work. He condemned Pāṇini for inconsistency of terminology, and the lack of principle as regards the facts noted. Further, he raised the question what useful purpose had been served by his touching on the subject of Vedic peculiarities at all. To the last question the late Professor Lévi,[3] whose death is deplored by all interested in Indian problems, suggested an answer. Pāṇini, we must assume, was not trying to lay down rules of Vedic grammar, but was concerned merely to mark out as Vedic, and to be avoided in the speech of the day, certain usages which he had reason to think might persist if not noted as archaisms. This view, if accepted, would explain the incoherent character of the treatment of Vedic usages. But unfortunately it is impossible to accept the suggestion in the absence of the slightest evidence in its favour, either external or internal. No commentator gives a tradition to this effect as to the purpose of Pāṇini, and there are among the usages dealt with many which do not appear in the least as if they were archaisms liable to persist in current speech but which seem to be isolated usages. This, as Dr. Thieme remarks, is clearly the case with the rules as to the Abhinihita Sandhi in the Saṃhitās, which accord with the arbitrary orthography of the redactors. We must, therefore, abandon the conjecture of S. Lévi, and try in some other way to meet the criticism of Whitney or admit its validity.

Dr. Thieme holds that Pāṇini was most careful in his terminology, and adduces evidence in favour of that view. But he admits[4] 'that in five places Pāṇini has employed *nigame*, 'in the sacred tradition' apparently synonymous with *chandasi*, and he adds,' I have failed to find out a possible reason for this'. I agree with his admission, for I

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[1] *Pāṇini and the Veda* (Allahabad, 1935).
[2] *Gior. Soc. As. It.*, vii, 243ff.
[3] MSL., xiv, 278.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 71. See Pāṇini, vi, 3, 113; 4, 9; vii, 2, 64; 3, 81,; 4, 74.

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also do not see any possible means of justifying the alteration in terminology, and I concur therefore with Professor Wackernagel's view [1] that we are entitled to assume that Pāṇini had recourse in compiling his work to sources which used different terms to describe the same thing. This is the simple and natural view and we are not entitled to close our eyes to it, because we assume that Pāṇini must be free from errors.

Moreover, there is not sufficient evidence to establish the further claim of Dr. Thieme that Pāṇini uses his terms precisely. He sets out to establish this for *mantra*, which in his view means always either a verse formula (*ṛc*) or a prose formula (*yajus*) as opposed to theological discussion (*brāhmaṇa*). The first piece of evidence is rather unlucky for Pāṇini. In iii, 1, 35ff. he teaches the use of the periphrastic perfect except in *mantras*. As *gamayāṃ cakāra* is found in *Atharvaveda*, xviii, 2, 27, we must either admit that Pāṇini is inaccurate in his facts, or that he did not know our recension of the *Atharvaveda*. In iii, 3, 96 he tells us of a number of nouns of action in *-ti*, which are oxytone in a *mantra* but barytone elsewhere, i.e. in the Bhāṣā and in a *brāhmaṇa*. This rule, it is asserted, is quite correct, at least under the condition that like other Vedic rules it is not taken as a strict injunction to accentuate the suffix in *mantras*, but as an optional alternative which is restricted to *mantras*. Now what evidence is there of the validity of this condition? Has it any claim to acceptance? I fear that there is nothing to show that Pāṇini in giving Vedic rules of accentuation meant that they applied only optionally. The ordinary sense of such a rule as this is that the accent in *mantras* ought always to be oxytone, elsewhere barytone.

The facts are unfavourable to the validity of the rule in general. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* is admittedly used by Pāṇini, but in *mantras* it employs both forms of *vṛṣṭi*; in the case of *bhūti* the barytone form occurs against the rule in the *Atharvaveda* throughout, and is found in the *Kāṭhaka*, *Taittirīya* and *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitās*. In the same Saṃhitās *vitti* is exclusively barytone, and in other words of the Pāṇinean list there is equally no evidence for the rule. Here again the evidence is unfavourable to Pāṇini's accuracy or completeness.

The case is worse still with the statement in vi, 1, 209, 210, that *chandasi juṣṭa* and *arpita* are optionally accented on the first syllable and always so in *mantras*. The facts will not agree. (1) In no *brāhmaṇa* do we find either word with accented final; KS., MS., and TS. agree in accenting the first syllable in *brāhmaṇa*

[1] *Altind. Gramm.*, i, p. lxv.

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passages. (2) The *Atharvaveda* twice accents *juṣṭa* on the final, but in a *mantra*, contrary to the rule. (3) The *Rigveda* normally accents the first syllable of *arpita* but once also the last. There is clearly no use trying to square the facts with the rule. The latter despite its appearance of precision is simply wrong.

Similarly vi, 3, 131 provides for *indriyāvat* in *mantras*; but it appears in KS., x, 10 in a *brāhmaṇa*. In vi, 3, 132 Pāṇini prescribes *oṣadhībhiḥ, oṣadhībhyaḥ*, and *oṣadhīṣu* for *mantras*. But the KS. in *brāhmaṇas* has in ms. D *oṣadhībhiḥ* and *oṣadhībhyaḥ* in viii, 11 and 15, where it is quite wrong to prefer the readings of ms. Ch with the short vowel, since the long appears in the *Kapiṣṭhala*, vii, 8 and viii, 3, and in xii, 7 there is the same variation as to *oṣadhīṣu*, but admittedly in three or four cases all mss. have the long form. In the MS. it is admitted that the long vowel is even more often found in *brāhmaṇa* passages. The explanation suggested is that Pāṇini wanted to contrast forms common in *mantras* with forms used in *brāhmaṇas*. What is obvious is that he does not say so, and the evidence so far does not suggest that we need fight to prove his accuracy. In the same way we can make nothing satisfactory out of iii, 2, 71 which deals with the formation of the stems *puroḍāś, ukthaśās*, and *śvetavāh*, nor need we take sides for Kātyāyana or Patañjali in their very legitimate doubts as to the rule. Nor does it appear why Dr. Thieme, after casting doubt on the genuineness of Patañjali's *śvetavā indraḥ*, should add, 'In any case, the word cannot have occurred in a *brāhmaṇa*'. This surely begs the question. Similarly I see no justification for asserting that Patañjali's forms *śvetavāḥ* for the vocative and *śvetavobhyām* and *śvetavobhiḥ* are purely fictitious. If Patañjali can be justly accused of manufacturing forms, what warrant have we for Pāṇini? If the forms are objectionable, still that is no reason why they should not have been used.

Taking then the literature as guide, we must admit that, if *mantre* were to be strictly understood of *ṛc* or *yajus*, Pāṇini's statements are not accurate. If they are to be treated as accurate, we must admit that *mantre* can be used vaguely as equal to *chandasi*; even the *Kāśikā*, we are told, assumes on ii, 4, 80 that Pāṇini could use *mantra* by implication for *chandas*.[1] In either case we must admit that there is inaccuracy due either to Pāṇini directly or to his sources.

*Chandas* itself is not without difficulties. If accuracy were desired, it should have been treated strictly as denoting *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*. Yet we find in iii, 2, 73 that it is employed of a form *upayaj-* which is confined to *brāhmaṇa* passages, and the only

[1] He cites *ajñata* from AB., vii, 14.

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excuse given by Dr. Thieme is that the wider term was used because in the subsequent rule he teaches forms which are distributed over the whole mass of sacred literature. We must admit then that the desire for brevity has triumphed over accuracy as often. The case is still worse with iii, 2, 68 where Dr. Thieme has to cast overboard both Kātyāyana and Patañjali without, it may be feared, leaving us in any happier position. The conclusion which could be further reinforced by additional evidence appears unavoidable; the use of Vedic material in Pāṇini is neither exhaustive nor free from error. This appears again from his treatment in vi, 1, 115 and 116 of the Abhinihita Sandhi. He teaches that there is no elision inside a *pāda* except where *a* is followed by *y* or *v*, and then enumerates certain exceptions to the rule he has laid down. He is silent on cases of omission which actually are found, though the letter following *a* is not *y* or *v*, and he fails to note that in certain cases there is non-elision where the second word is *ayam*, *avantu*, or *avasyavaḥ*. It is a minor matter that he ignores the *yavase aviṣyan* of TS., iv, 3. 3.

The essential difficulty is to find a reason for the use of Vedic material by Pāṇini, and I cannot see that Dr. Thieme has offered any explanation. His view, as already mentioned, is that, in cases where Vedic uses are given, we are also to understand that the Vedic can employ the Bhāṣā forms. Pāṇini, we are told,[1] characterizes for the sake of characterizing. Laying down the general principle first, he proceeds to give more and more special restrictions, tightening the meshes of his definition till the limit is definitely reached. Then he loosens his hold and comprises the unavoidable remainder of anomalies in a sweeping *et cetera*. But this gives no explanation why he adduces Vedic uses in a wholly partial and unsystematic manner. What conceivable purpose is served in this case of Sandhi by vi, 1, 119 which asserts that there is no elision in a *yajus* when *aṅge* and the like follow? The Prātiśākhyas in such a case give, where rules fail, all the instances in detail, serving their purpose excellently. Pāṇini's remark seems quite useless. In several cases he admittedly records with precision or approximate precision odd items of Vedic usage, such as the fact that in Vedic verse *havyavāhana* does not occur in the interior of a *pāda* (iii, 2, 66), and that there is no elision of *avapathās* in certain cases (vi, 1, 121). But what principle governs his action? Whitney discerned none, Dr. Thieme does not appear, despite his careful research, to have found any, Lévi's ingenious guess had the merit of facing the facts, but it is impossible to accept it as valid. No

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

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one can suggest what useful purpose for students of the Bhāṣā could be served by such observations as those just cited. Unless and until some explanation is offered, it seems that we must admit that the treatment of Vedic material in Pāṇini is not based on any system, is very imperfect, and cannot be relied upon. It seems to be suggested by Dr. Thieme that Pāṇini wished to teach correct speech and to warn people not to use incorrect forms. At the same time beside the forms of the Bhāṣā he had before him the language of the sacred texts, used in the sacrifice (*yajñakarmaṇi*, i, 2, 34) and in the daily recitations (*anvadhyāyam* opposed in *Nirukta*, i, 4 to *bhāṣāyām*). These could not be wrong, so that he provides rules to justify Vedic words and usages foreign to the Bhāṣā.[1] But the fatal objection to this ingenious suggestion is that Pāṇini fails entirely to cover the ground which he is supposed to be trying to cover. He leaves far too much that is Vedic untouched, and therefore presumably incorrect.

The use in Pāṇini of the term *chandasi* is in itself far from scientific, covering as it does *brāhmaṇa* passages. It can be explained only historically ; *chandas* originally used of metrical Saṃhitās was applied to Saṃhitās with true *brāhmaṇa* passages like those of the Yajurveda, but clearly a careful grammarian would have distinguished consistently between the strata. The term *brāhmaṇa* in Pāṇini according to Dr. Thieme normally means a Brāhmaṇa text not included in a Saṃhitā as in *chandobrāhmaṇāni* (iv, 2, 66), and *brāhmaṇakalpeṣu* (iv, 3, 105) and *brāhmaṇe* (v, 1, 62), but he refers *brāhmaṇe* in ii, 3, 60 to the MS., i, 6, 11.[2] The usage *gāṃ dīvyadhvam*, however, occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v, 4. 4, 22, and there is really no reason for refusing to see a reference to that Brāhmaṇa except Dr. Thieme's conviction that Pāṇini did not know the White Yajurveda. But the conviction rests on very unsatisfactory foundations. It is based on the view that Pāṇini must have noted rare forms in the *Śatapatha*, which is clearly invalid, unless we prove that he notes such forms from all the texts, and this is not the case. He does not note *śiśira* as masculine, but the same use is found in the *Atharvaveda*, which admittedly he knows, and it is quite impossible to accept the view that Pāṇini interpreted *śiśiraḥ* as an adjective in vi, 55. 2 *grīṣmo hemantaḥ śiśiro vasantaḥ śarad varṣāḥ* or xii, 1, 36 *śarad dhemantaḥ śiśiro vasantaḥ*. The omission to deal with *pitṛhūya* and *starya-*, if correct, is simply accounted for by the imperfect nature of Pāṇini's treatment, a fact

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68.

[2] The reading there, however, is doubtful ; see Oertel, *Zur Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha-Saṃhitā*, p. 66.

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which abundantly explains his failure to deal with the deviations of the Kāṇva from the Mādhyandina recension.

Dr. Thieme wisely rejects the quite impossible view of Dr. Goldstuecker, whom he follows regarding Pāṇini's ignorance of the White Yajurveda, that the latter is later in time than Pāṇini. He explains instead the ignorance which he assigns to Pāṇini to geographical causes, the fact stressed by Weber [1] that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* was composed in the east of India. Pāṇini, he holds, was essentially a northern grammarian, born at Śalātura as tradition holds, and he combats the view of Franke [2] that, though of northern origin, he belonged to the eastern school of grammarians. But the evidence which is adduced, while it does not prove that Pāṇini belonged to the eastern school, shows that he was well acquainted with matters affecting the east. He knows the designations of certain districts in the east, the names of certain cities and their inhabitants, even the names of certain villages. He mentions the formation of eastern proper names, an eastern peculiarity in the name of a game (vi, 2, 74), the designations of tributes or tolls (vi, 3, 10), the names of certain measures of weight (v, 4, 101), and the mode of greeting a person (viii, 2, 86). He teaches curious formations or uses such as *kuṣyati* and *rajyati* (iii, 1, 90), *alaṃ ruditvā* (iii, 4, 18), the formation of *ekatara-* (v, 3, 94), and of *śoṇī* (iv, 1, 43). Dr. Thieme ingeniously explains how many of these facts might well be known to a northern grammarian, and apart from this it is perfectly legitimate to hold that a grammarian who notes usages of the eastern people is not himself an eastern. But unhappily for the view that he is composing as a northerner Pāṇini notes usages of the northerners, and Dr. Thieme is bound by his theory to find explanations, all very laboured. In iv, 2, 190f. Pāṇini teaches the formation of the names of northern villages. Although referring in general to the northern language, Pāṇini may have explicitly pointed out the geographical limitation of this rule in order to prevent its application when it is a question of inhabitants of eastern settlements. But this is surely an impossible explanation, and ascribes to Pāṇini, that lover of brevity even at the cost of intelligibility, the insertion of a needless term. In iv, 2, 74 he teaches the names of wells situated to the north of the Vipāś, that is in a special part of the north-western tracts; he does not do this for the east, because presumably he knew the names of eastern settlements but not those of their wells. But this argument is wholly defective, for Pāṇini does not deal with all the wells of the north, but those of one part only. But what is decisive Pāṇini in several places

[1] *Ind. Stud.*, v, 50. [2] GGA., 1891, pp. 957, 975ff.

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expressly mentions usages of the northerners, such as *ibhyakā*, *bhastrakā*, *kaṭvakā* beside *ibhyikā*, etc. (vii, 3, 46f.), *gaudhāra* (iv, 1, 130) for *gaudhera*, and *mātarapitarau* (vi, 3, 32) for *mātāpitarau* or *pitarau*. There is a very simple explanation of the references to the uses of the north and the east; the grammarian lays down rules for the Bhāṣā of the middle land, and notes deviations among the people of the north and of the east respectively. The Bhāṣā, of course, was a lingua franca through a great area for the Brahmans. That the north was not the place of composition of the Brāhmaṇas is beyond question; the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (vii, 6) frankly lauds the speech of the north, showing that was not composed therein, and there is no reason whatever why Pāṇini, if of northern origin, should not have described the speech of Madhyadeśa; Patañjali writes for the *śiṣṭas* of Āryāvarta, not for the north or the east.

We may therefore dismiss as unfounded the view that Pāṇini as a northerner did not know the White Yajurveda, and admit what his frequent mention of eastern usages proves, that he was well acquainted with facts of the east, and we may assume with the White Yajurveda. It becomes then perfectly natural to accept the view which Liebich[1] has maintained as did Weber that the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* is older than Pāṇini. Liebich's view is based on the fact that certain *sūtras* in both works are identical, while in those which differ the probability of priority is in favour of the Prātiśākhya. The Prātiśākhya is careless and diffuse, while Pāṇini is precise. There are plenty of examples; Pāṇini (viii, 2, 1) has *pūrvatrāsiddham*, VPr. (iii, 3) *na parakālaḥ pūrvakāle punaḥ*; in viii, 4, 68 *a a* is paralleled by VPr., i, 72 *savarṇavac ca* (*a . . . kaṇṭhe* in i, 71); in i, 1, 9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam* is comparable with VPr., i, 43 *samānasthānakaraṇāsyaprayatnaḥ savarṇaḥ*; in i, 1, 8 *mukhanāsikāvacano 'nunāsikaḥ* has as parallel VPr., i, 75 *mukhanāsikākaraṇo 'nunāsikaḥ*; in i, 3, 10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*, VPr., i, 143 *saṃkhyātānām anudeśo yathāsaṃkhyam*; in i, 1, 21 *ādyantavad ekasmin*, VPr., i, 152 *sa evādir antaś ca*. Dr. Thieme forms the conclusion that, though more diffuse, the definitions of the VPr. are more accurate, and therefore later. But he forgets that, as he elsewhere admits, the aim of Pāṇini which is preferred even to logical connection is brevity, and it is easy to explain his deviations from the VPr. by the desire to condense the matter of the latter. Moreover, the contentions by which he strengthens his conclusions are far from carrying out his purpose. It is well worth comparing the case of the *Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya*, which is later than Pāṇini. It shows influence unmistakably, in a manner quite

[1] *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, ii, 37ff.

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different from the VPr., suggesting that, if the VPr. borrowed, it would reveal clearly dependence. Further, Dr. Thieme claims originality for Pāṇini in handling Vedic matter ; but, as we have seen, that handling gives a very unfavourable impression of accuracy, suggesting borrowing from earlier works, notably in the meaningless variation of *nigame* and *chandasi*. There is no reason a priori to doubt that Pāṇini borrowed from Prātiśākhyas, and much ground to suppose that he did.

Dr. Thieme, however, has allowed himself to accept the identity of the author of the Prātiśākhya and the Vārttikakāra as their common name Kātyāyana makes probable. The similarity of such a name, he should have remembered, creates no probability at all, and he evades the error of Goldstuecker[1] who believed that the Vārttikakāra and the author of the VPr. were both hostile critics of Pāṇini. The plain fact is that the Vārttikakāra is far advanced in grammatical knowledge beyond the author of the VPr., a fact which Dr. Thieme would explain away by admitting that the Vārttikas were written later. The obvious conclusion is that the works are by quite different hands. It seems to have been forgotten by Dr. Thieme that Weber[2] long ago adduced points in which the two works differed in terminology, and that, unless and until the facts in question are explained away, they form a very powerful argument against the identity of the two authors.

As regards the *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* Dr. Thieme in one place admits the possibility of borrowing thence, but he refuses to accept the validity of the evidence of borrowing given by Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh.[3] The latter argues that Pāṇini (viii, 4, 67) has borrowed the term *nodāttasvaritodayam*, ' not when an *udātta* or *svarita* follows ' from RVPr. 203, while Dr. Thieme dismisses[4] this as merely conjectural. But that is clearly illegitimate. Pāṇini nowhere else uses *udaya* as equivalent to *para*, and we have manifestly before us a verse fragment. The Prātiśākhya has the necessary sense of *udaya* elsewhere. There can be no doubt whatever that this intrusive element in Pāṇini is borrowed ; the only possibility is that it is taken from another work, e.g. the VPr. which borrowed it from the RVPr. or a common source. But it is perfectly simple to assume a direct borrowing from the RVPr.

Mr. Ghosh contends that Pāṇini, i, 1, 16–9 is taken from the Prātiśākhya. He renders i, 1, 16 *sambuddhau śākalyasyetāv anārṣe* as ' The *o* of vocative is *pragṛhya* when Śākalya's non-Vedic *iti*

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[1] *Pāṇini*, pp. 186ff.
[2] *Ind. Stud.*, v, 103ff. ; xiii, 444 ; Keith, TS., i, p. clxxi.
[3] IHQ., x, 665ff.
[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62.

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follows'. The reference is to the *iti* of the Padapāṭha, and the strange *anārṣe* is due to the fact that the Prātiśākhya calls the Saṃhitā *ārṣī saṃhitā*. The *sūtras* used are 69 *okāra āmantritajaḥ pragṛhyaḥ*, and 155 *prakṛtyetikaraṇādau pragṛhyaḥ*, which give the result that the *o* of the vocative is called *pragṛhya*, and that this *pragṛhya* remains unchanged when *iti* follows. There is no doubt that this is a better way of rendering than to understand the rule as meaning that *o* is termed *pragṛhya* before an *iti* in the *Padapāṭha*, as taken by Dr. Thieme, who admits that he does not know why this view of Śākalya's should be cited. In Mr. Ghosh's version we have an observed fact traced to a satisfactory and probable source. What clinches the matter is that Mr. Ghosh explains satisfactorily the mysterious *sūtras* 17 and 18 *uña ūṁ*, as meaning 'the particle *u* is lengthened and nasalised when Śākalya's non-Vedic *iti* (i.e. the symbolic *iti* of the Padapāṭha) follows'. The Prātiśākhya gives the clear sense *ukāraś cetikaraṇena yukto rakto 'pṛkto drāghitaḥ Śākalena* (*sūtra* 76), 'and *u* too is *pragṛhya* when it is connected with *iti*, nasalised, not followed by a consonant and lengthened by Śākala'. Failure to realize that we have but one *sūtra* has been due to the belief that the genitive *Śākalyasya* indicated an optional rule. Hence Patañjali and others have devised two rules and asserted that they contemplate three treatments *u iti*, *ūṁ iti*, and *v iti*. There can really be no doubt that this is all wrong. But that we have merely borrowing and unintelligent borrowing is clear. Pāṇini sets out to teach the Bhāṣā, and it is impossible to explain why he should solemnly give as admittedly in *sūtra* 16 a rule for a Padapāṭha. As he has confessedly done so, it is only proper to admit that he has gone on with this in what is given as 17 and 18, though the division is plainly false. In *sūtra* 19 there is more difficulty still; it runs *īdūdau ca saptamyarthe*, and, if we believe the expositors, *Śākalyasya* no longer applies, but the *sūtra* denotes that *ī* and *ū* as locatives are *pragṛhya*, without any warning that this is a purely Vedic formation. But, if we allow *Śākalyasya* to govern, we have the far more pointed rule that in the Padapāṭha the *ī* and *ū* are treated as *pragṛhya*, though in the case of *u* there is nothing to show in the Saṃhitā text that it is *pragṛhya*.[1] The matter of this *sūtra* is, however, of less importance. What is clear is that the preceding *sūtras* deal with facts of the Padapāṭha, and that they are in all probability taken not from observation of that Pāṭha but from the exposition thereof in the Prātiśākhya. Whether the latter alternative is to be preferred seems clearly to be answered in the affirmative, when the borrowing of the use of *udaya* above recorded

[1] Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, iii, §97*b*.

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is borne in mind. No doubt the text of the Prātiśākhya may have been, when Pāṇini used it, different in detail from that which we have, but the essential fact of borrowing seems proved as conclusively as anything can be in the circumstances.

There remains the case of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*. In this connection Dr. Thieme commits himself to a very unconvincing argument. He admits that the question is not easy to solve, but holds[1] that, as the VPr. has been shown to be after Pāṇini, the TPr. is also later as it is subsequent to the VPr. But as we have seen the argument that the VPr. is later than Pāṇini is utterly improbable, and therefore the conclusion based upon it is equally improbable. It is also very dubious to place the VPr. before the TPr. Siddheshwar Varma,[2] who is cited for the relative recency of the TPr., is a believer that the kernel of the TPr. is older than that of the VPr., and no one has ever contended that the Prātiśākhyas have escaped later additions and changes. The evidence, however, is often ambiguous. Dr. Thieme, for instance, argues from the fact that TPr., after dealing with the formation of *akāra-*, etc., proceeds (i, 20f.) to deal with *avarṇa-*, etc., that this is a later elaboration as compared with VPr., i, 31–41. Yet clearly it might be argued that VPr. omits needless elaboration found in the TPr. There is really no definite conclusion available as to the relative ages of the two works. In the case of Pāṇini there is much to suggest that the Prātiśākhya is older, though the points which suggest this are regarded by Dr. Thieme as showing refinement by the author, and not greater simplicity. Thus the TPr. gives the description *samānākṣara* only to *a*, *i*, and *u* with their long and *pluta* forms, to the exclusion of *ṛ* and *ḷ*. Is this really an innovation or an early doctrine? It is significant that Dr. Thieme himself admits that it might be suggested that Pāṇini knew the TPr. doctrine of vowels, which knows the *ḷ*, while the RVPr. and the VPr. in its main portion[3] agree in recognizing a list of four simple vowels, ignoring the *pluta* forms and *ḷ*. The TPr. again is marked by its strictness in leaving aside the significance of the words as determined by the sense of stem and suffix and confining itself to the acoustic aspect. Dr. Thieme thinks that this is an innovation, but it is more plausibly regarded as a sign of early date. The equation in TPr. i, 57 *vināśo lopaḥ* as against Pāṇini, i, 1, 60 *adarśanaṃ lopaḥ* is rather in favour of the priority of the former text. The term *adarśanam* is the more refined, implying according to Dr. Thieme that, though a suffix is imperceptible, still

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 103, n. 1.
[2] *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, pp. 21ff.
[3] The later chapter, viii, 3, may have been known to Pāṇini.

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its force is present, while *vināśaḥ* is a simple identity with *lopaḥ* from the acoustic point of view. But it is difficult to suppose that, if the TPr. were later than Pāṇini, it would adopt such a naive term as *vināśaḥ*. It is quite possible to hold that the works fall into such distinct classes that no safe conclusion as to relative date can be drawn. What seems certain is that Dr. Thieme's belief that Pāṇini is earlier than the Prātiśākhyas is not merely incapable of proof but is most improbable. The Prātiśākhyas are often clearer than Pāṇini, but that is not because they represent later reflection on Pāṇini's deficiencies as suggested in respect of the identical propositions of the first chapter of the TPr., but because in Pāṇini's grammar the considerations of brevity are allowed to override systematic coherence[1] and even intelligibility. It is only necessary to consider Dr. Thieme's own interpretation[2] of the Pāṇinean exposition of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* to realize how seriously mistaken was his mode of procedure. It is clear that from the outset the value of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* depended on oral transmission and exposition. As Kielhorn[3] long ago indicated, Patañjali already had nothing available to show him the accents which in the original grammar were an integral element. Plainly, if brevity had not been so eagerly desired, this device would have been superseded or supplemented by express statements. The Prātiśākhyas when they wish to make themselves clear as to accent have no difficulty in giving the needed words. Dr. Thieme suggests that we have here a sign of later date, but that is wholly implausible. Everything points to the condensation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as the carrying to perfection of an endeavour to attain brevity for its own sake,[4] regardless of the fact that such *sūtras* are per se unintelligible. After all we have the necessary parallel to the process in the philosophic *sūtras*. Just as in the schools of philosophy we are presented with catchwords for the doctrine, which are useless without exposition, so in the grammar we have *sūtras* to sum up oral teachings.

We must not, however, deduce from this fact the conclusion that the accentuation of our Vedic texts was marked after the period of Pāṇini. We simply cannot argue from the treatment of grammar to that of the Saṃhitās, and they may have been recorded with accents at the time when the Padakāras were at work. We simply do not know when writing was first applied to maintain the texts, but at any rate there was in the case of the older Saṃhitās

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[1] As admitted by Dr. Thieme, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 108ff.; as compared with Breloer, ZII, vii, 124ff.
[3] *Gurupūjākaumudī*, pp. 29ff., on i, 3, 11.
[4] E.g., *ku* for *kavarga*.

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a very respectable tradition. In the case, however, of some of the Brāhmaṇas the tradition was lost, and the same fate awaited the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The nasalization of its vowels is also not recorded in the text of the grammar ; the one exception is the passage i, 1, 18 discussed above, in which the nasal has been inserted or maintained from the Prātiśākhya or Padapāṭha whence it was derived. The view that the Vedic texts were handed down without nasalization like that of Pāṇini is purely gratuitous.

It is unquestionably to oral transmission that we owe the absurd *sūtra, ūkālo 'j jhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* which represents the effort to express the quantities of vowels in Pāṇini, i, 2, 27. The traditional interpretation [1] suggests that in oral delivery the speaker imitated the crowing of a cock in its three stages, each longer than the preceding. There is no real parallel for that in the Prātiśākhyas ; they, with the exception of the TPr. which is as often archaic, operate with the conception of mora (*mātrā*), the RPr. saying that the cry of the jay lasts one mora, that of the crow two, and that of the peacock three. It is quite impossible to believe that VPr., i, 55 *amātraḥ svaro hrasvaḥ* is an attempt to improve on Pāṇini. It is simpler and more natural than Pāṇini in taking *a* as the sound to act as an illustration, Pāṇini's *u* is clearly a not very happy refinement. Here again the evidence points to priority of the Prātiśākhyas at least as regards doctrine, which is the sole criterion available.

The same remark applies with great force to the system of the Śivasūtras. They are essentially connected with Pāṇini's grammar, whether we assume that they were devised by Pāṇini himself [2] or accepted by him from an older tradition. The grouping of sounds is in part artificial, invented for grammatical terminological purposes. They represent a new stage of development of theory, and one foreign to the manner of the Prātiśākhyas.

There remains a question of some interest. How much of our Vedic literature did Pāṇini use ? There is no doubt regarding the RV., KS.,[3] MS., TS., and AV. It is suggested by Dr. Thieme that there is some doubt which version of the AV. was known to Pāṇini. But his evidence is far from cogent. He finds that, assuming the ordinary version, Pāṇini as we have seen must be held to have overlooked *gamayāṃ cakāra* and the accent of *juṣṭa*. There is nothing wonderful in that, in view of the other defects noted above,

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[1] It is modern (e.g. Viṭṭhala's comm. on *Prakriyākaumudī*) and apparently not Pāṇinean.

[2] Thieme, *op. cit.*, pp. 103ff.

[3] Pāṇini knows the name Kapiṣṭhala (viii, 3, 91), but there is nothing to prove use of the *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā*.

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and no conclusion whatever can be drawn for Pāṇini by the fact that Patañjali treats the AV. as beginning with the stanza *śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaye*, which is the first *pāda* of the sixth hymn in Śaunaka's text, and which is commonly believed to be the beginning of the Paippalāda version, though without certainty. From what we have of that text no light is forthcoming; we do not know if it contained *ailayīt* which is known to Pāṇini, iii, 1, 51 and is found at vi, 16, 3. As noted above, the ŚB. seems to be known. A certain number of terms come from sources we cannot identify, possibly from a Black Yajurveda text. But there is no certainty and it is quite impossible to assign the stanza in *Nirukta*, i, 10 to that Veda because *śiśira* is used in the neuter, still less is it plausible to suggest that the source is the *Hāridravika*, a work cited in *Nirukta*, x, 5.

But it must be pointed out that Pāṇini has clearly not utilized to the full, if at all, texts which he knew. It is really impossible to doubt that v, 1, 62 with its reference to Brāhmaṇas of thirty and forty chapters refers to the *Kauṣītaki* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas*,[1] and it is noteworthy that, as has been pointed out already, the *Kāśikā* on ii, 4, 80 cites from the *Aitareya* the form *ajñata*. But in iii, 1, 40 Pāṇini gives *kṛ* as the only mode of forming the periphrastic perfect, though the *Aitareya* in vii, 17, 7 has *āmantrayāmāsa*. The interpretation by which Patañjali seems to make good the omission in Pāṇini cannot seriously be defended. We must, therefore, admit that Pāṇini could know without making use of all the facts in a text. For the *Kauṣītaki* the same thing follows from the failure to provide for forms like *yāmaki*,[2] in which the suffix *ak* appeared infixed, while Pāṇini himself makes provision only for forms like *sarvake* (v, 3, 71f.). It is perfectly legitimate to deduce from such facts that Pāṇini's work is eclectic. Where facts had been gathered, it made use of them; where they were not, its use was sporadic. There is nothing surprising in this conclusion; what would be surprising would be to find any other result, for the procedure is precisely that of modern grammarians. It would therefore be wholly impossible to rule out knowledge by Pāṇini of other Brāhmaṇas merely because he fails to note striking forms therein found.

On the other hand, it is impossible not to agree with Dr. Thieme that the Śikṣā published by Dr. Raghu Vira in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*[3] is not the work of Pāṇini. There is nothing

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[1] Keith, *Rigveda-Brāhmaṇas*, p. 42.

[2] xxvii, 1; Keith, p. 508, n. 5. Curiously ignored in Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, iii, §220, p. 447.

[3] 1931, pp. 653ff.

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in it to suggest his authorship and it is curious, if a Śikṣā of his really existed, that the Śikṣā ascribed to Piṅgalācārya, which purports to follow Pāṇini's views, should have been composed. It is also curious that the new Śikṣā should differ from the better known text in substance. Nor is there any reason to believe that Patañjali used this text ; it is much more natural to assume that the relation is reversed ; a phrase such as *rephoṣmaṇāṃ savarṇā na santi* is prima facie an explanatory note, not a *sūtra*. But the matter need hardly be pressed further in the absence of any real argument of weight for accepting ascription to Pāṇini.

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# A 'BASIC CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM'

*By* C. A. F. Rhys Davids

My title refers to the two Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures delivered in 1932 at the University of Calcutta by Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, and by that University published two years later. I have but just read them. A few years ago it was a 'Central Conception of Buddhism' that a Russian scholar invited us to consider. Neither author has been content to use the indeterminate article 'a'; both have had sufficient confidence to use a 'the'. The former was asserting a metaphysical *nisus* as valid for Buddhism early and late. The latter asserts a religious basis. Hence it comes perhaps, that the champion of the 'Basic' goes his way, unshaken by, and virtually unheeding the earthshaking of the earlier title. In both cases the title used makes a very great claim, the form being of assertion, not of inquiry. As such it calls for exceptional fitness to justify its use.

Fitness for such a difficult task as to be able, after a lapse of more than a millennium, to affirm what was the 'basic conception', not merely in an old institutional cult like Buddhism, but in the very teaching of its founder—for that is what we are asked to accept—demands not only erudition. No one in either case questions that: —the having read widely and methodically. There is more, and it is an important 'more', still, in Buddhist studies, in its cradle. It is to have read with a constant awareness, that the book under consideration was, at its hoary commencement, no newspaper report taken down from the lips of a teacher *verbatim*; but that it is a late outcome of a twofold process:—the process of hearing, remembering, repeating, teaching as one's own belief, and much later, writing down; and the process of coming in course of time to *look at and value things differently*.

The clash and interaction of this twofold process take effect in each and every compilation claiming to be to-day a book about this or that in the long past. In such a book there will be found what are often called different strata of teaching. There will be certain dominant emphases:—we may assume with some confidence, that these were the values upheld by the editorial compilers, when the book came to change its oral invisible shape for a visible written one. Perhaps the book never was oral only, but was actually compiled in writing. This can usually be easily discerned in its style. And then we can feel fairly sure that the written book, with the remains in it

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of oral style, is an older creation than the book bearing traces throughout of penmanship (or should I say 'stylemanship'?). And if this written work of style or pen puts forward sayings as uttered by a Founder, known to have lived long before anyone *wrote* sayings in India, we should accept these claims with far more diffidence, with far less credence, than such as appear in a work bearing traces of oral beginnings.

Such talk should by now be milk for babes. Why do I bring it up in this connection? Does not Mr. Bhattacharya consider, wisely enough, 'the bewildering nature of the variety and extent of Buddhist records' (p. 25), 'the absence in them of agreement, the presence of omissions'? He does, and who, knowing them in any detail, could say otherwise? No one not conversant with the compilations bearing the marks of oral origin more perhaps than any other Buddhist records—I refer to the Pali Piṭakas—can realize how their predominant, their *editorial* emphases contradict those strata of earlier Indian religion which here and there come to the surface. (By 'earlier' I mean, not pre-Buddhist, so much as Śākyan, that is, the original teaching later called Buddhist.) Look for instance at this little 'left-in' Sutta of the Fourth Nikāya: To a brahman (?), making before the Founder the assertion that there is no such thing as a self-in-action, (*attakārī,-kāro*), the abrupt reply is given: 'Don't talk like that! *Never have I heard of such a saying!* Why! when you move a limb, is not that an act of initiative? How then can you say no self is acting: as you or as another?'

On the one hand there is this Saying; on the other we have this author, listening to the emphases, the editorial emphases in the Piṭakas, and to their reverberations in a number of indefinitely later exegetical compositions, and telling us, that 'the Buddha took a very bold step and advocated the doctrine of *Anātman*: the non-reality of the self.' (How the 'Buddha' did this without *himself being* a valuing, judging 'self' is for me incomprehensible, but I pass this by.) Here is indeed absence of agreement in the records; here I repeat we can all agree with the lecturer.

Nevertheless there must still be a certain amount of purveying of milk. Not once in these admissions of the heterogeneous quality of Buddhist records can I discern a fit awareness of what has brought about this quality. The main cause of this is the *changing nature*, down the centuries, of the corporate human vehicle, responsible for the handing on, the collecting, the revising, the final written composition of those records. How is it, that neither erudition, nor analysis, nor the analogical procedure in the history of other religious literatures seems to make writers realize, that in all lands men's

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outlook and ideals are ever, if slowly shifting, so that what they once held as true and compelling, they come to see as wrong, as to be repudiated ?

Two mighty influences were growing in North India when the ' sons of the Sakyans ' began their new, because corporate, mission work :—the new growing vogue of the monastic life as a cenobitic institution, and the seeing in ' mind ' an orderly intermediate vehicle between the self or man (*puruṣa*) and his body. Added to these, and affecting the Śākyans (and Jains), was the degree to which these dissented from the established church of their day, in the matter of ritual, sacrifice and birth-monopoly. This dissent was only one side of the Śākyan movement, but it gradually dragged-in dissent from the central teaching of that ' church ' :—the teaching of God as immanent in man. Bent and led by this triple influence, we can trace the Gotamic Order coming to change its first ideals profoundly : —to adopt as its religious ideal the outlook of that half-man, the monk ; to see in the fascinating new psychology the only way of getting at (*upalabbhati*) the very man, not merely as expressing himself by mind (*manasā*), but as being resolvable into mind ; and finally to reject the central teaching of the institution which was there first, namely, the reality of a central principle, personally conceived, in the universe and in the visible man.

At the same time there had arisen an idealized quasi-deified conception of the Founder, as having been omniscient, and the sole source of most of the chief Sayings that had been more or less correctly memorized and handed down. Many among these may be shown to be or to include glosses, interpolations. But these adulterations have not prevented editors with changed outlook from maintaining the assertion, that it was ' the Bhagavan ' (called later the Buddha) who had uttered them, gloss and all. And so we get a mass of utterances, mainly the compilations of ever more recent teachers and ' *bhāṇakas* ', fathered on the founder Gotama Śākyamuni, and often differing widely, painfully, from what he will actually have taught. Witness, to quote no further, the Sutta given above.

I should have no quarrel with those who are ever libelling the Founder in this way, if they made it plain, that when they say ' the Buddha said ', they were careful to explain that they mean ' what the Sangha said he said '. Yet even then, the general reader would confound the monastic ideal, ' Buddha ', with the real historical Gotama the missioner.

Further, with the changing ideals, whereby much man-handling was perpetrated on the Sayings, many separate terms came to mean different things. I have instanced lately in these pages ' attha '

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and 'nirvāṇa'. There is another term, where the meaning is used for better or for worse, in both pre-Buddhist and Buddhist utterances: the term *kāma*. We have precisely the same varying meaning in our word 'desire'. Still can we use it to render the saying of the Hebrew Muni Haggai: 'And the Desire of all nations shall arise', and say to-day with 17th century Dryden:

> 'Desire's the vast extent of human mind;
> It mounts aloft and leaves poor hope behind.'

But the Shakespearean saying, with a worsened sense, is also no less valid:

> 'That satiate yet unsatisfied desire, that tub both filled and running'.[1]

So too in the early Upaniṣad, there is no worsening of *kāma* in the powerful mantra: 'They say, a man is just *kāmamaya*. (*I* say:) As is his desire, such is his purpose, as is his purpose, such is the deed he does . . .' with which compare the later Kaṭha:'

> 'The Man who creates desire after desire,
> That is indeed the pure, that is Brahman,
> That indeed is called undying.'

Or, to go back to the Bṛhadārañyaka: 'the man who has desired but desires no longer, being Brahman has become Brahman.'

How, with this noble use of *kāma*, are we going to praise a Helper of man because he is said to have taught, that 'extinction of desire brings about the stopping of suffering!' How indeed is a man ever to win anything worth while *without strong desire*? Clearly if desire be blamed, it is in its *tṛṣna* or *taṇhā* sense of unregulated lower desire. Now this lowered meaning of *kāma* is just what one would look for in a monastic régime, where much desire, held in a layman to be legitimate, is excised from the monkish life. But a world-religion is not founded on a teaching for monks alone, and anyone fitted with historic sense will at once recognize, in the opening of the First Utterance of Gotama, that the monkish editor has been busy. He has twisted the opening to suit monks only. And he has crucified the divine gift in man of desire by calling it 'craving'. What a pitiful tragedy! Now one who sets out to make pronouncement about 'The' basic idea in Buddhism should be alive to the way in which its vehicle became adulterated, in textual alterations and in verbal changes.

Nor should he follow other writers in seeing in those First Utterances *what is not there*. Once more we are here asked to infer

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[1] *Cymbeline*.

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from the Second Utterance a denial of a self or 'soul, independent, permanent, blissful'. Actually, in the text, no such inference is required or expected or assumed. If writers would but see, in the speaker of that Utterance, not a myopic negativist of a later day, but a cultured man of the 7th century B.C. with a group of brahmans as his friends, uttering to them a warning against worsening the currently accepted idea of the self as God-in-man, it may then come over them how absurd it was to see such a man held to be making a transient Skandha-complex the proper substitute for the Self as so taught.

If, says the speaker, either of your instruments: your visible shape (*rūpa*) or your mind were really You, the Self, the God in you, the instrument would no longer be the limited fallible thing it is; you could be and do what you willed. But since it is limited, fallible, it is clearly not the Self, the Very You. Where is there here denial of the soul? It is denial that anything else is Soul but just Soul himself. As I have said elsewhere, it is as if, seeking on a ship the skipper, we saw the boatswain and said 'You are not he', or the purser and said 'You are not he', never the while entertaining the thought: 'Then there can be no skipper'.

There is no stronger testimony to the growing power over young institutional Buddhism of the growing Proto-sānkhya, or analysis of mind, than the seeing, in the clumsy ill-fitting skandha-complex, the creation of a teacher, who began by bidding men seek the Self, in the very words of the established brahman teaching of his day.

Lastly, to call this man 'an out and out rationalist' (p. 9f.), mainly because of a current rationalistic atmosphere, is to be curiously blind to the main trend of the teaching linked with his name in the Suttas. 'Utilitarian' might be urged with some weight. 'Rationalistic' surely not. In the very Sutta chosen to illustrate the latter assertion, the Kālāma discourse, the rational grounds for testing a gospel are only cited to be put aside:—'Be ye not misled by report or tradition or hearsay, by proficiency in the Collections, nor by logic or method or by considering reasons or after reflection on and approval of some theory'.[1] The one test to be used is 'What effect will this teaching produce on my life?'

Again, to call him rationalistic as not dogmatic cannot surely be maintained. He is shown ever making assertions he could not verify. About what, do you ask? About things unseen. To the question 'Whence learnt you this?' he would reply 'A deva told me'. And ever is he seen telling men what would hereafter be their fate,

[1] I use a more accurate version than does the lecturer.

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at the post mortem tribunal and after, because of what they were doing here. Here : the things seen ; there : the things unseen. He was what we call psychic. Some of us are that too ; some of us are in that way aware, that what he is said to have told about that tribunal is true even to-day. But few are so aware ; and in his day also few could hear and so objectively verify what he asserted. To the majority he was assertive, dogmatic, bringing forward no evidential proof.

It is with a sore heart that I have written these words of protest. I have in these latter years done my utmost to provoke a truer, a deeper inquiry into the New Word brought by the Śākyamuni to the India of his day and all time. In these lectures, the *clichés* of the pioneers, who worked well but saw little, are maintained. And there is in them no reaching out to a newer fraternity, by whom a 'higher criticism' of Buddhism, that is, a historical research, such as has been wrought on the Christian scriptures, may accomplish great things. Will the next generation carry on a brighter torch ?

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# THE VAṄGĀLAS

*By* RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJI

Many people, even the scholars of Bengal, have confounded between Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla. It is, however, worthy of note that the old records not only speak of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla, but also distinguish one from the other. It is not my object to make a detailed statement of the places where Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla is mentioned. What we have here to note is that the name Vaṅga is much earlier than that of Vaṅgāla, because the Vaṅgas have been associated with the Magadhas as early as the Aitareya-Āranyka.[1] Many are the epigraphical records again, such as the Meherauli Pillar inscription of Candra,[2] and many are the Sanskrit works such as the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa,[3] where the Vaṅgas have been referred to. I have not here said anything about the Saṁvaṅgiyas occurring in the Mahāsthān inscription,[4] as this reading of the name has been called in question.[5] The name Vaṅgāla, however, is of a much later occurrence. We hear of it for the first time in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. and the name is met with in no less than four inscriptions, namely, the Goharwa Plates of the Kalachuri king Karṇadēva,[6] the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola,[7] the Nālandā inscription of a Buddhist ascetic named Vipulaśrīmitra,[8] and in the Ablur inscription of the Kalachuri king Bijjala.[9] This last record is of very great importance, because it clearly differentiates Vaṅga from Vaṅgāla. We have therefore to suppose that there were two distinct peoples or tribes, one called the Vaṅgas and the other the Vaṅgālas. Now the question arises, where to locate these Vaṅgālas. In this connection we have to remember what the Tirumalai inscription says about the expedition of conquest by Rājendra Cola. This Cola prince, we are told, first invaded Takkaṇa-lādam and forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra, then turned to Vaṅgāla-deśa from where Govindacandra fled, afterwards met

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[1] *Aitareya-Āranyaka*, 2. I. 1. where Vaṅga appears first to be the name of a country. The people there are regarded as 'eaters of indiscriminate food, and progenitors of many children'.

[2] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 32, p. 139.

[3] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 36.

[4] *EI.*, Vol. XXI, p. 83.

[5] Dr. B. M. Barua, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, 1934, p. 57.

[6] *EI.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 and ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 and ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 98.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 257.

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Mahīpāla and put him to flight in a hot battle, and thereafter invaded Uttira-lāḍam as far as the Gaṅgā. This shows that Vaṅgāla-deśa was situated in the southern half of East Bengal, and that the Cola king defeated Mahīpāla in the northern half thereof.

The question that we have now to decide is : where the Vaṅga province was situated. The view that is generally held is that it represents Eastern Bengal. This seems to be correct and is supported by epigraphic evidence. Thus the Idilpur copperplate of Keśavasena registers the grant of a village called Tālapaḍā-pāṭaka situated in the Vikrampura subdivision of the Vaṅga district of the Pauṇḍravardhana Province (*bhukti*).[1] Wherever this Vikrampura was, this much is certain that Vaṅga must have formed the greater portion of East Bengal. Similarly, the Madanpārā copperplate inscription of Viśvarūpasena speaks of the grant of a village called Pinjokāsṭhi situated in Vikrampura which itself was comprised in Vaṅga which again formed part of the Pauṇḍravardhana Province (*bhukti*).[2] MM. N. N. Basu has identified Pinjokāsṭhi with Pinjāri, a postal village, in the Pargana Kotālipārā near the village of Madanpārā where the grant was found, i.e., in the Faridpur district.[3] This is enough to convince anybody that Vaṅga represents the southern half of the eastern part of Bengal. It is true that this view runs counter to what Yaśodhara has said in the Jayamaṅgalā, his commentary on the Kāmasūtra (V. 6. 41),[4] namely, *Vaṅgā Lōhityāt pūrvēna, Aṅgā Māhanadyāḥ pūrvēṇa, Kaliṅgā Gauḍa-viṣhayād=dakṣiṇena*. This is no doubt according to the text published by the proprietor of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Book Depot. But the text published in the Bombay edition has *Lōmarāhityāt*(?) *pūrvēṇa=Āṅgō Mahānadyāḥ pūrvēṇa Kaliṅgaḥ Gauḍa-viṣayād=dakṣiṇena* (*Vaṅgaḥ*).[5] It is true that the Bombay text is corrupt, but we are not sure that the editor of the Chowkhamba Edition has not taken liberty with the text and moulded it according to his will. Our fear is based first upon the fact that no different readings have anywhere been recorded in the whole body of the text, and secondly upon the fact that at the end of every book the *Ṭīkā* is said to be *Jayamaṅgala-rachitā*, 'composed by Jayamaṅgala', although the stanza at the very commencement of the work shows that the *Ṭīkā* itself was known as *Jayamaṅgalā*. Even supposing for the moment that the Chowkhamba text is correct, when it means is

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[1] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 118.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[3] *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, Part I, pp. 6–15.
[4] *Kāmasūtra*, (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Book Depot), p. 295.
[5] *Kāmasūtra*, published by Pandit Durgaprasad (2nd ed.), p. 302.

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that Vaṅga was to the east of Lauhitya (Bramhaputrā), Aṅga again to the east of Mahānadī, and Kaliṅga to the south of the Gauḍa province. What is, however, meant here by saying that Aṅga was to the east of the river Mahānadī ? There is no such river flowing either to the east or to the west of Bihar which represents the old country of Aṅga. There is, however, a river called Mahānandā which is taken by some to be identical with Mahānadī.[1] This Mahānandā, however, flows, not to the west, but to the east, of Bihar, showing clearly that Aṅga should have been described by Yaśodhara as being situated to the west and not to the east of Mahānadī as he has actually done. What again is meant by saying that Kaliṅga lay to the south of the Gauḍa country ? Kaliṅga doubtless is to the south of Gauḍa, if by Gauḍa we mean Bengal, at any rate, Western Bengal. But does Yaśodhara mean it, especially, at this particular place ? Just a little prior to this text that we have quoted he says : *Gauḍāḥ Kāmarūpakāḥ prāchya-viśeshāḥ.*[2] Evidently he takes Gauḍa to be identical with Kāmarūpa. When therefore he says that Kaliṅga was to the south of Gauḍa, we have naturally to understand him to mean that Kaliṅga was to the south of Kāmarūpa. I am afraid, we cannot escape this conclusion. Nothing can however be more absurd. Mr. H. C. Chakladar therefore seems to be correct in remarking that Yaśodhara's locations are absurd, showing that he had no personal acquaintance with this part of India.[3] It thus seems more correct for the reasons stated above to stick to the old view, namely, that Vaṅga denotes the southern half of the eastern part of Bengal.

The second question that now confronts us is : where exactly to locate the Vaṅgālas. As Vaṅga has been distinguished from Vaṅgāla and as Vaṅga formed the southern half of the eastern part of Bengal, the reasonable conclusion is that the Vaṅgālas were originally placed to the east of the Bramhaputrā. In this connection we may again refer to the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendra Cola. He is there represented to have overrun the country of the Vaṅgālas and put Govindacandra to flight. According to Mr. N. G. Majumdar he might have belonged to the Candra dynasty that ruled over Vaṅga.[4] But this seems unlikely if Govindacandra was a ruler of Vaṅga only and not of Vaṅgāla. In this connection attention may

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[1] Correctly identified first by H. Blochmann in *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 215.

[2] *Kāmasūtra*, vide the page of both the editions mentioned in footnotes [4] and [5] on previous page.

[3] Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India : Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, p. 66.

[4] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 3.

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be drawn to what has been said in a work *Gopīcander sannyāsa*,[1] for Tilokcand we are informed, was the grandfather of Gopīcand and was a ruler of Mṛkul which has been identified with Mehārkūl Pargana in Tippera District. It is quite possible to say with Dr. Bhattasali that this Tilokcand was the same as Trailōkyacandra of the Candra dynasty.[2] This means that the Vaṅgālas had at first settled to the east of the Bramhaputrā, but invaded Vaṅga and occupied the greater portion of it in the 10th and the 11th centuries A.D. This is supported by the *Gopīcand Nāṭaka* now preserved in the Cambridge University Library.[3] Well can Rājendra Cola claim credit for having defeated the Vaṅgālas under the rule of Govindacandra (Gopīcand) which was situated immediately to the east of Takkaṇa-lāḍam. That there was an invasion by the Vaṅgālas who carried on depredations cannot be doubted. We have already referred to the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra which belongs to the first half of the 12th century A.D. Vipulaśrīmitra was disciple's disciple of Aśokamitra. Aśokamitra was a disciple of Maitriśrīmitra. Maitriśrīmitra was again a disciple of Karuṇāśrīmitra, about whom, we are told, that he died at Somapura clasping the feet of the Buddha when that place was set on fire by the armies of Vaṅgāla.[4] This Somapura has been identified with Paharpur in the Rajshahi district of Bengal. It therefore seems that the whole of eastern Bengal was infested with the Vaṅgāla inroads even as far north as Rajshahi. It was however in the southern half of East Bengal that they seem to have made their position secure, as is evidenced by the fact that the Candras ruled over Harikela.[5] If the Vaṅgālas established themselves in the southern half of East Bengal, it is but natural that some part of it should be called after them. And as a matter of fact we know that there was such a place as Vaṅgāla-vaḍā-bhū in Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka, mentioned as

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[1] *Gopīcānder sannyāsa—Dacca-sahitya-parisat-granthavali*, No. 9, edited by N. K. Bhattasali, B.S. 1332.

[2] *Candrānām=iha Rōhitā-giribhujām=vaṁśē*, etc., *E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 138. This Rōhitāgiri has been identified with Rohtasgaḍh in Shāhābād district of Bihar (N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. of Beng.*, p. 3. But Dr. Bhattasāli seems to be correct in taking it to mean ' Red Rock ' and identifying it with Lalmai hills of Comilla. (*op. cit.*, page 69.)

[3] *The Legend of Rājā Gopīcand*—G. C. Haldar, *Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Conference*, p. 273. This *nāṭaka* says that the prince of Vaṅga made an attack on Gopīcand's kingdom. This clearly shows that *Gopīcand's* kingdom was other than Vaṅga. According to the Punjabi version Gauḍ-vaṅgāla was the home of *Gopīcand*, (*loc. cit.*) ; therefore we shall not be far from right if we conclude that *Gopīcand* was connected with Vaṅgāla.

[4] *EI.*, Vol. XXI, 97.

[5] Harikela is Vaṅga : *Vaṅgās=tu Harikeliyā*, Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, v. 957.

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situated in Vaṅga, in the Sahitya Pariṣat copperplate of Viśvarūpasena.[1] Mr. J. C. Ghosh has correctly identified[2] Rāmasiddhipāṭaka with an old village of that name in the northern extremity of the district of Backergunge within the police station Gournadi and Pargana Bangroda. This Bangroda, as he has further pointed out, is obviously identical with the Vaṅgāla-vaḍā-bhū, mentioned in the copperplate just adverted to. We shall not therefore be far from right if we in the first place conclude that there was a Vaṅgāla invasion of Vaṅga in the 10th or 11th century A.D. and that this was led by no less a royal family than that of the Candras who originally were settled on the east side of the Bramhaputrā.

The name Vaṅgāla raises another query which is of some importance. Who could these Vaṅgālas be? Did they leave any further traces in Bengal? That they have left some traces cannot be doubted. Attention may in this connection be drawn to the name of a river called Baṅgāli which flows on the borders of the Bogra district, to Baṅgālbhūm in Rangpur,[3] and to Bāṅgālpārā in Mymensing district.[4] Many more references to the Vaṅgāla occupation of the different parts of East Bengal can be found out if a sifting enquiry is made. The other question, however, is difficult to tackle, namely, who were the Vaṅgālas? Were they really an old race existing side by side with the Vaṅgas? Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in one of his *Lectures* on *The History of the Bengali Language* tells us that there was, as a matter of fact, a tribe called Bong-Long settled on the borders of Bengal who have been referred to even in Ptolemy's Geography.[5] Bong-Long must obviously stand for Vaṅgāla, but this is not all. Mr. J. C. Ghosh informs me that Dr. Francke speaks of both Baṅgāl Baḍā (baṛā) and Baṅgāl Chota as being comprised in the Kulu district of Punjab. Above all, the latter has referred to them not only in the map but also in the Index published in his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part II.[6] This shows that there was a tribe called Vaṅgāla who were settled on the northernmost borders of India in the mountainous region of the Himalayas now represented by the Kulu district in the Punjab. It is therefore no wonder if the Vaṅgālas are also found situated near the easternmost borders of India as Ptolemy's Geography assures us. In other words, we have to note that there was this Vaṅgāla invasion

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, 1926, Vol. II, pp. 76–86.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 637 and ff.
[3] *Survey and Settlement map of the District of Bogra.*
[4] *See Post and Telegraph Guide.*
[5] *Op. cit.*, page—Lecture II, p. 27.
[6] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part II, by A. H. Francke (1926), Index p. 284 and also pp. 202, 203, 214.

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of the Vaṅga country in the 10th century A.D. led by the Candra family and that the latter were in occupation of the eastern part of Bengal for nearly two centuries. There must therefore have been a great admixture of Vaṅgāla blood amongst the people of Vaṅga—a subject which had better be pursued by ethnological experts.

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# NOTES ON ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA

*By* D. R. BHANDARKAR

## (4) *Mahēndragiri, ruler of Piṣṭapura*

In l. 19 of the celebrated Allāhābād Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta occurs the passage *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*, which has been indifferently dealt with by antiquarians and epigraphists. Grammar, however, requires that the words comprising it should be divided, as I have done it. We have, in the first place, to remember that none of the king's names is coupled with more than one locality, as Fleet himself has aptly remarked. Secondly, the name of every locality is marked with *vṛiddhi* at the beginning and with the suffix *ka* at the end. If these two points are to guide us in the division of the words of this passage, I am afraid it is not possible to divide them otherwise. This is admitted by Fleet even. For he rightly says: 'The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*; and to translate, "Mahēndragiri of Piṣṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra",' (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 7, n. 2). It is a great pity that Fleet did not stick to his first inclination which is perfectly in accordance with grammar and common sense. The reason he specifies for giving up this view is that 'though *giri* or *gīr* is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, . . . . it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gōsāvīs, and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśanāmī-Gōsāvīs . . . . I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king's name'. Fleet therefore divides the passage into *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndra* and *giri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*. This procedure sets the rules of grammar completely at naught, because the *vṛiddhi* in *Kauṭṭūraka* clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with Mahēndra. Again, if *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svāmidatta was, we should have had *Gairikōṭṭūraka* instead of *giri-Kauṭṭūraka*. Secondly, it is not necessary to take *giri* here as a denominational suffix similar to that of *giri* or *gīr* of Gōsāvīs, as Fleet has done. It is best to understand the whole of Mahēndragiri as one name and as the proper name of the ruler of Piṣṭapura. If the names of the sacred rivers have been adopted as individual

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names among Hindu females, the names of the sacred mountains have similarly been adopted among Hindu males. Thus mountain names like Himādri, Hēmādri, and Śēṣādri are found used as proper names not only in modern but also in ancient India. If Śēṣādri (=Vēṅkaṭagiri) is a sacred mountain in the Tāmil, Mahēndragiri is so in the Telugu, country. And if Śēṣādri can be the name of an individual, there is no reason why Mahēndragiri should not be so.

In this connection it is worthy of note that at Sañchi Stūpa we have a short record, inscribed twice, which has the following: *Māhamoragimha Sihagirinō dānaṃ* (*E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 105, No. 77 and p. 371, No. 134) to which Dr. B. M. Barua first drew my attention. It is not clear whether Sihagiri is the name of any mountain. At any rate, Siṃhagiri, as the name of a sacred mountain, is unknown to me. In these circumstances, it is very difficult to understand what the second component of this name, viz. *giri*, stands for. To all appearances, however, it seems to be the name of a hill or mountain and to have been adopted as such by an individual as his own name.

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# MISCELLANEA

## ŚIVA—HIS PRE-ARYAN ORIGINS

It has been suspected for a long time by scholars that some non-Aryan traits are contained in the later-day Śiva worship. The tacit assumption that everything Aryan must have been nobler than and superior to the non-Aryan led them to think that the uncanny features which the worship involves could not have come out of the Aryan religion without the impact of some alien ideas. But so long there was no evidence to lend force to this conjecture, or to ascertain what was the nature of the non-Aryan influences.

The archæological discoveries at Mohenjo-daro have opened new fields of research in many directions, and we are now in a position to look at many problems in a more objective manner and with more profuse data at our disposal. Dr. Mackay discovered at Mohenjo-daro a seal containing the figure of a personage, or rather a god, engrossed in meditation, with some animals roaming by his side.[1] Sir John Marshall recognized in the figure the pre-historic prototype of Śiva, as it can be aptly described by two epithets which are characteristic of Śiva as we know him, *viz. Yogīndra* and *Paśupati*. The seal has been thus described by Sir John:

> 'The God, who is three-faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of *Yoga*, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched, his hands, with thumbs to front, resting on his knees. From wrist to shoulder the arms are covered with bangles, eight smaller and three larger; over his breast is a triangular pectoral or perhaps a series of necklaces or torques, like those on the later class of Goddess figurines from Balūchistān; and round his waist a double band. The lower limbs are bare and the phallus (*ūrdhvameḍhra*) seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be the phallus is in reality the end of the waist-band. Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress. To either side of the God are four animals, an elephant and tiger on his proper right, a rhinoceros and buffalo on his left. Beneath the throne are two deer standing with heads regardant and horns turned to the centre . . . From the foregoing it will

[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. i, pl. xii, fig. 17.

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be seen that the attributes of the deity are peculiarly distinctive. In the first place, he is three-faced (*trimukha*), and we are at once reminded that in historic times Śiva was portrayed with one, three, four or five faces and always with three eyes, and that the familiar triad of Śiva, Brahmā, and Vishṇu is habitually represented by a three-faced image. . . .

'The second feature of this pre-Aryan god that links him with the historic Śiva is his peculiar Yogī-like posture, with feet drawn beneath him, toes turned down, and hands extended over knees. Śiva is pre-eminently the prince of Yogīs—the typical ascetic and self-mortifier. . . .

'Śiva is not only the prince of Yogīs; he is also lord of the beasts (*paśupati*), and it is seemingly in reference to this aspect of his nature that the four animals—the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros, and buffalo—are grouped about him.'[1]

Sir John's conclusion is: 'Śaivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world.'[2]

There is another copper-sealing[3] to which Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda draws our attention.[4] It has the same figure of Yogin, having two devotees kneeling on his two sides with hands joined in prayer and two coiling serpents, both facing the figure. Here we get another characteristic of Śiva, *viz.* his association with serpents.

In a third seal with the figure of a hunter with a bow in his hand,[5] Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar thinks that we have the portrayal of Śiva as the divine hunter.[6] While not denying the possibility of this conclusion, we cannot be definite about its correctness, as the figure does not contain any feature which is characteristic of Śiva. The figure is horned and has the face of a dog. It has a bow in the right hand and an arrow (?) in the left.

It is instructive to note how some minute details in the representation of the Mohenjo-daro Śiva lingered in different parts of India for thousands of years. We have already seen that the figure on seal No. 1 has, like gods of some other countries,[7] horns on its head. The horns were added in order to give the figures a distinctive look and raise them above human beings.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. vii.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pl. cxviii, fig. 11.
[4] *Modern Review*, vol. lii, pp. 151 ff.
[5] Marshall, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii, pl. cxvii, fig. 16.
[6] *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, p. 121, referring to his article in *Journal of Madras University*, January, 1934.
[7] MacCulloch, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, *s.v.* Horns.

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Now this characteristic recurs in some South Indian figures of Śiva carved during Pallava rule.[1] Mr. Longhurst, writing in 1928 before the publication of Marshall's volumes on Mohenjo-daro, observed that the 'custom appears to have been peculiar to the Pallavas, as such images do not seem to have been discovered elsewhere. They [the horns] doubtless indicate some special Śaiva cult that flourished during this period.'[2] He explained the horns (or what had been horns in the Mohenjo-daro age) as trident tops. It is not altogether impossible that it is in these horns that we have to seek the origin of the *triśūla* of Śiva, though it is more likely that the *triśūla* is, in India as elsewhere, merely a representation of the thunder-god. It is also probable that the horns of Śiva gradually became the crescent moon on the forehead of the classical Śiva.[3]

Turning again to the first seal referred to above, we find that Sir John Marshall has only doubtfully noted the raised phallus of the figure. A close examination, however, convinces us that the figure has without doubt the *ūrdhvaliṅga*. Śiva is traditionally known as Ūrdhvaliṅga, cf. the daily *mantra* of the Brāhmaṇas:

ऋतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ।
ऊर्ध्वलिङ्गं विरूपाक्षं विश्वरूपं नमो नमः ॥

'Salutation to the holy, true, supreme Brahman, the Being who is dark-tawny, who has got the phallus raised, who has unnatural (number of) eyes and who pervades the universe.'

The *Mahābhārata*, reciting the thousand names of the god, mentions this word as one of his epithets.[4]

The Sanskrit texts on sculpture lay down in some cases that some special varieties of Śiva images should have the *ūrdhvaliṅga*. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, for example, speaking of the *ardhanārīśvara* variety, says:

लिङ्गार्धमूर्ध्वगं कुर्यात्[5]

'The half-phallus (of the image) should be made to point upwards.'

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[1] Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 33, pl. xvi.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[3] The crescent moon and horns are mutually connected even in other countries, MacCulloch, *loc. cit.*
[4] *Mahābhārata*, ed. Bombay, XIII. 17. 46.
[5] *Matsya Purāṇa*, ed. Ānandāśrama, cclx. 7.

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Speaking of the same variety of images, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* lays down :

ऊर्ध्वलिङ्गं महेशार्धम्[1]

'The Śiva-half (of the image) must have the raised phallus.'

Similarly, the *Uttarakāmikāgama* says about the *vṛṣavāhana* variety :

मेढ्रान्तो नाभिसीमान्तः[2]

'The end of the phallus (of the image) must reach the limit of the navel.'

It may be marked that not all varieties of Śiva images were to have this feature, nor are the texts unanimous about one and the same variety.

Coming to archæological evidence, we find that a vast majority of the Śiva images found in East India, in Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa has the *ūrdhvaliṅga*.[3] Here we find almost no exception in any variety of the image: whatever the pose, be it *naṭarāja*, *kalyāṇasundara*, *Pārvatīpariṇaya*, *ardhanārīśvara*, or any other, the *ūrdhvaliṅga* is prominent. But in other parts of India, the characteristic is extremely rare.[4] This fact, though unco-ordinated now, may later on prove to be very useful when we have better knowledge about the diffusion of the Mohenjo-daro culture.

There is much independent proof of the existence of phallic worship at Mohenjo-daro. The large number of phallic representations unearthed there cannot point to any other conclusion. And it has therefore now become more than probable that the word *śiśnadeva*, used twice in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (VII. 21. 5; X. 99. 3) as an adjective of the enemies of the Aryans, does in reality mean 'worshippers of the phallus', and not 'people addicted to sensuous pleasure', in

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[1] Quoted in Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. ii, Pt. 2, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[3] For illustrations, see Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture*, *A.S.I.*, the Śiva figures on pl. lii, etc.; Bhattasali, *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brāhmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pl. xlii, etc.; *An. Rep. A.S.I.* 1911-2, pl. lxxiv, figs. 1 and 3 (Chandimau, Patna) ascribed by Coomarswamy to the fifth or sixth century, *Yakṣas*, Part II, p. 84; *Pr. Rep. Eastern Circle, A.S.I.*, 1920-1, pl. iii(*a*) (Rajshahi); Chanda, *Explorations in Orissa, Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 44, pl. vii(*b*) (Chanduar, Orissa); *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1926-7, pl. xxxiii(*b*) (Paharpur), etc. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali kindly informs me that all the Śiva images of Bengal have the *ūrdhvaliṅga*.

[4] The images of Lakuliśa have often the *ūrdhvaliṅga* in many parts of India and there are texts laying down the same. See Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 419 ff.; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 116 ff.; especially, D. R. Bhandarkar, *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1906-7, pp. 179 ff.

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which sense it has been taken by Yāska and following him Sāyaṇa. As special prominence has been attached to the phallus of the figure on seal No. 1, we may conjecture that the worships of the phallus and of the god on the seal were intimately connected already among the authors of the Mohenjo-daro culture, just as anthropomorphic representations of Śiva as well as his phallus were both separately worshipped in historical times.

The theory and practice of Yoga are entirely foreign to the trend of early and later Vedic religious thoughts and inclinations. It has now been definitely shown by Mr. Chanda with the help of some Mohenjo-daro sculptures that the idea can be traced to the Indus people.[1] It is but natural that the people should have attributed to their god all the characteristics of a Yogin, including austerities and self-mortification. It is a common belief that the Creator himself must perform austerities in order to qualify himself for and acquire the capacity of creating.[2] Man thought of gods in his own light; processes which could bring distinction on man must have been gone through by gods to attain their exalted position.[3] It must have been such a belief which led the Indus people to conceive of and depict their god as a meditator.

The intimate connexion between Sāṁkhya and Yoga are too well-known to require repetition. The philosophy of the Yoga system may be regarded as practically the same as that of the Sāṁkhya with the conception of a personal god superimposed upon it. It therefore appears certain that Sāṁkhya too, which orthodox Hindu opinion has regarded as non-Vedic in character, was, like Yoga, a system of thought which had a pre-Vedic origin.[4] Significantly enough, we find in a prayer to Śiva in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 284. 114):

सांख्याय सांख्यमुख्याय सांख्ययोगप्रवर्तिने ।

'(Salutations) to Sāṁkhya, to the chief in Sāṁkhya, to *the propounder of Sāṁkhya and Yoga.*'

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[1] Chanda, *loc. cit.*; also *Survival of the Pre-Historic Civilization of the Indus Valley, Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 41.

[2] *Cf.* स तपोऽतप्यत 'He performed austerities', *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I. 2. 6, *et. passim.*

[3] *Cf. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II. 7. 16. 1: सह देवमनुष्या ऋषिलोके पुरा बभूवुः । ऋष देवाः कर्मभिर्दिवं जग्मुरद्वीयन्त मनुष्याः । 'The gods and men formerly lived together on this earth; the gods attained heaven through ceremonial action, while men lagged behind.' Attention to this passage was first drawn by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. x, p. 255.

[4] This point has been dealt with by Mr. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya in a Bengali article to be published in the *Pravāsī* of Calcutta. He has kindly allowed me to translate a portion of it and append it at the end of this article.

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Rudra with whom the Mohenjo-daro god was identified later on, stands on a separate footing from other gods of the Vedic pantheon. He being the god of thunder, it is his terrible and destructive aspect that is almost invariably emphasized. His missile (*i.e.* thunder) kills men and cattle; he casts his evil eye on men with serious consequences; he slays like a wild beast; prayers are offered so that he may spare the worshipper, his relatives and cattle; he is requested to divert his missile to the enemies (*Ṛgveda*, I. 43. 2; 114. 7-8; II. 34. 11; VI. 28. 7; VII. 46. 3, etc.). To flatter him the cattle is committed to his charge; he is therefore the 'lord of the cattle' (*paśupati, Atharvaveda*, XI. 6. 9; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 7. 3. 8).[1] By euphemism he is called *śiva*, 'the benevolent one' (*Ṛgveda*, X. 92. 9, etc.). Here probably lies the origin of the legends about the contradictory tendencies of Śiva which we come across in Purāṇic Hinduism and mediæval Bengali songs.

Rudra stood aloof from other Vedic gods, probably due to his malevolent nature. It is said that when other gods attained heaven, Rudra lagged behind.[2] In the famous *Śatarudriya* chapter (*Mādhyandina-saṁhitā*, XVI) he is called the chief of thiefs, the chief of the foresters, the destroyer, wearer of hide, etc. The outlandish character of Śiva is also emphasized in other places, e.g. Dakṣas's tirade.[3]

The hard fact of the paucity of our knowledge does not allow us to determine what attributes, if any, the Vedic Rudra and the Mohenjo-daro Śiva possessed in common, which led to their identification. We can only indicate along what lines the identification might have taken place, duly emphasizing the uncertain and speculative nature of our conclusions.

In the first place, Rudra is pre-eminently the god of thunder. The thunderbolt has been conceived of in various countries as a piece of stone, and it is any palæolithic and neolithic weapon that may be so regarded.[4] Blinkenberg has shown that this belief is

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[1] The thunder-god has been regarded as the lord of the cattle in other countries as well, Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, p. 252. Rudra is often identified with Agni (e.g. *Śatap. Br.*, I. 7. 3. 3 ff.), who is often regarded as the protector of the cattle. The reason seems to be the same in both cases, *viz.* to save the penned-up cattle from fire or lightning.

[2] *Śatap. Br.*, I. 7. 3. 1: यज्ञेन वै देवाः। दिवमुपोदक्रामन्नथ योयं देवः पशूनामीष्टे स इहाहीयत तस्माद्वास्तव्य इत्याहुर्वास्तौ हि तदहीयत, 'By sacrifices the gods wanted to rise to the heaven. But the god who lords over animals lagged behind here; so he is called "domestic", because it was in the house that he fell behind.'

[3] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV. 2. 9 f.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, I. 2. 29. 31 f., etc.

[4] For innumerable examples, see Blinkenberg, *The Thunder-weapon in Religion and Folklore*; Frazer, *The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii, p. 374 and references; *Balder the Beautiful*, pp. 14 ff. etc.

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current practically all over the Old World, and really goes back to the Palæolithic Age of human history.[1] He has quoted some instances from South India where primitive stone-weapons are worshipped, and it is to be marked that a *triśūla* is also found placed on one of the altars.[2] And there are cases on record from other parts of India as well, where these stones are regarded and worshipped as thunderbolts. Crooke, for example, in describing the primitive temples of Northern India, says that the fetish contained therein is often nothing more than a block of stone, some 'palæolithic or neolithic stone implements, held to be mysterious by people living in an age of metals, often *supposed to be thunderbolts*, containing the seed of fire and thus connected with the sky-god.'[3] 'On some of the piles of Assam which are the abode of the village godlings, pre-historic stone implements, popularly believed to be thunderbolts, have been recognized. The Khyens of Assam, when a tree is struck by lightning, search for the thunderbolt, and any likely stone is accepted as such, made over to the priest and held sacred and sacrificed to as something given from heaven.'[4] There are traces of similar belief in the Vedas.[5]

We have already seen the probability of the Mohenjo-daro god having been worshipped also as detached phalli. There is a great deal of similarity between the shape of the stones regarded as thunderbolts (and through them connected with Rudra in old times) and the roughly carved phalli worshipped all over India as representing Śiva. It is the resemblance between the thunderstone and the phallic stone which might have been a chief factor in the identification of the Vedic Rudra with the Mohenjo-daro Śiva.

Secondly, it has been said above that both the Aryan and non-Aryan gods in question were *paśupatis*.[6] This common feature might have been another step in the identification.

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[1] Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 34. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 10 ff.

[3] Crooke, *Religion and Folklore in Northern India*, p. 89. (*Italics mine.*)

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 323, quoting from Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 115.

[5] *Cf. Ṛgveda*, VII. 104. 19, where Indra is asked to hurl his 'stone' (*aśman*) from heaven.

[6] *Paśu* in the Vedas does not necessarily mean 'domestic cattle', though that was the original meaning. *Cf. Ṛgveda*, X. 90. 8.

We may quote here a conception of Śiva both as *bhūtanātha* ('lord of ghosts') and *paśupati* ('protector of animals'), occurring in *Mahābhārata* XIII. 140. 4 f.:

तत्र देवो मुदा युक्तो भूतसंघशतैर्वृतः ।
नानारूपैर्विरूपैश्च दिव्यैरद्भुतदर्शनैः ॥
सिंहव्याघ्रगजप्रख्यैः सर्वजातिसमन्वितैः ।
क्रौष्टुकदीपिवदनैर्ऋक्षर्षभमुखैस्तथा ॥

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Thirdly, it is a matter of common knowledge that images of deities all over India are painted red with vermilion, and it has been pointed out that this is a very old custom.[1] We may conjecture that the Mohenjo-daro god too was conceived of as a red and 'shining' one. And Rudra is always regarded in the Vedas as 'ruddy', 'shining',[2] which is also the root-meaning of the word (√ *rudh*, 'to shine').[3]

Perhaps all these points, *viz.* the similarity of the thunderstone and the phallic stone and the common characteristics of having been the lord of animals and having lustrous appearance combined to lead to the identification. Or it may be that the identification was brought about by entirely different facts unknown to us. The Mohenjo-daro god, like the Vedic Rudra, might have been a god of the northern mountains,[4] or a thunder-god himself, or might have possessed any other attribute characteristic of Rudra. But our knowledge is circumscribed by the data which we have at our disposal.

## NOTE.[5]

With Yoga is intimately connected another system of thought, *viz.* Sāṁkhya, which has its foundation on Yogic realization. To understand its principle (*tattva*) with the exception of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* and to follow its doctrines of *satkārya* and *guṇa-guṇy-abheda*, we have to take recourse to Yoga. We may also remember that the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali is known as the *Sāṁkhyapravacanasūtra*. The doctrines of Sāṁkhya have been utilized in some Brāhmaṇical texts, e.g. the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusaṁhitā*; but from the

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उलूकवदनैर्भीमैर्दंडकण्येनमुखैस्तथा ।
नानावर्णैर्मृगमुखैः सर्वजातिसमन्वितैः ॥

Here the departed souls, of whom Śiva is the lord, put on the appearance of animals and surround the lord.

[1] Charpentier, *Ind. Ant.*, 1927, pp. 93 f., 130 f.

[2] E.g. *Ṛgveda* II. 33. 8, etc.

[3] It has been pointed out that Dravidian *śivan* means 'red', Chatterji, *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, vol. i, p. 41 n.; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. ii, p. 141 etc.

[4] The connexion of Rudra with mountains, i.e. the Himalayas, dates from the Vedic times, see Ernst Arbman, *Rudra Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus*, p. 25. The *Mahābhārata* has it that Śiva was worshipped in Śākadvīpa: तत्र पुण्या जनपदाः पूज्यते तत्र शंकरः VI. 11. 28. Probably it is only a reference to Śiva's connexion with the northern mountains; at any rate the description of Śākadvīpa is purely conventional, and nothing can be built on it.

[5] This is translated from a Bengali article of Mr. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.

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Vedāntic literature we know that pure godless Sāṁkhya is non-Vedic in character. In the *Catuḥsūtrī* the author of the *Brahmasūtra* says that the Creator of the universe is Brahman, and that we get this truth from a co-ordination of the Upaniṣads. But in the fifth *adhikaraṇa* there arises an objection: the Sāṁkhyists ask, 'Is not creation from the three *guṇas* hinted at by the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* when in the sixth *prapāṭhaka* it says that the whole universe is the result of the mixture of the three principles of water, fire and food (*anna*)?' Bādarāyaṇa replies, 'The *Upaniṣad* here refers to *puruṣa* with the quality of consciousness as the ultimate source of the universe and not the unconscious *prakṛti* or *pradhāna*; therefore the *Upaniṣad* does not lend support to the theory of an origin from *pradhāna*.' (ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दम् 'on account of the use of the root *īkṣ* about the ultimate cause, the Sāṁkhya cause, i.e. *pradhāna*, is not responsible for the creation of the universe'). Here the word *aśabda*, 'non-Vedic', has been used for the cause according to the Sāṁkhya theory.

In *adhyāya* 2, *pāda* 1, *adhikaraṇas* 1 and 3, some objections have been raised on behalf of Sāṁkhya and they have been met from the Vedāntic point of view. *Adhikaraṇa* 4 has only one *sūtra*, एतेन शिष्टापरिग्रहा अपि व्याख्याताः 'By this are also met the views of those systems which are not followed by the cultured.' Most probably it is the Vaiśeṣika and other views that have been referred to here. But it must be noted that Sāṁkhya, by being placed in the same category as these views, is hinted at as being unworthy of the adoption of the cultured.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

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## THE CAPITAL OF THE SENA KINGS OF BENGAL

The history of Bengal that we have to-day may fairly be called a skeleton, a mere patchwork of incomplete chronology of the different dynasties. The tragedy in the present case seems to be complete when we remember the fact that we do not even know where was the capital of the Pālas and the Sena kings of Bengal. Some scholars have suggested that Rāmpāla (Rāmāvatī) was the capital of the Pālas, but that was probably from the reign of Rāmapāla, the last remarkable ruler of the line. Where was the capital of Gopāla and Dharmapāla? Where was it that the people in order to save themselves from the anarchy that followed the political disintegration of Bengal, elected a king? From time to time the scholars have tried to lift the veil of oblivion. Others unable to arrive at

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any definite conclusion, opined that these Pāla and the Sena kings had no fixed capital, they always lived in camps. It has never been explained by the protagonists of this school of thought, as to why the kings of such well organized states lived such a nomadic existence. An attempt therefore is being made in these pages to fix the capital of the Sena kings of Bengal.

*Pavanadūtam* of Dhoyī, a court poet of Lakshmaṇasena, tells us that Vijayapura was the capital of his patron king.

स्कन्धावारं विजयपुरं इत्युन्नतां राजधानीं
दृष्ट्वा तावद् भुवनविजयिनस्तस्य राज्ञोधिगच्छे ।
गङ्गावातस्तमिव चतुरो यत्र पौराङ्गणानां
सम्भोगान्ते सपदि वितनोत्यङ्ग संवाहनानि ॥ २९ [1]

But, Lakshmaṇasena was not the first member of his dynasty. What about his predecessors ? The *Vallāla-Charita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, a work written in the sixteenth century, records the tradition, that in the time of Ballālasena, the fourth member of the dynasty, there were several royal residences in the country.

वसतिस्तस्य नृपः श्रीमान पुरागौड़े पुरोत्तमे ।
कदाचिद्वा यथाकामं नगरे विक्रमपुरे ॥ ९
स्वर्णग्रामे कदाचिद्वा प्रासादे सुमनोहरे ।
रममानः सह स्त्रीभिः दिदीव त्रिदिवेश्वरः ॥ १० [2]

It is true that traditions are not always reliable. But the fact that Gauḍa, Suvarṇagrāma (Sonargaon) and Vikramapura were famous cities of ancient Bengal, may enable us to credit it with certain amount of reliability. But were all these cities capitals of Bengal in the Sena period ? In order to settle this point we have to turn to the epigraphs of the Sena kings. The earliest known Sena inscription is the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena. But this is of very little help to us, as it is more or less a *praśastī* of Vijayasena, and its immediate purpose was to commemorate the erection of the temple of Pradyumneśvara. The next is a landgrant—the

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[1] *Pavanadūtam* of Dhoyī, edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, published by the Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, p. 13, *śloka* 26.

[2] *Vallāla Charita*, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, p. 16 ; *ślokas* 9-10.

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Barrackpore plates of the same king. In lines 22-3 of this record occurs a significant passage :—

"श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावासित श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्....."

The same phrase occurs with slight modifications in the Naihati plates of Vallālasena, and Anulia, Tarpandighi, Govindapur [1] and Saktipur plates [2] of Lakshmaṇasena. We have, therefore, to decide the significance of the term *skandhāvāra*. It is true that the term usually signifies encampments, but it is evident that since the name occurs in landgrants of three succeeding sovereigns, it cannot be taken in its ordinary sense. Is it not rather unusual that three different members of the same dynasty should have encamped themselves at Vikramapura in order to issue a landgrant ? What is more, in the case of Lakshmaṇasena, we find that he issued no less than four landgrants from his ' victorious camp at Vikramapura '. It is therefore apparent that the word *skandhāvāra* has been used here in an extraordinary sense. It was late Dr. Kielhorn, who pointed out that according to the lexicographers the term *skandhāvāra* denotes *rājadhānī* ; and in this he is supported by Hemachandra :—

स्कन्धावारो राजधानी कोट्टदुर्गे पुराः समे ।
गयापु गयाराजर्षे कन्याकुब्जं महोदयम् ॥ [3]

Halāyudha, too, tells us the same thing :—

स्कन्धावारः इति प्राज्ञै राजधानी निगद्यते ।
ग्राखानगरमाख्यातं तथोपनगरं बुधै ॥ [4]

There is also another piece of evidence, to which our attention has been drawn by Mr. N. G. Majumdar. The Barrackpore plates of Vijayasena state that :—

"विक्रमपुरोपकारिकामध्ये सति सोमग्रहे अस्मन्महादेवी श्रीमद्विलासदेव्या कनकतुलापुरुषमहादाने होमकर्म्मे दक्षिणा....." । [5]

To this Mr. Majumdar has added a lengthy note, suggesting that this passage makes it highly probable that Vikramapura was one of

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[1] For these see Inscriptions of Bengal, pt. iii, by N. G. Majumdar, Rajshahi, 1929.
[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxi, pp. 211ff.
[3] *Abhidhānachintāmani* by Hemachandra, edited by N. C. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, p. 25.
[4] *Abhidhānaratnamālā* by Halāyudha, edited by Thomas Aufrecht, 1861, Chapter III, *śloka* 131, p. 32.
[5] Majumdar—*op. cit.*, p. 63.

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the capitals, if not the capital of Vijayasena ; and in our opinion he is right when he says, that ' The word *upakārikā*, it may be argued, means only a temporary camp for royal residence, and not a fixed palace. But the very fact that the queen performed an elaborate *tulāpurusha-mahā dāna* within the Vikramapura *upakārikā* is itself sufficient to show that Vijayasena had something like permanent residence, and not a temporary camp at Vikramapura.' [1] This together with the fact that the Sena inscriptions invariably mention Vikramapura as the *skandhāvāra*, unmistakably demonstrates, that it was Vikramapura which was the capital of the Sena kings of Bengal. Against this it may be urged, how are we to explain the statements of *Vallāla-Charita*, and *Pavandūtam*. In our opinion these divergent statements can be explained if we differentiate between mere royal residence and the capital. To illustrate our point we may draw attention to the fact that the capital of the United Kingdom is London, but His Majesty the King-Emperor has several residences in the country such as Balmoral, Windsor Castle, and Sandringham. According to His Majesty's pleasure, he sometimes stays in London, and also at the above-mentioned place from time to time. But centuries hence, will a historian of England be justified in concluding, that in the year 1936 there were four capitals in the United Kingdom, or His Majesty had no fixed place of residence. My suggestion is that, Vikramapura was the capital, but the Sena kings had royal residences at Gaur, Suvarṇagrāma (Sonargaon of Muslim historian), etc. There remains now two other points to be considered.

Why should the term *skandhāvāra* be used instead of more appropriate *rājadhānī* ? I think this is due to the conservative habits of our people. Years ago when we went to live in the Poona cantonments, we were rather surprised on hearing the local people designating the cantonment area as ' camp '. The significance as explained by one of our neighbours was that, in the early days of British occupation, soldiers quartered at this place had to live under canvas as there were no *pucca* barracks. More than a century hence all tents have disappeared from the cantonment area except at Wanwari, but the people still cling to the old expression. In our opinion whenever we find that the term *skandhāvāra* appears before the name of certain city, in records of successive sovereigns, we have to understand that it signifies *rājadhānī*.

Was there any change of capital in the reign of Lakshmaṇasena ? We have already mentioned the fact that Dhoyī, a court poet of Lakshmaṇasena, calls the capital Vijayapura. The Muslim historian

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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Minhāj-us-sirāj tells us that the capital of Rai Lakhmania was Nūdiaḥ.[1] The late Mr. M. Chakravarti identified Vijayapura with Nūdiaḥ or Navadvīpa.[2] Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda is inclined to identify Vijayapura with a place called Vijayanagara in the Rajshahi district of Bengal.[3] The late Mr. R. D. Banerji, on the other hand declared that there is no evidence in support of the theory that Nadia was the capital of Bengal.[4] The late Mr. Girindra Nath Sarkar thought that Vijayapura was situated near Tribenī.[5] It has to be pointed out that too much reliance cannot be placed on the geographical disquisition of Dhoyī. As a matter of fact, he like other court poets does not exhibit a great competence as a geographer. His account is not methodical, and like his 'wind messenger' he wanders about aimlessly over hills and plains. The fact is that, the poet has not adhered to the course of the route. Mr. C. Chakravarti has pointed out that, the poet takes the wind that is bent for north-east, from Kāñchī in the east, to the land of the Keralas in the west and has availed himself of this occasion to describe the Malayavat hill and Pañchapsara Lake none of which can, in any way, be supposed to have lain on the direct route from south to Bengal. The poet then mentions Uragapura (Urayur) on the Tāmraparni. But it was the capital of the Cholas and never that of the Pāṇḍyas. Then with regard to Kāñchī Mr. Chakravarti tells us that the poet represents the city to be on the banks of the river Subalā, but we do not know of any river near Conjeeverum by that name. Conjectures of Mr. Chakravarti cannot be used for scientific purposes.[6] It would be better to conclude, that the poet here gives only the main features of the landscape, and we should not expect from him any exact historico-geographical account. I am, therefore, inclined to agree with Rai Bahadur R. Chanda's views. Another theory is also possible.

Sāmantasena was originally a native of Karṇāṭa. He is credited with having slaughtered the wicked despoilers of the *Karṇāṭa-lakshmī*. He probably came to Bengal as a military adventurer, with the army of some invading south Indian monarch, and taking advantage of the chaotic condition of Bengal due to the degeneration of the later Pālas carved out a little principality for himself in Rāḍhā. His son Hemantasena though credited with great

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[1] *Tabakāt-i-Nasirī* (Raverty's translation), pp. 557-58.
[2] *J. & P. ASB.* (*NS.*), vol. i, p. 45.
[3] Chanda—*Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 74-75.
[4] Banerji—*Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. i, (2nd ed.), p. 357.
[5] *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), vol. xvi, pp. 21–24; pp. 374-75.
[6] Chakravarti—*Pavanadūtam*, introduction, pp. 17–21.

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military prowess does not seem to have added much to his paternal dominions. It was Vijayasena who once for all established the supremacy of the Senas, and practically brought the whole of eastern India under his sway. It was he who conquered Varendrī and Puṇḍra from a Pāla king, described as *gauḍendra* in Sena epigraphs. It is quite possible that to commemorate the memory of his grandfather, Lakshmaṇasena renamed Vikramapura as Vijayapura.

ADRIS BANERJI.

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## THE BENGAL DRAMATIST RÂMACANDRA, SON OF ŚRÎHARṢA

In Mahârâja Serfoji's Sarasvatî Mahâl Library at Tanjore, there is a MS. of a drama, entitled *Aindravânanda-nâṭakaṁ*, which has been noticed in Volume VIII, pp. 3354–7 (No. 4335) of the Descriptive Catalogues of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri of the Madras Presidency College (1930). The MS., which is reported to be in a decaying condition, is written in Dêvanâgarî Script, and originally consisted of 74 folia, of which the first three and the thirteenth folia are found missing. The drama has eight acts, and deals with the story of Yayâti as related (in the Purâṇas) by Vyâsa (*Bhagavad=Vyâsa-pâda-prâṇîta Yayâticaritam=âśritya*). The author of the work is one Râmacandra Kavi, of whom the following description occurs in the *prastâvanâ* of the drama:—

*Guha-vaṁśa-nabhas=talaika-haṁsa-Gauḍêndra-mahâmâtya--kavipaṇḍitaprâpta-Viśvâsa-sthâna-padavîka-Śrîharṣa--padâbhidhêyânâm=âtmajasya Râmacandra-kavê . . . .*

So the poet Râmacandra was the son of Śrîharṣa, who held the office and title of *Viśvâsa* (Biswas). The Gauḍêndra, or lord of Gauḍa, alluded to as one whose prime-minister (*mah=âmâtya*) Śrîharṣa, the poet, had been, cannot be, in the present state of our knowledge, identified.

In the Preface of the volume, p. xxxi, Prof. Śâstrî writes, 'It is difficult to determine who this Śrî-Harṣa is. He might or might not have been the author of the Khaṇḍankhaṇḍakhâdya and the Naiṣadha. Very probably he was not'. But it is as sure as anything that the author of the Vêdântic dialectics and the epic poem, who lived in the twelfth century A.D., is not the father of the dramatist Râmacandra, for the latter had the title of Biswas (*Viśvâsa*), which being categorically a Muhammadan title, at once indicates

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that he cannot be placed earlier than, moderately speaking, the 14th century, although the Muhammadans occupied a part of Bengal in or about 1200 A.D. The title *Guha* of ' the lord of Gauḍa ', as in the above excerpt, is also significant. It is a title borne by a section of *Kulins* amongst the Kâyasthas of Bengal, but there is no proof that the use of this and similar other titles came into vogue before the 14th century. Probably Râmacandra belonged to the 15th or 16th century, if not later still, and the Gauḍêndra was a Muhammadan king. In the *Vaṅgêr Jâtîya Itihâsa* by Mr. N. Vasu (*Râjanya-kâṇḍa*, 1321 B.S.) the *Kula-pañjî* (social chronicle) ascribed to a certain Nandarâma Mitra is quoted, in which reference is made to a Daśaratha Guha as a prince of Kôṭa, probably the forestine region of Orissa. If even we may place any confidence in the evidence of such works, the reference to Daśaratha Guha of Kôṭa does not help us in the least to identify the Gauḍêndra, whose protégé the father of Râmacandra had been.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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## THE ORIGIN AND HOME OF PĀLI

It seems to me that the Ceylon tradition regarding the home of Pāli may not be wholly untrustworthy. Magadha or at least some kingdom close to it might have been the country where Pāli originated.

It has been argued that Pāli has little connexion with the Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka. But a very important point must be borne in mind which has often been overlooked. Pāli unlike Aśoka's Eastern dialect is a standard language in which we find traces of even the distant Paiśācī [e.g. Pācana (Sans. Prājana), still preserved in Bengali]. So, East Asokan is simply a dialect which was preferred to the standard Pāli with a view to better and wider intelligibility in the Eastern provinces. I do not doubt that if Aśoka were constrained to use *one* language throughout in all his inscriptions, he must have adopted Pāli which unquestionably existed during that time.

It has already been pointed out by Dr. B. C. Law in his History of Pāli Literature that Rock Edict IX on Dharmamaṅgala proves the prior composition of the *Kathāvatthu* (Siya vo taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeya siya puna no, etc., etc.). Though the third Buddhist council is not mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, there is little to say against this well-established tradition. So, it may be concluded that Moggali-

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putta Tissathera did compose the *Kathāvatthu* during Aśoka's reign which proves the existence of Pāli.

In this respect, moreover, the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela seems to me to be specially favourable. Oldenberg and Müller thought on this basis that Pāli was an Orissan dialect. But the more accurate conclusion therefrom would be that Pāli was a standard Eastern language and not a mere dialect.

The Khāravela inscription has been rightly ' assigned to the 2nd century B.C. ', (*Vide* V. A. Smith's Early History of India, 4th Edition, p. 44, f.n. 2) and the Pāli language is a hundred years older.

I do not feel certain if the Buddha preached in Pāli ; but if he did, there is no incongruity about the fact. For the Buddha is believed to have preached over a large tract of India as far West as Benares. Still, this cannot be affirmed with certainty ; for we find that the same dialect is used by Aśoka at Sārnāth as at Dhauli and the Buddha might well have used some such dialect. He could not, however, have used Aśoka's Eastern dialect, for he lived three centuries earlier than Aśoka.

Now the Pāli canon is said to have been brought over to Ceylon during Aśoka's reign, which assertion need not be doubted. *Kathāvatthu* is known to be the last addition to the canon, and Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII proves beyond doubt his relations with the South including Ceylon [' Taṁbapaṁni ' ought to be interpreted as Ceylon (*Vide* Mahāvaṁsa) rather than Southernmost India].

Having thus proved that Pāli existed in the 3rd century B.C., its relation with the Khāravela inscription proves that the language if not originated in the East, at least must have been well-known in Orissa and also in the neighbouring country of Magadha. In this connexion it must be distinctly understood that whereas Aśoka wrote dialects, Khāravela wrote (or caused to be written) a highly polished standard language resembling the slightly older standard language, Pāli. That Khāravela's language was not a mere dialect of the locality is supported by the fact that it bears no resemblance to the Aśokan inscriptions of Dhauli situated close by. ' Gandhaya-veda-budho ' is not like Māgadhī, nor is the retention of ' r ' in accordance with either Māgadhi or East Asokan. The forms ' pandarasa ', ' padhama ' and ' radha ' (ratha) may be later evolutions of original Pāli forms not unthinkable to have come up in a century. The only incongruity that is perceptible is in the use of verbs of the ' curādi ' class and ' nijanta ' (causal) roots ; e.g. raṁjayati, paṭhāpayati, pīḍapayati, vandāpayati. But this may be explained as but an effort towards standardization by taking still older semi-Sanskrit forms ; for the Pāli forms would be raṁjeti,

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vandāpeti, etc. That this *is* Sanskritization is supported by the form 'janento' [Magadhānaṁ ca vipulaṁ bhayaṁ janento] which is clearly a mistake for 'janayanto' (or it may be a retention of a Pāli form).

The use of '(a) parigodha' instead of the well-known Pāli Buddhist term '(a) palibodha' proves that Aśoka's Girnār dialect is not the same as Pāli language. Moreover, on the contrary, this is a further proof of Pāli being a standard Eastern language.

Though I have spoken of Pāli as a standard *Eastern* language (on the basis of the Khāravela inscription), it might well have been a standard language for a large portion of Northern India for Mahinda is said to have carried the Pāli Canon from Ujjain. But for want of other Prākṛta inscriptions of similar antiquity, we cannot say, if Pāli was known so far West. But the Khāravela inscription suggests that it must have been known in the East. If some inscriptions of similar antiquities were found in the West written in the standard language (as Khāravela used), it would be closely allied to Pāli.

Thus, I conclude that Pāli was a really existing standard Eastern language as early as the third century B.C. or still earlier. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her 'Buddhism' has already showed that the whole of the Pāli Canon was composed in India. The Khāravela inscription would prove that it could never have been written later than the 2nd century B.C., but probably a century or so earlier. As regards the variant forms found in the Bhābrū Edict (e.g., Vinayasamukase, lāghulovāde, moneyasute) it would suffice to say that they are dialectic.

That we find no other specimens of a language resembling Pāli beyond Khāravela's inscription may be accounted for by saying that they were not inscribed on impregnable rocks and have all perished. Moreover, there clearly was a tendency of making Sanskrit the standard language throughout India, and it asserted itself as such as early as the first century B.C. with the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghosa.

But the Māgadhī dialect survived the Pāli standard for several centuries, when it was used in Sanskrit plays. Also, I have no doubt in saying that Aśoka's Eastern dialect is a true and pure form of old Māgadhī, a further evolved form of which we find in Sanskrit plays and grammars. It is *not* Ārdhamāgadhī, as some would think; for it has no 'r'. But it has case-ending in the nominative singular for all masculine and many neuter substantives with a-stem. It has 'hakaṁ' for the later developed 'hage', 'hake', 'ahake' [अस्मदः सौ हके हगे अहके—Vararuci's Prākṛta-Prakāśa, II, 9]. It has 'l' for 'r'. What the differences are, are simply archaic forms. On one point only there is some doubt, namely, in

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the change of ṣ (ष) and s (स) to ś (श) ; for in the Asokan inscriptions of the East we find s (स) alone. To me it appears to be a mistake in the script and not in pronunciation. For evidently there was no sign for ś (श) in the Brāhmī Script which Aśoka used in his Eastern inscriptions, and the scribe at Dhauli and Jaugaḍā had to satisfy himself with s (स) and the scribe at Kālsī with either s (स) or ṣ (ष). [S (स) is pronounced ś (श) even in modern standard Bengali]. Moreover, the Māgadhī sibilant sound was a mystery to grammarians ; for they do not agree about its pronunciation. Whoever says, ' The real Māgadhī may have been neither the स nor the श of the midland Sanskrit. These groups being difficult, it is not surprising to find that MSS. generally write the assimilated forms *tth*, etc.' (Introd. to Prākrit p. 61).

To sum up :—

(1) Pāli—a real standard language used in East India, probably Magadha.
(2) Pāli Canon written before 3rd century B.C.
(3) The Khāravela inscription gives a slightly developed form of Pāli.
(4) Aśoka's Eastern dialect is true *old* Māgadhī (sibilant problem solved).

G. P. Bagchi.

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## SOME SCULPTURES OF QUTB MOSQUE

In 1192 A.D., at the second battle of Tarain or Talawari, the Chāhamāna king Pṛithvīrāja was defeated and killed. After centuries of fighting a gap was made in the strong line of defence that guarded the northern frontier of the fertile plains of Āryāvarta. The armies of Islam poured through this gap and carried fire and sword into the peaceful villages that had known no foreign invasion for centuries. One after another, Delhi, Mathura, Koil, Benares, were overrun. Most of these achievements were accomplished not by Muhammad Ghori alone, but by his slaves, who were also his trusted lieutenants and army commanders. Foremost of these was Qutbuddin Aibak. He occupied Delhi in 1193 and later on made it the capital of the new Muslim kingdom in Northern India. This capital, it is said, occupied the site of an older city belonging to the Tomaras and the Chāhamānas. The central building in this city was the mosque of *Quwwat-ul-Islam* (the might of Islam). According

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to *Tāj-ul-Māsir* and an inscription on an inner lintel of the eastern gateway, the structure was built on the site of an ancient temple, out of the materials of 27 others.[1] About 2,000,000 *Deliwals* were spent over its construction.[2] The foundations of the mosque follow the plinth of the quadrangular base of the earlier temple. Later, to the western side of the mosque, was added a great screen of arches. Portions of the original temple seem to have been utilized by the builders of the mosque ; these have been carefully noted and explained by Mr. J. A. Page, therefore we need not go into a detailed discussion of the same. The mosque and the screen were subsequently enlarged by Iltutmish and Alauddin Khāljī.

Aibak's mosque is rich in materials for the students of Indian art, architecture, and iconography. Column shafts, bases, and capitals, obtained from the various ruins of demolished Hindu and Jaina temples, have been employed with little attention to fitness, to form pillars to support the roof of the colonnade. Śivaite, Vishṇuite, and Jaina sculptures appear in the most incongruous and least expected positions, undoubtedly testifying to the impartial iconoclasm of the new rulers of the land. Some of the sculptures obnoxious to the eyes of the faithful were mutilated and hidden from view by placing the carved surfaces inside the wall.

Apart from these, Mr. J. A. Page rightly points out that our knowledge of Indo-Islamic architecture practically begins from this mosque. He tells us, that the Arab conquerors of Sindh have left very little architectural remains. The descendants of Mahmud of Ghazna who maintained a precarious existence in the Punjab, after having been driven out of Afghanisthan by the Ghorids, did not leave any permanent marks on the industries of the country they occupied. Besides, the mosque of Quwwat-ul-Islam is also important for having preserved to some extent the remains of its predecessor, and other Hindu and Jaina buildings of the neighbourhood, not a vestige of which now remains. The students of pre-Muhammadan archæology are thus afforded an opportunity of noticing the condition of art and architecture in these parts of India, when Hindu independence was slowly crumbling to pieces, before the repeated onslaughts of the Turkish converts to Islam.

It is proposed in the following lines to discuss the iconography of certain reliefs, used in the construction of the mosque, which have recently come to my notice.

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[1] Elliot, vol. ii, p. 222.

[2] J. A. Page—*An historical memoir on Qutb Delhi*, Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 22, pp. 1ff. and App.

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(1) *A bas-relief on one of the lintels of the northern doorway of Qutb Mosque, Delhi.*

In this panel we find a group of men and a woman sitting at the feet of a man who is shown in a half-lying state on a low bedstead. At his head are snake-hoods and a female holding *chāmara*. The relief is very much damaged and it is very difficult to identify the figures.

(2) *A bas-relief on a lintel on the north wall of the Qutb Mosque.*

The relief is divided into two distinct compartments and is mutilated at places. At the extreme left of the piece we find a man holding a straight sword, probably a guardsman. Just in front of him is another male figure resting his head on his knees. Then a woman is shown lying on a low bedstead giving suck to her child, and two maids are massaging her feet. The next scene depicts a female giving the child to a man, who is shown carrying it away. Between the two compartments is a partially opened door, probably marking the exit of the room.

At the extreme left of the second compartment we find the man entering with the baby, a tree in the foreground with lotus flowers and aquatic animals, like fish and *makaras* behind it. Then we find the man in the act of raising the child, before him are two *kalasas* placed one above another. A woman is then shown in the act of receiving the child. Next we find the lady lying on a low bedstead and feeding the baby. At some distance we find a man sitting with a stick, probably a cowherd (*gopāla*), by his side is depicted a cow and below it another with a suckling calf.

In our opinion both reliefs depict two episodes of the birth of Kṛishṇa. A detailed account of this is available from *Bhāgvata Purāṇa* and *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. According to these in days of yore the earth was very much troubled by *asuras* and the earth goddess appealed to various gods to rid her of these sinful people. The gods, acting on the advice of Brahmā, went with the earth goddess to the banks of the Milky Ocean and began to pray to Vishṇu. The god appeared to them in a trance and heard their complaints. He agreed to help them—and plucked off two hairs, one white and one black, saying that these shall descend on the earth and shall relieve her of all burden and distress. From the white hair was born Baladeva and from the black Kṛishṇa or Keśava.[1]

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[1] Hall and Wilson—*Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, vol. iv, pp. 45–51.

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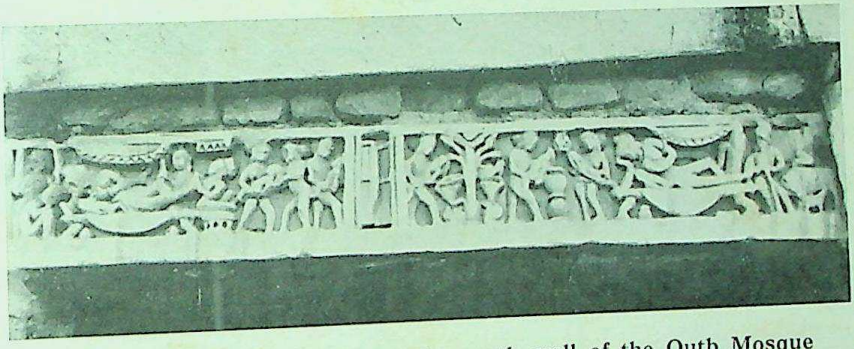
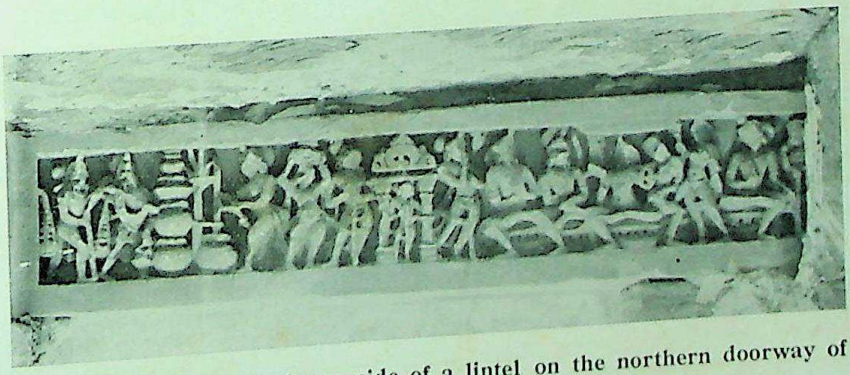
(1) A bas-relief on one of the lintels of the northern doorway of Qutb Mosque, Delhi



(2) A bas-relief on a lintel on the north wall of the Qutb Mosque



(3) A bas-relief on the inner side of a lintel on the northern doorway of Qutb Mosque

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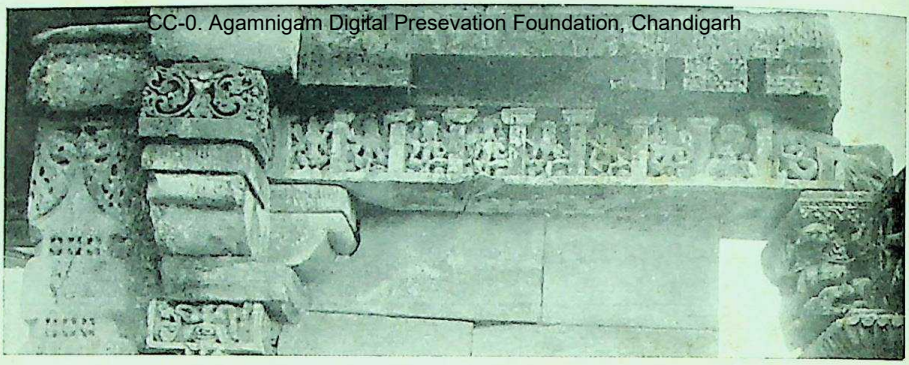
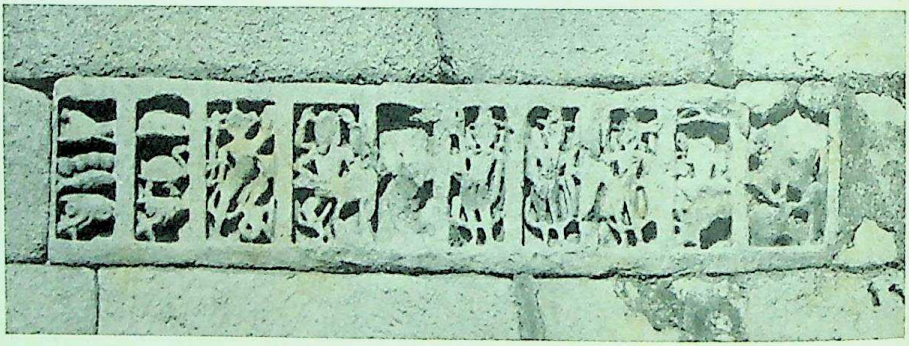
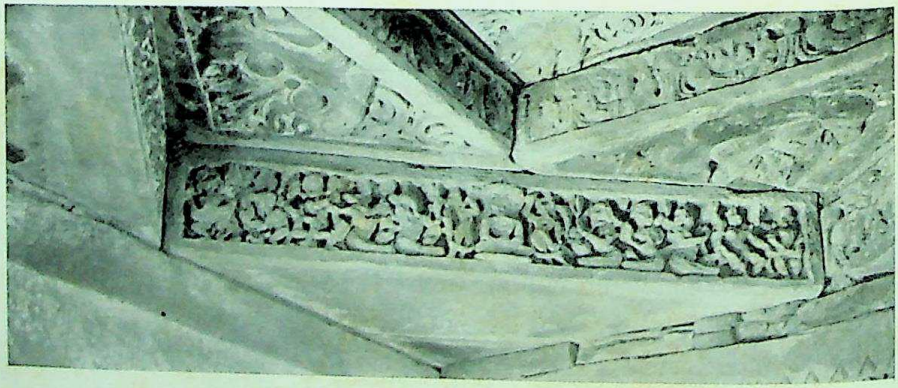


(4) A bas-relief on a lintel of the prayer chamber, Qutb Mosque



(5) A bas-relief on a lintel, built into the south wall, Qutb Mosque



(6) Bas-relief on a lintel in the domed chamber at the south-east corner, Qutb Mosque

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The first relief represents the deputation of the gods. The first figure on the extreme left is probably that of Yama at whose feet we find the head of a buffalo. The second seems to be that of Śiva, who is holding a trident in one of his right hands and is seated on a bull. The third is Brahmā, who is easily recognizable with his three heads and *haṁsa* below. The next figure is that of Indra seated on an elephant. The last male figure is undoubtedly that of Kārttikeya. The female figure is probably that of earth goddess massaging Nārāyaṇa's feet. Then a man is shown in a recumbent posture on a bedstead with mutilated snake-hoods. The figure is evidently that of Vishṇu. The female holding *Chāmara* is possibly Ḷakshmī.

The scene cannot be identified with *anantaśayyā* of Nārāyaṇa because Brahmā is always represented there, seated on a lotus coming out of the navel of Nārāyaṇa. Moreover the waters of the primordial ocean, on which the *Śeshanāga* is supposed to float, are conspicuous by their absence.

The second relief in our opinion represents the birth of Kṛishṇa. According to the *Purāṇas* Vasudeva married Devakī, the daughter of Devaka, and after the marriage ceremony was over, the bridal couple was being carried in a chariot driven by Kaṁsa, the bride's brother. As they were going along, a voice in the sky said, 'Fool, the eighth child of the damsel whom you are now driving in your chariot will slay you'. On hearing this, the enraged Kaṁsa was about to put Devakī to death. Vasudeva interposed and peace was restored for the time being. When earth goddess appealed for deliverance and Nārāyaṇa agreed to help her, the sage Nārada warned Kaṁsa that the eighth child of Devakī would be Vishṇu who would kill him. Accordingly when his sister conceived, Kaṁsa kept her under strict surveillance. On the moment of Kṛishṇa's birth, by divine magic all the guards fell asleep, and in order that her child might survive Devakī gave it to her husband Vasudeva. The unfortunate father is reported to have crossed the *Yamunā* in terrific thunderstorm and cleverly exchanged the child with the new-born daughter of Nanda, the chief of the cowherds at Gokula.

On the relief under discussion we find on the extreme left Devakī with the new-born babe well-guarded, then the guard falls asleep and the child is being taken away to Gokula by Vasudeva. The tree, the aquatic plants and animals represent the episode of crossing the river Yamunā.[1] At the extreme left we find Yaśodā, wife of Nanda, feeding the child Krishṇa, mistaking it for her own

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[1] This interpretation was suggested by Prof. J. N. Banerji of the Calcutta University.

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baby. The cowherd is probably Nanda rejoicing at the birth of a son. The presence of the cows confirms the identification.

(3) *A bas-relief on the inner side of a lintel on the northern doorway of Qutb Mosque.*

At the extreme left end of the slab we find two men (milkmen) carrying jars on their shoulders. Before them is a pile of bigger jars and a churning machine, which is being used by a woman. She is probably Yaśodā. Next to her we find another woman holding a pot on her head with two upraised arms, then a man (?) holding a stick. The panel is divided into two compartments by the diminutive figure of a man holding a stick inside a shrine. In the next compartment a totally different scene is depicted. Three men and three women are shown either seated or standing. The scene ends abruptly as a portion seems to have been deliberately broken off to suit the needs of the builders of the mosque. The first scene probably depicts the entrance of the demon Putanā (the woman holding a jar with upraised arms).[1] I am unable to identify the second scene.

(4) *A bas-relief on a lintel of the prayer chamber, Qutb Mosque.*

The whole slab containing figures of *Navagrahas* is divided into nine small chambers by diminutive plasters. The *Navagrahas* or nine planets are the five planets properly so called with Rāhu and Ketu, the moon's ascending and descending nodes. They are : the Sun and Moon, the Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, and Ketu.

The first figure on the extreme left is Ravi (Sun) seated probably on a throne with lotuses in his right and left hands. Then we find Chandra (Moon), the remains of a halo (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) can still be Sun, the right hand is in *varadāmudrā* while the left hand holds something (a lily). The third figure is unidentifiable. The fourth figure seems to be that of Budha (Mercury). The last figure is of Rāhu and next to it is Ketu.

(5) *A bas-relief on a lintel, built into the south wall, Qutb Mosque.*

On this slab is represented the ten incarnations (*avatāras*) of Vishṇu. It has suffered very much, but the different figures can be made out with some certainty. From left to right we find :

[1] It may also represent the child Kṛishṇa stealing butter.

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Matsya (Fish), Kūrmma (Tortoise), Vāmana (Dwarf), Narasiṁha (Man-Lion), Varāha (Boar), Paraśurāma (?), Rāma (?), Buddha (?), Kalki.[1]

(6) *Bas-relief on a lintel in the domed chamber at the south-east corner, Qutb Mosque.*

On this relief men and women are found in different postures and attitudes, probably worshipping a *tīrthaṅkara* seated in *samavasarana*. Over the head of a central figure is a snake-hood damaged. We may, therefore, take the figure to be that of the twenty-third *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha. The sculpture is mutilated at places, the figures are short and stumpy. They lack grace and movement, the physiognomy of the face and the bodies show attempts at modelling.

ADRIS BANERJI.

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## A NOTE ON RĀNĀ MŌKAL OF MEWĀR C. 1420–1433

Sir W. Haig remarks that 'Mokal's reign was not distinguished by any feats of arms. The bards attribute to him a victory over the king of Delhi, but no contemporary king of Delhi was in a position to attack the Rânâ of Chitor, and if there is any foundation for the bard's story Mokal must be suspected of refusing an asylum to Mahmûd, the last of the Tughluq dynasty, when he was fleeing from Delhi after his defeat by Tîmûr'.[2]

Dewân Bâhâdur Har Bilas Sarda says about Môkal that 'He maintained the traditions of the House by inflicting a defeat on *Muhammad* Tughlaq (*sic*), the king of Delhi, in the field of Raipur'.[3]

The original source which both Sir W. Haig and Dewân Bâhâdur H. Sarda have drawn upon seems to be Tod's *Annals of Râjasthân*. With regard to the victory alleged to have been obtained by Rânâ Môkal over one of the Tughluq kings of Delhi Tod has the following passage in his book[4]:

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[1] For an account of these cf. *Encycl. of Rel. Ethics*, vol. vii, pp. 193ff.; T. A. G. Rao—*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. i, pp 117–23; R. D. Banerji—*Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture*, pp. 103–5 and fol. xlix(a).

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, pp. 527-28.

[3] Sarda, *Mahārāṇā Kumbhā*, 2nd edition, p. 26.
On p. 46 of his book, however, Sarda says, 'Sultān *Mahmūd*, the son (*sic*) of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, fled towards Gujrat, and finding his way barred by Mahārānā Môkal, who inflicted a defeat on him at Rāipur, he turned towards Malwa . . .'

[4] Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān*, edited by Crooke, vol. i, p. 331.

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'He (Mokal) ascended the throne in S. 1454 (A.D. 1398), at an important era in the history of India ; when Timur . . . . . turned his arms towards India. But it was not a field for his ambition ; and the event is not even noticed in the annals of Mewar : a proof that it did not affect their repose. But they record an attempted invasion by the king of Delhi, which is erroneously stated to have been by Firoz Shah. A grandson of this prince had indeed been set up, and compelled to flee from the arms of Timur, and as the direction of his flight was Guzarat, it is not unlikely that the recorded attempt to penetrate by the passes of Mewar may have been his. Be this as it may, Rana Mokal anticipated and met him beyond the passes of Aravalli, in the field of Raepur, and compelled him to abandon his enterprise. Pursuing his success, he took possession of Sambhar and its salt lakes, and otherwise extended and strengthened his territory . . . '

It should however be noticed that Rânâ Môkal was not contemporaneous with any of the so-called Tughluq kings of Delhi. The date of accession of Môkal (A.D. 1398) as given by Tod can hardly be accepted. The Kôt Sôlânkiyâ epigraph of Rânâ Lâkhâ, father of Môkal, is dated S. 14(7) 5 (A.D. 1418-19).[1] The inscriptions of Rânâ Môkal himself range from S. 1477 [2] to S. 1487.[3] He must have reigned therefore from about A.D. 1420 to A.D. 1430. The evidence of the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî* which has also been followed by the *Târîkh-i-Alfî* and the *Gulshan-i-Ibrâhimî* (commonly called Târîkh-i-Firishta) suggests that the reign of Môkal probably extended up to A.D. 1433.[4] Nizām-ud-dîn says that in the month of Râjab 836 A.H. (Jan.-Feb., 1433) Sultān Ahmad went to conquer Mewâr and Nāgaur. Sometime after the submission of the Rājā of Dungarpur the Sultān plundered and ravaged Kilwāra and invaded Dilwāra. In the latter place he razed to the ground the palaces and structures of Rânâ Môkal, the Rājā of Dilwāra, who had "lifted up his head to the sky (in pride)".

It would be seen from the above that Rânâ Môkal was a contemporary of the first two Sayyids, Khizr Khân and Mubârak Shâh. And as the earliest inscription of Rânâ Kumbhâ, son and successor of Rânâ Môkal, is dated Monday, the second day of the bright half of *Kārtika*, Sam. 1491 (Oct., 1434),[5] it is not impossible that the latter

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xix, App. p. 105.
[2] Tod's *Rājasthān*, Crooke, vol. iii, p. 1680.
[3] *Ep. Indica*, vol. xxi, App. 268.
[4] Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, p. 120 and note.
[5] *Ep. Indica*, vol. xix, App., p. 107.
Prof. Bhandarkar refers to an inscription of Rânâ Kumbhâ, dated S. 1488 (*Ep. Indica*, vol. xix, p. 107). The reading of the date is however doubtful. In view

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was alive even in the early days of the reign of Muhammad Shâh, the successor of Mubârak Shâh. Clearly therefore Môkal did not defeat any of the Tughluq sultâns.

Sir W. Haig does not seem to have examined with much care the epigraphic sources of Mediæval Indian History and has apparently been misled by Tod's wrong date of accession of Rânâ Môkal. Dewân Bâhâdur H. Sarda, though he knows that Môkal's reign extended from C. 1420–33 A.D., has failed to correctly assess the evidential value of Tod's statement that Môkal defeated a Tughluq king of Delhi.

The question may be asked whether the tradition recorded by Tod lacks foundation. It is clear from the account that Môkal defeated one Fîrūz Khân beyond the pass of Aravalli. Apparently this Fîrūz Khân cannot be identified with Fîrūz Tughluq of Delhi. It is not impossible that Tod's erroneous identification of Fîrūz Khân with his famous namesake first started the tradition that Rânâ Môkal defeated a ruler of Delhi. It is no doubt true that in the Kumbhalgaḍh inscription of the time of Rânâ Kumbhâ it is stated that Môkal struck terror into the heart of the ruler of Delhi [1]; but it is doubtful if it can be interpreted to mean that Môkal actually came into an armed conflict with a ruler of Delhi.

The statement of the bards that Môkal measured his sword with one Fîrūz Khân is strikingly confirmed both by inscriptions and by Muslim historians. The Śringî Rishi Inscription of S. 1485 (A.D. 1428) tells us that one Peroja Khâna fled before Rânâ Môkal.[2] The Chitôrgaḍh inscription of S. 1485 (A.D. 1429) says that Môkal 'made king Piroza of the north, who was humbled with his army, a flower to adorn his glory'.[3] This Fîrūz Khân has been identified with Fîrūz, son of Shams Khân I, ruler of Nagaur.[4] The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarî* says that 'on the day on which Rânâ Mukul fought with Fîrūz Khân, the son of Shams Khân Dandani, Fîrūz Khân, the Shâhzâdâ, attained to martyrdom'. The Mirât-i-Sikandarî says

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of Muslim evidence that Môkal was probably alive in A.D. 1433, I prefer the reading of Pandit Ojha, i.e. S. 1499.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxi, p. 284 :
*Ḍillîṁ śaṅkitanāyakāṁ vyachara (racha) yan.*

[2] Ojha, *Udayapura Râjya kâ Itihâsa*, p. 274, n. 4 :
*Yasyāgre samabhut palāyaṇaparaḥ Perojakhānaḥ svayaṁ.*

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, pp. 408ff. :
*Netā pātottarāśāṁ Yavananarapatiṁ luṇṭitāśeshasenaṁ*
*Perojaṁ Uirtivallîkusumamurumatiryokarotsaṅgarasthaḥ.*

[4] Kielhorn's wrong identification of him with Fîrūz Tughluq of Delhi has been corrected in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xxiii, p. 43.

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that this battle was fought between Mokal and Shams Khān Dandani himself.[1]

It should be noted however that while the epigraphs clearly refer to the defeat of Fîrūz of Nāgaur by the ruler of Chitōr, the Muslim historians say that it was Môkal who was defeated by Fîrūz. It is well known that Shams Khān II, son of Fîrūz Khān, wanted help from Rânâ Kumbhâ when he (Shams Khān II) was dispossessed by his uncle Mujâhid Khān. It was stipulated at that time that Shams Khān II would demolish the turrets of the citadel of Nāgaur in return for the help rendered by the Rânâ. The Muslim historians aver that the Rânâ wanted to inflict this ignomy upon the ruler of Nāgaur in order to avenge the defeat of his father by Fîrūz Khān. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that 'His (Kumbhā's) object was this, that before this Rânâ Mukul had fled in great distress from Fîrūz Khān and in that battle three thousand Rājputs had been slain, yet his son having acquired power over the fort had had his revenge'. It is really very difficult to extract the truth from these conflicting accounts. Pandit G. S. Ojha says, that Kaviraj Syamal Das, the author of the *Vira vinoda*, tries to reconcile the different accounts by assuming that there were two distinct wars between Fîrūz Khān and Môkal. In the first war the Rajputs were routed but in the second victory fell to them.[2] Pandit G. S. Ojha says that there was probably one and a single war between Rânâ Môkal and Fîrūz Khān. In fact we have no evidence to show that Rânâ Môkal encountered Fîrūz Khān on two distinct occasions.[3]

An inscription of Mujâhid Khān, brother of Fîrūz Khān, seems to suggest that in an encounter between a ruler of Nāgaur and Rânâ Môkal the ruler of Nāgaur was worsted. It is stated in that inscription that Mujâhid Khān, son of Shams Khān '. . . after the tumult of Mukal the accursed, conquered and captured the towns of Dindwānā (modern Didwana), Sāmbhar and Naraina and built afresh forts and mosques'.[4] This ruler of Nāgaur could not have been any other than Fîrūz, son of Shams Khān I, who died in A.D. C. 1451. The Kumbhalgaḍh Inscription tells us that Môkal harried the region denominated Sapādalaksha and conquered Sāmbhar.[5]

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[1] Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p. 95. Firishta says that shāhzādā Fîrūz Khān was put to death by the Governor of Nāgaur. Briggs, IV, p. 16.

[2] Ojha, *Udayapura Rājya kā Itihasa*, vol. i, p. 273, n. 5.

[3] Firishta says that in the campaign of A.H. 836 Sultān Ahmad of Gujarāt was joined by Fîrūz Khān of Nāgaur. (Briggs, IV, p. 32.) Fîrūz came to do homage (see Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, p. 121).

[4] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1923-24, pp. 15ff.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxi, p. 284.

*ālodya Sapādalakshamakhilaṁ Jālandharān Kampayan Ḍilliṁ śaṅkitanāyakāṁ vyachara (racha) yannādāya Sākambhariṁ.*

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Shāmbhar, Naraina and Didwāna, therefore, seem to have been taken from the ruler of Nāgaur and not from the ruler of Delhi as stated by Dewān Bāhādur H. Sarda.[1]

GOLAPCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI.

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## IMPORTANCE OF THE AŚVAMEDHA

In a note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 114-115, Mr. A. K. Sur suggested that, since Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka have been called simply *Mahārāja* (not *Mahārājādhirāja*), they are to be taken as petty chiefs even though they performed the Aśvamedha. In support of this theory, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar said (p. 115) that 'even a feudatory chieftain can perform a Horse-sacrifice' and that the Aśvamedha 'may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya*'. In *op. cit.*, pp. 311–313, I pointed out the following facts against the above theories.

(1) The title *Mahārājādhirāja*, based on *Rājātirāja*, etc. of the Scytho-Kuṣans went to the south from the north. In early times it was not very often used in Southern India. In this connection it may now be pointed out that Kṛṣṇavarman I, a Kadamba performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, who ruled the Kuntala country about the middle of the 5th century A.D., has been called simply Dharma-*Mahārāja* in inscriptions. The Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, 34), however, calls him *ek-ātapatra*, 'possessor of the sole umbrella', which, as scholars have suggested (see Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 39n), is 'indicative of universal sovereignty'. The Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) moreover calls him *dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasu-pati*, 'lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha', which 'clearly shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed a sort of suzerainty over the

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[1] *Mahārāṇa Kumbhā*, 2nd ed., p. 26. Sarda quotes a passage to the effect that Mōkal 'overran Sapādalaksha (Ajmer) territory and took Sāmbhar *from the Sultān of Delhi*'.

The bards make it clear that Rānā Mōkal took possession of Sāmbhar and its salt lake by pursuing Fīrūz Khān. Cf. Tod's *Rājasthān*, Crooke, vol. i, p. 331.

The writer had the advantage of consulting the late Mr. B. De's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. iii, which is still in MSS. through the courtesy of the authorities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He takes this opportunity of expressing his gratitude to them and to the distinguished translator.

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whole of the Deccan'. (See my paper on *Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I* in *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVI, pp. 160ff.) [1]

(2) In inscriptions Pravarasena I has been called *samrāṭ*, which never signifies a feudatory ruler, while Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin's *digvijaya* in the eastern countries is referred to in the Polamuru grant. These kings, therefore, were capable of performing the Aśvamedha with *digvijaya*.

(3) That no feudatory ruler could perform the Aśvamedha is perfectly clear from statements contained in old Vedic texts like the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, etc. etc. An alternate reading of the passage in the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* given in Garbe's edition no doubt says that an *asārvabhauma* king could also perform the Aśvamedha. But *asārvabhauma* (=not master of all land) never signifies a feudatory ruler. It must moreover be noticed that this reading goes against all other early texts. My point was that the performer of the Aśvamedha may not have been a ruler of the earth from the North to the South Pole or of India from the Himālaya to the Kumārikā, but he must have been an independent ruler of a considerable portion of India.

(4) That the Aśvamedha could not be celebrated without some sort of *digvijaya* even in later times is proved beyond doubt by the evidence of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* (4th century A.D.) and the Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (8th century). According to the tradition recorded in the drama, Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse roamed freely and reached the banks of the Sindhu where it was captured by the Yavanas. Vasumitra brought the horse back after defeating them. The inscription records that Udayacandra, general of Nandivarman, defeated the Niṣāda king Pṛthivīvyāghra when the latter was following an *Aśvamedha-turaṃgama*. That the sacrifice did not lose this essential characteristic of *digvijaya* even in later days is also proved by the evidence of the *Uttaracarita* (by Bhavabhūti, a poet of the 8th century) which says: *aśvamedha iti viśva-jayināṃ Kṣatriyānāṃ=urjasvalaḥ sarva-Kṣatriya-paribhāvī mahān utkarṣa-niṣkarṣaḥ* (Act. IV).[2] Albērūnī who wrote in the second quarter of the 11th century says (Sachau, *Albērūnī's India*, II, p. 139), 'certain of them (i.e. sacrifices) can be performed by the greatest of their kings. So, *e.g.*, the '*aśvamedha*'.

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[1] Note the titles of Skandavarma-Mahārāja and his feudatory Mādhava-*Mahādhirāja* in the Penukonda grant (*E.I.*, vol. xiv, p. 331) and of *Rājā* Aparājita and his general *Mahārāja* Varāhasiṃha in the Nagda record (*ibid.*, iv, p. 31). For a *kadambānaṃ rājā* but *vaijayantī-dhamma-mahārājādhirāja*, see the Malavalli record (*Ep. Carn.*, vol. vii, SK. 264).

[2] I am indebted for this and for some other references to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri.

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Now, in a rejoinder in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 704–6, Mr. Sur has simply tried to misrepresent my views and has cleverly passed over all my arguments. The only point he has been able to suggest is that according to him the passage *samrāṭ*[1] *Vākāṭakānām* used in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions in connection with the name of Pravarasena I 'shows that he was a mere overlord of the Vākāṭakas' (p. 705). There is, however, a good number of instances (e.g. in early Pallava and Kadamba records) which prove beyond doubt that *Vākāṭakānāṃ* here means 'of (i.e. belonging to) the Vākāṭaka family'. All my other objections against his theory are still to be cleared by him.

In *op. cit.*, p. 637n., Miss K. K. Das Gupta thinks that my arguments are based on 'several passages from the Brāhmaṇas and other scriptures'. Apparently Miss Das Gupta has overlooked the points quoted from the *Mālavikāgnimitra, Udayendiram grant, Balaghat Plates, Polamuru Plates*, etc. which, I am sure, are neither Brāhmaṇas nor scriptures. 'The Aśvamedha', she says, 'certainly had a great imperial significance in the old days. But in the period under review it must have lost that importance. Otherwise it would not have been repeated so often.' Miss Das Gupta has apparently overlooked such old works as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, iii, 5, 11) in which an ancient king like Bharata Dauṣyanti is credited with the performance of 133 Aśvamedhas on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna. See my paper on *Samudragupta's Aśvamedha Sacrifice* in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40; and *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan* (*Journ. Dep. Let.*, Cal. Univ., XXVI, 1935), pp. 108-9.

Prof. Bhandarkar thinks (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 116) that the number of performance of the Aśvamedha could be increased by simply multiplying the amount of dakṣiṇā payable to the Brāhmaṇas. This view is, however, based on a wrong interpretation of the following verse of the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 88. 14):

evam=atra mahārāja dakṣiṇāṃ tri-guṇāṃ kuru,
*tritvaṃ vrajatu* te rājan brāhmaṇā hy=atra kāraṇaṃ.

The verse obviously implies that according to a Brahmanical theory the merit accruing from the celebration of the Aśvamedha and not the Aśvamedha itself could be tripled if the performer offered three-fold *dakṣiṇā* to the Brāhmaṇas.

In *Ind. Cult.*, II, pp. 140-141, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has quoted the *Harivaṃśa* to show that feudatory rulers could also perform the Aśvamedha. Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa, lived in Gokula on Mount

[1] The Dudia plates (*EI.*, vol. iii, p. 260) read *samrāṭaḥ* which is evidently a mistake for *samrājaḥ*.

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Govardhana in the vicinity of Mathurā ; he was engaged in cattle-rearing and was a *karadāyaka* to Kaṃsa, the king of Mathurā (*Harivaṃśa*, LVI, 1162-61). After the fall of Kaṃsa, the family of Vasudeva removed to Dvārakā. In Kṛṣṇa's conversation with Indra there is an incidental reference which says that while in Dvārakā Vasudeva performed an Aśvamedha (*ibid.*, CL, 8574).[1] It will be seen that Mr. Ghosh's contention is clearly beside the mark. The question at issue is whether Vasudeva was a feudatory of the Mathurā kings *at the time of celebrating the sacrifice* after he was established in Dvārakā. There is absolutely no proof to show that he was. We do not know whether the Dvārakā region ever submitted to the kings of Mathurā. It must also be noted that the evidence of traditions recorded in works like the *Harivaṃśa* should always be taken with a grain of salt. *Harivaṃśa* is obviously written for the exaltation and glorification of the family (*vaṃśa*) of Hari (i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva) and, like similar treatises in honour of other religious heroes, is not free from extravaganzas incident to a pronounced theological bias. The critical historian can hardly hope for sober history in such texts. On the contrary the probability is that the parent of the hero of the tale has been given more than his due. In the *New Testament* the saviour of the Christians is described as the son not of a mortal man but of God, and in the *Saundarananda* (II, vv. 32, 39, etc.), etc. glories of the mightiest rulers are put on the head of a petty Śākya chief named Śuddhodana.

Mr. Ghosh moreover does not appear to take the evidence of the Harivaṃśa as a whole. While describing the Aśvamedha that was attempted by Janamejaya, *Harivaṃśa* itself (Baṅgabāsī Ed., *Bhaviṣyaparva*, II) makes it clear that the horse-sacrifice could not be celebrated by a petty chief. When the *Sarpa-yajña* was finished, Janamejaya collected materials for the celebration of an Aśvamedha. Then he invited the *ṛtviks*, *purohitas* and *ācāryas* and said, 'I am desirous of celebrating a horse-sacrifice. Do ye dedicate the horse' (Verses 5 & 6).[2] Knowing however that the king's sacrifice would not be successful, the omniscient Vyāsa warned him not to begin the Aśvamedha. The sage said, 'The *Śruti* lays down that the Kṣatriyas should celebrate the Aśvamedha, *the foremost of sacrifices*. On account of the *greatness* of it, *Vāsava will violate* your sacrifice (verse 28)'.[3] 'O slayer of enemies', the sage added, 'as long as the

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[1] Baṅgabāsī Ed., Viṣṇuparva, 91. 24.

[2] Yakṣye'haṃ vājimedhena hayam=utsṛjyatām=iti.

[3] Aśvamedhaḥ kratuśreṣṭhaḥ kṣatriyānāṃ pariśrutaḥ, tena bhāvena te yajñaṃ vāsavo dharṣayiṣyati.

That the Aśvamedha could be performed only by the great kings is also proved by the fact that Vāsava (=Indra) is always represented as jealous of its performance.

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world will last, the Kṣatriyas will not be able to collect materials for your horse-sacrifice' (v. 35).[1] The king became very sad and said, 'Console me by saying that the Aśvamedha will again be undertaken by kings' (v. 58).[2] To this Vyāsa replied, 'As energy counteracted by another lives in it, so (the knowledge of) the Aśvamedha, although stopped, will exist in the gods and Brāhmaṇas. There will be one Senānī,[3] an *Audbhijja*, a *Dvija* and a descendant of Kaśyapa, who will revive the Aśvamedha in the Kali age (v. 39-40).[4] Could this great sacrifice, of which the Harivaṃśa speaks in so high terms, be performed by a petty feudatory chief?[5]

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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## NOTES ON THE WORSHIP OF JACKALS IN ANCIENT INDIA AND ON THE ANALOGOUS WORSHIP OF WOLVES AMONG THE KĀHĀRS OF SOUTH BIHAR

The famous prose romance Kādamvarī (कादम्बरी) was composed by the *ancient Indian* author Bāna in the 7th century A.D. From the testimony of this work, we find that the women of ancient India, who were desirous of becoming mothers, worshipped the jackals. In this work it is stated that queen Bilāsvatī, wife of king Tārāpīḍa of Ujjaini, who was very much desirous of becoming the

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The *Harivaṃśa* describes how he endeavoured to spoil the Aśvamedha of Janamejaya (*Bhaviṣyaparva*, V). Note also what Viśvāvasu says to the king, 'O king, thou hast celebrated three hundred sacrifices; Vāsava, therefore cannot forgive thee any longer' (*tri-yajña-śata-yajvānaṃ vāsavas=tvāṃ na mṛṣyate, ibid.*, 5, 24). In this connection note what Prof. Bhandarkar himself says in another occasion (*E.I.*, vol. xix, App., p. 2, n. 5), 'As Indra is represented as being suspicious of Govinda Gupta's power, the latter seems to have been a supreme ruler'. The *Vāmana-Purāṇa* (ch. 78) clearly points out the causes of Indra's unfavourable attitude against the Aśvamedha.

[1] Tvayā vṛttaṃ kratuñ=c=aiva vājimedhaṃ parantapa, kṣatriyā n=āhariṣyanti yāvad=bhūmir=dhariṣyati.

[2] Yady=asti punar=āvṛttir=yajñasy=āśvāsayasva māṃ.

[3] The reference is possibly to Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

[4] Upātta-yajño deveṣu brāhmaṇeṣ=ūpapatsyate, tejasā vyāhṛtaṃ tejas=tejasy=ev=āvatiṣṭhate; audbhijjo bhavitā kaś=cit senānī kāśyapo dvijaḥ, aśvamedhaṃ kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāhariṣyati.

[5] See my *Early Pallavas* (Lahore, 1935), pp. 20–23.

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mother of a son, placed during the night, the offerings of flesh to the she-jackals (शिवाभ्यो मांसवलिपिण्डमनुदिनं समुतसर्ग). She also kept offerings for the jackals in the courtyards to propitiate the god Siva (चत्वरेषु शिववलिमुपजह्नार). This custom of propitiating the jackal also appears to be current in modern India, for we find that in the District of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal similar propitiatory offerings are presented to jackals on certain festival-days during the month of Chaitra (March-April). In North Bihar also, similar offerings are presented to this beast.

Analogous to the aforementioned worship of jackals in ancient India is the worship of the wolves by the Kāhārs of the Patna District in South Bihar. These Kāhārs earn their livelihood by cultivation and are also extensively employed as palki bearers and general labourers. A large number of them also are employed as personal servants. One custom peculiar to this caste is the worship of wolves. This custom has originated from a tradition which is current among this caste and which is to the effect that once upon a time a wolf carried off a Kāhār boy, was pursued by the latter's relatives and was ultimately persuaded to give him up. Since that time wolves have been worshipped by the Kāhārs. On the occasion of a birth or a marriage, the Kāhārs hold a feast and before any of the food is partaken of, set aside a portion of it in a dish and place it in the courtyard as an offering to the wolves.[1]

(1) Now the question arises why the jackal was worshipped in ancient India? In answer to this question, I must say that Siva (शिव) was the Phallic god and believes by women to possess the power of giving children to them. Now jackals (शिव) believed to be the attendants of the god Siva. Therefore, these animals were propitiated with offerings of flesh in order that their patron-deity might be pleased to give their children.

(2) It has been stated by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley that the worship of wolves by the Kāhārs of the Patna District is of totemistic origin or in other words the wolf is the totem of this caste.[2] With due deference to such a high authority as Mr. O'Malley I must say that his statement is somewhat wide of the truth. 'If totem is thought of as an ancestor or as common fund of life out of which the totemites are born and into which they go back where they die. Sometimes the totem is held to be a very useful help in time of trouble, as when a Kangaroo by hopping along a special way, warns the Kangaroo-

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[1] *Vide* Gazetteer of Patna. By L. S. S. O'Malley. (Revised edition of 1924) Patna: Superintendent, Bihar and Orissa Government Printing, page 55.

[2] *Op. cit.*, page 62.

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man of impending danger. Sometimes, on the other hand, the Kangaroo-man thinks of himself mainly as the helper of the Kangaroos, holding ceremonies in order that the Kangaroos wax fat and multiply. Again, almost invariably the totemite shows some respect towards his totem, refraining, for instance, from slaying and eating the totem animal, unless it be in some specially solemn and sacramental way.' [1]

Now there is no evidence to show that the wolf is ever regarded by the Kāhārs of the Patna District as their ancestor or as the fund of life from which they have descended. Nor is there any evidence to show that the wolf ever helps them in their times of trouble. Under these circumstances, I am decidedly of opinion that the wolf cannot be the totem of the Kāhārs of Patna. The respect which they show for this animal has its origin in the fact that once it acceded to their request for saving the life of a Kāhār boy.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

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## WAS THERE A BHADRA DYNASTY IN EASTERN BENGAL?

Several references from different sources go to indicate that there flourished in Eastern Bengal (Samataṭa) some kings whose names end in Bhadra. Speaking of Sīlabhadra, the famous Buddhist patriarch of Nālandā and preceptor of the Chinese traveller himself, Yuan Chwang says that he was a scion of the Brahmanical royal family of Samataṭa.[2] In verse 868 of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa it is stated that there will be a king whose initial is Svāda in the Sanskrit text but in the Tibetan text the name Rājabhadra is given. This king has been placed before Gopāla I, founder of the Pāla dynasty. The next reference is in the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla. Gopāla I's wife Deddadevī is spoken of as follows [3]:—

Śītāmśo riva rohiṇī hutabhujaḥa svāheva tejonidhe
Sarvāṇīva śivasya *guhyakapate bhadreva bhadrātmajā*
Paulomīva purandarasya dayitā śrīdeddadevītyabhut
Devī tasya vinoda bhūrmura ripo lakṣmīriva kṣmāpate

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[1] *Vide* Anthropology. By R. R. Marrett, M.A., D.Sc., London; Williams and Norgate, 1919, pages 167-168.
[2] Waters, Yuan Chwang, II, p. 109.
[3] A. K. Maitra, Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 12.

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Kielhorn explained the passage *guhyakapate bhadreva bhadrātmajā* by making Deddadevī, mother of Dharmapāla as daughter of a Bhadra king.[1] But Mr. A. K. Maitra differed from Kielhorn and remarks that reference is here only to Puranic mythology and it does not seem that any historical fact is alluded to.[2] If this explanation is to be accepted the expression bhadrātmajā becomes redundant. To compare Deddadevī with Bhadrā, wife of Kuvera '*guhyakapate bhadreva*' is sufficient. It seems, therefore, that the word *bhadrātmajā* qualifies Deddadevī and this makes her daughter of a Bhadra king.

These references from Yuan Chwang's account, the Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa and the Khālimpur plate would go to indicate the existence of three Bhadra kings. But there is a possibility which suggests the identification of the Bhadra kings with the Khaḍgas of Samatata. Devakhaḍgas and Rājabhaṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty, it is now to be accepted, ruled during the last part of the 7th century A.D.[3] While editing the Deulbāḍi Sarvāṇī image inscription of queen Prabhāvatī,[4] wife of Devakhaḍga, Dr. N. K. Bhattasali remarks that Śīlabhadra was probably a Khaḍga, because 'those who kept alive the name of the Khaḍga in later times tried in their way to emulate their illustrious predecessor by noble deeds of piety and benevolence'. The obvious implication is that the name Śīlabhadra was changed after his initiation into Buddhism. But Dr. Bhattasali does not try to solve the difficulty arising out of Yuan Chwang's statement that Śīlabhadra was a scion of the Brahminical royal family while the Khaḍgas were professedly Buddhists. It deserves particular attention that the Āsrafpur plates of the Khaḍgas are surmounted by a seal which contains in high relief a bull couchant.[5] It is highly incongruous that while the seals of the Pālas and Chandras, other two Buddhist dynasties of Bengal, bear dharmachakra, the seals of the Khaḍgas should show Śaivite symbol. It is therefore quite probable that the Khaḍgas were formerly Brahmanical Hindus and became converts to Buddhism. The appearance of the bull in their seal and the covering of the image of Sarvāṇī with gold leaves out of reverence by the queen Prabhāvatī may be explained by the fact that the Khaḍgas could not forget their association with Śaivism. That the Śaiva kings ruled in Bengal at this period is also shown by the coins of Śasāṅka and Samāchāradeva.[6]

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, pp. 243ff. [2] Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 20, f.n. 1.

[3] Dacca University Studies, vol. i, No. 1, p. 64. From a detailed paleographical examination the Āsrafpur plates have been placed in the period posterior to the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 357.

[5] Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i, No. 6.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, pp. 74ff.

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Again, in the commentary of the Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā by contemporary Haribhadra, Dharmapala, the 2nd Pāla king, has been described as '*Rājabhaṭādi-vaṁśapatita*'[1] and it has been suggested that Dharmapāla was connected with Rājabhaṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty through his mother's side.[2] The variation of Rājabhaṭa into Rājabhadra may be conceded and all these are in complete agreement with Kielhorn's opinion that Deddadevī, mother of Dharmapāla, was daughter of a Bhadra king.

But there are other considerations which go against the identification of the Bhadras with the Khaḍgas. Rājabhadra in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is described as of Śudra caste, while Śīlabhadra belonged to a Brahmanical family. The most serious objection is how Khaḍgodyama, Jātakhaḍga and Devakaḍga can be regarded as Bhadras. It may be suggested that the family was originally known as Khaḍga and when the name and fame of Śīlabhadra, a member of this family, was fully established in the Buddhist world, the family also became known as Bhadras and this is why Rājabhaṭa has been called Rajabhadra in some records. But this is hardly to be met with general acceptance.

The only other alternative seems to be that there flourished a Bhadra dynasty in Samataṭa, ruling almost contemporaneously with the Khaḍgas. Śīlabhadra was the head of the Nālandā University in the second quarter of the 7th century and he must have held this high position at a sufficiently advanced age. It may therefore be inferred that the Bhadra dynasty began to rule at least from the beginning of that century. According to Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Gopala I had a long life of 80 years and reigned for 27 years.[3] The known facts about the Pāla chronology place Gopala I about the middle of the 8th century.[4] This fixes the other limit of the Bhadras. Whether the Bhadras ruled contemporaneously as rival power of the Khaḍgas in Samataṭa, or were under them or both under a common suzerain cannot be ascertained.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.

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## MAHĪPĀLA OF THE CHAṆḌAKAUŚIKAM

I read with considerable interest the note on this subject appearing at pp. 354–6 of this journal for October, 1935, because a

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[1] Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iii, p. 6.
[2] *IHQ.*, 1931, pp. 530ff.
[3] Verse 690. Text published in the Imperial History of India by K. P. Jayaswal.
[4] *IHQ.*, 1933, p. 47; *JASB.*, 1921, pp. 1ff.

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few years ago I studied this question in some detail and published the results of my investigation in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VI, pp. 191–198. At first sight it seemed to me on reading the note under reference that its author had adduced some fresh arguments in favour of the view advocated by him, but rejected by me after some consideration. On a further examination of the arguments, however, I have found that the case for the Pāla ruler being identified with the Śrī Mahīpāladeva of the Chaṇḍakauśikam is not so strong as it seemed. I give below the main results of my examination which, I believe, may be of interest to your readers.

I must say at the outset that I do not agree that we should treat the names of Chāṇakya and Kusumapura as common both to Chandragupta and Mahīpāla in the verse cited from the Chaṇḍakauśikam—*yaḥ samśritya*, etc. But let us concede this for the sake of argument, and proceed.

(1) That the Pāla ruler Mahīpāla I was the lord of Kusumanagara, and that he was kept out of his rights in the kingdom for a time (cf. *bāhudarpād-anadhikrita-vipulām rājyam āsādya pitryam* of his charters) may be granted.

(2) Then, we read : 'Tārānātha supplied us with the information that this Mahīpāla had a minister named Chaṇaka or Chāṇakya. He says that when Mahīpāla's father died he was only seven years old. His maternal uncle Chaṇaka administered the country for him for 29 years (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 366).' But this is what we find at the page of the *Indian Antiquary* referred to here : 'After Dharmapāla his son-in-law Basurakshita became king ; but eight years later Vanapāla, Dharmapāla's son, was raised to the throne ; he again was succeeded by Mahīpāla, who reigned fifty-two years (he was the contemporary of the Tibetan king Khri-ral). During his life mention is made of king Verāchārya in Orissa, who was, however, Mahipāla's vassal. Mahāpāla, the son of Mahipāla, the next king, reigned forty-four years, and was followed by his son-in-law Śāmupāla, who reigned twelve years (*chap.* xxxiii). Śreshṭa, Mahāpāla's eldest son, was next raised to the throne, but he died three years after. As he left behind him a son who was only seven years old, his maternal uncle Chāṇaka was raised to the throne, and ruled for twenty-nine years ; he made war with the king of the Turushkas, and in the end was victorious. The people of Bengal also revolted against him and entered Magadha by force ; but he subdued them. In course of time he raised his nephew Bheyapāla to the throne, and retired to the kingdom of Bati, an island near the mouth of the Ganges, where after five years he died (*chap.* xxxiv). Bheyapāla reigned thirty-two years . . . .' A reference to Wassiljew's *Der Buddhismus* (p. 59 of the German translation) bears this out

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exactly, and so do the following headings of chapters in Schiefner's Tārānātha, viz. :—

XXXI.—Die Begebenheiten zur Zeit des Mahārādscha Mahīpāla,
XXXII.—Die Begebenheiten zur Zeit des Königs Mahāpāla und Çāmupāla ;
XXXIII.—Die Begebenheiten zur Zeit des Königs Tschaṇaka ;
XXXIV.—Die Begebenheiten zur Zeit des Königs Bhejapāla und Nejapāla.

Chaṇaka then (there seems to be no warrant for the form Chāṇakya), was the regent, or rather king, during the non-age of Bheyapāla, lived several years later than Mahīpāla I who is in question here, and was not his minister.

(3) Again, the only references to Karṇāṭas in the Pāla inscriptions cited occur in the following complimentary jingle : Gauḍa-Māḷava-Khaśa-Hūṇa-Kulika-*Karṇṇāṭa*-lāṭa-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sevakādīn-anyāmś-Chākīrttitān svapāda-padmopajīvinaḥ (or °raja-pādopajīvinaḥ). This is not history, but court poetry. Later references to Karṇāṭas have no bearing on the question at issue.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

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## SOME EPIGRAPHIC QUERIES

It is always interesting to compare the views of one scholar with those of another. Dr. Hemchandra Ray has obliged students of History with his excellent work entitled 'The Dynastic History of Northern India'. The students of Epigraphy are also indebted to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for his valuable List of the Inscriptions of Northern India which is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. In many cases however do we find the two scholars express divergent views in regard to the 'Dynastic History of Ancient India'. On page 421 Dr. Ray gives an account of a Copperplate Grant of Tribhuvana-mahādēvī, issued from Śubhēśvara-pāṭaka. In that connexion we are told that 'Tribhuvana-mahādēvī, though at first unwilling to take up the reins of the Government, was at last prevailed upon by a very pious lady named Purāyi-dēvī'. The same inscription has been summarized by Prof. Bhandarkar in No. 1404 of his *List*. It is rather curious that he omits all mention of Purāyi-dēvī though according to Dr. Ray she played a most important part in the life

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of Tribhuvana-mahādēvī. I was wondering how Prof. Bhandarkar could commit the scholarly sin of omitting such an important historical fact, when my attention was drawn to his review of the 'History of Orissa' by R. D. Banerji, published in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 240–42. Here he finds fault with Banerji for having allowed himself to be obsessed with the transcripts and interpretation of his predecessors, notably the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī. There he mentions that Plate of Tribhuvana-mahādēvī just referred to and says that the late M.M. Śāstrī has wrongly read *devi-Purāyi-devyā Śrī-Gosvāminyā* instead of *devi purāpi devyā Śrī-Gosvāminyā*. So that it seems that no pious lady of the name of 'Purāyi' interceded in the matter and that what actually happened was that the feudatory chieftains induced Tribhuvana-mahādēvī to ascend the throne by pointing to the instance of Dēvī-Gosvāminī, as Prof. Bhandarkar no doubt says in his *List*. Fortunately for us the paper on this Plate edited by Haraprasād Śāstrī in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 421ff., has been accompanied by Photo-lithos. And anybody who cares to consult these photo-lithos is inclined to say that after all Prof. Bhandarkar seems to be right. He also reads Guhēśvarapāṭaka instead of Śubhēśvarapāṭaka as read by Śāstrī and following him by Dr. Ray. Dr. Ray most probably has some solid reason for following the reading and interpretations given by Dr. Śāstrī. I, therefore, request him to oblige the scholarly world by elucidating this point thoroughly.

Another point also we may refer to in this connexion. On page 442 of his book Dr. Ray while speaking of an Incomplete Grant of Raṇastambhadeva remarks that 'it records the grant of the village of Jārā in the Jārā-*Khaṇḍa* in the Rāḍhā-*Maṇḍala* . . . .'. This Copperplate also is no doubt edited by Haraprasad Śāstrī and curiously enough he says exactly the same thing in his English account of this grant. This is not however borne out by his own transcript which no doubt speaks of Jārā-village being in Jārā-Khaṇḍa in line 15, but mentions Rāḍhā-Maṇḍala in line 18—as the country to which the grantee originally belonged. Rāḍhā Maṇḍala thus has no connexion with Jārā or Jārā Khaṇḍa. How the late Dr. Śāstrī has done so is not clear to me. Possibly he may be correct. And I therefore request Dr. Ray to defend this statement of Haraprasād Śāstrī which he has followed.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Hemchandra Ray shows himself to be a great Epigraphist. Like the late Dr. J. F. Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Dr. Ray in his own *Dynastic History* has given summaries of the inscriptions. Nay, he has gone one step further. He gives not only the lines contained in an inscription but also a great many other details such as we find in

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articles published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is true that he is not always correct in quoting the number of lines which an epigraph comprises. To take only one instance, the Grant last referred to of Raṇa Stambhadēva, according to him, contains 21 lines. The transcript of the late Dr. Śāstrī however shows 24 lines. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that to all appearances Dr. Ray is a great epigraphist and I therefore humbly request him to enlighten me on the points noted above. There are many other points which have arrested my attention during my perusal of his book which is the most excellent compilation for every student of Ancient Indian History to consult. These I intend to publish in due course of time, because 'वादे वादे जायते तत्त्वबोधः'. A reply from Dr. Ray will help us to decide whether we can write out a reliable history of Ancient India without ourselves being Epigraphists or Sanskritists.

JYOTISH CHANDRA GHATAK.

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## SOMADEVA, THE JAINA POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER OF THE TENTH CENTURY

Somadeva (*c* 950) is known to be a Jaina by faith, but in his *Nītivākyāmrita* there is hardly any trace of Jainism outside of the very first chapter. Indeed, it is throughout 'a-religious'. The treatise is really a book of *Nīti-śāstra*, pure and undefiled. As such Somadeva's work is a fine specimen of tenth century Hindu culture in the realm of social philosophy. The true *Nīti* spirit is embodied in the *Nītivākyāmrita*, in which, therefore, may be seen registered the progress and expansion of 'positivism' during the Indian Middle Ages.

It is indeed questionable if Somadeva is a genuine Jaina when we see that he commences his work with salutation to Ganeśa in the orthodox Brāhmanical manner. Perhaps like many other Jainas he represents in his life and thought the conquest of eclecticism in Brāhmanic-religious intercourse.

What is still more interesting is that in his orientations to group-life, the society and the State, Somadeva is fundamentally at one with Brihaspati, author of the *Sūtra* on *Nīti*. There is nothing to choose between the two in the emphasis on *puruṣakāra*, *pauruṣa*, etc.

The arrow does not shoot out of the bow of itself from the hands of man who depends on *daiva*, says Somadeva (ch. XXIX).

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It is to the person who depends on *pauruṣa* that there is the problem of gain or loss (*pauruṣāvalambinohrthā-narthayoh sandehah*). But to the fellow dependent on *daiva* loss is certain. The relations between *daiva* (luck, chance, fate) and *pauruṣa* (human energy, exertion, manhood) are described as being those between life and medicine. It is with such philosophy of faith in the efficacy of *pauruṣa* as capable of deciding the issue between success and failure or life and death, that Somadeva analyses the relations between man and man, prince and prince, State and State. In his treatise, then, we are to encounter action, active life, the ability to transform the external conditions, activism.

The atmosphere of the *Nītivākyāmrita* introduces us to the fundamental *milieu* of *vikrama* (prowess), *puruṣakāra* (energism), *vijigīṣu* (aspirant to conquest), *sārvabhauma* (world-ruler), and so forth. We are talking the language of Kauṭalya on a large scale. In the *Bārhaspatya-sūtra* the key is Kauṭalyan, materialistic, secular, energistic. But perhaps because it is too short and fragmentary, Kauṭalyism does not come out in an well-formed manner. But Somadeva is out and out Kauṭalyan.

Even the chapters are generally Kauṭalyan in phraseology. The thirty-one *samuddeśas* (topics) are indicated below :—

1. *Dharma* (Duties). 2. *Artha* (Wealth). 3. *Kāma* (Enjoyment). 4. Six enemies. 5. Learning and Age. 6. *Anvīkṣikī* (metaphysics). 7. Trayī (Vedas). 8. *Vārttā* (farming, cattle-breeding, and commerce). 9. *Daṇḍanīti*. 10. Ministers. 11. The Family Priest. 12. The General. 13. The Representative or Ambassador. 14. The Spies. 15. *Vichāra* or Discrimination. 16. The Vices. 17. The King. 18. The Officers. 19. The Country. 20. The Forts. 21. The treasure. 22. The Army. 23. The Ally. 24. Guarding the King against dangers. 25. Daily Routine. 26. Good Conduct. 27. Morals and Manners. 28. Judicial affair. 29. The six *guṇas* (military attitudes or strategy and tactics) *vis à vis* other states. 30. War. 31. Marriage.

The *Nītivākyāmrita* (ch. on the six *guṇas*) has a very significant message. It furnishes hope to everybody, to the small man, to the ruler of the petty State. 'Even when planted on earth carelessly, the tree becomes firm rooted', says he (*avajnāyāpi bhūmāvāropita-starurbhavati vaddhamūlah*). 'Does not likewise the King ? (*Kim punarnabhupatih* ?) That is, a ruler who somehow gets hold of a territory eventually establishes his dominion over it. Indeed, as we are told, nobody's territory is derived from his family (*Na hi kulagatā kasyāpi bhūmih*). The Earth is to be enjoyed only by the

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hero (*vīrabhogyā vasundharā*) '. And that is why even the 'small man' or the ruler of a small territory, provided he be furnished with *upāyas* (diplomatic methods) and prowess as well as lucky in devoted subjects, can become *sārvabhaumah* or universal monarch '.

Somadeva is an uncompromising hater of subjection. In case one is too powerless one should seek protection in order to avoid being meat to others (*śaktihīnah samśrayam kuryatyadi na bhavati pareṣāmamiśam*).

He is discussing the position of the 'small man' in international politics. What is the most expedient policy for a ruler that happens to be weak? Somadeva is emphatic in his answer, which is as follows :—

'For a person with the sense of self-respect death is preferable to disgrace (*apamānena varam mānino maraṇam*) ', says he. Further, 'one should not sell oneself by living according to the will of another (*na parechehhānuvartanenātmavikrayah*) '.

And yet Somadeva is not carried away by idealism too far. He can think of the chances, the hopes, the fortunes of the future relations.

But of course protection is to be sought only in case there be the prospects of an eventual good burning up in the future (*āyatikalyāne sati kasimśchit samvandhe parasamśrayah śreyān*). That is, the weak is not advised to seek protection of others under all circumstances. He must have to consider the pros and cons carefully and then when he decides upon seeking somebody's tutelage he has only to utilize it with a view to the long run effect. It is the conjuncture of circumstances that he has to study all the time.

Finally, it should be observed that in social atmosphere the *Bārhaspatya sūtra* and the *Nītivākyāmrita* are as the poles asunder. In Somadeva (ch. I) the message is one of equality. The highest of all social dealings and attitudes consists in sameness or equality to all beings (*sarvasatlveṣu hi samatā sarvācharaṇānām paramam charaṇam*), says he. It is the farthest removed from Brihaspati's prejudices of all sorts. We are here led to the doctrine of equality *vis à vis* not only men but all sentient beings. And so far as human beings are concerned, Somadeva is equally precise and positive. Among the ways of acquiring *dharma* he attaches the first importance to *ātmavat paratra kuśalavrittichintanam*, i.e. the cultivation of thoughts regarding other people's welfare as regards one's own. In his analysis of *dharma* he propagates the doctrines of *tyāga*, i.e. self-sacrifice or gifts and charities as well as of *tapas*, i.e. the control of senses and the mind. Last but not least, the doctrine of *ahimsā* or non-injury to animals finds its proper place in his moral system.

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Neither in this world nor in the next can any action, we are told, leading to the injury of living beings be productive of good results. The conduct of persons who do not perform *vratas* (ceremonies) but whose minds are not given to killing can lead to heaven (*ajighāmsu-manasām vratariktamapi charitam svargāya jāyate*). In these and similar passages of chapter I entitled *Dharmasamuddeśa* we encounter the catechism of Jaina religion and morals.

A very noteworthy feature of the *Nītivākyāmrita* remains to be mentioned in this estimate, short as it is. Just after offering salutation to Ganeśa, Somadeva offers another salutation. This, however, is not to a god or his *guru* but to the *rājya*, the State. The *rājya* is there conceived by him as *dharmārthaphala*, i.e. as an organism of which the fruits are *dharma* and *artha*. The conception of the king as the maker of time is well-known in *Sukranīti* (I, lines 43-44). It is specially to be observed that Somadeva does not use the category *rājā* or the ruler but *rājya* the entire socio-political complex. In so far as the *rājya* has been adored by the author of the *Nītivākyāmrita* as the source of *dharma* and *artha* he must be credited with having made a contribution of extraordinary value in the history of human thought. It is here that we encounter the doctrine of *étatisme* in a nutshell. It is perhaps the greatest single contribution of the tenth century to Indian social philosophy.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

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## A THEORY OF HEREDITY IN THE AITAREYA UPANISHAD

Attempts to read ideas of modern biologists into the speculations of Upanishadic thinkers may be futile. However, the reading of the interesting and erudite article of Mr. Rulia Ram Kashyap on the ' Parasitology of Atharva Veda ' appeared in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 1, has infected me with the necessary audacity to try to compare a passage of Aitareya Upanishad, with a theory of heredity of some Western biological thinkers. Several highly speculative theories of heredity have been advanced by biologists until August Weismann propounded his theory of the germ-plasm. Of the earlier theories, now discarded, two were by Herbert Spencer and Darwin. Darwin's theory of heredity was known as that of pangenesis. I

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believe, there is, perhaps superficial, a resemblance of Darwin's theory of pangenesis with that of the Aitareya Upanishad.

Darwin's theory of heredity has been summarized by Prof. Weismann thus :—

> 'A multicellular organism, whether animal or vegetable, is gradually built up by cell division : but it is assumed that this method of multiplication is not the only one. Each cell possesses in addition, at each stage of its development, the power of giving off invisible granules or atoms, which, at a later period and under certain conditions, can develop again into cells similar to those from which they originated. Numbers of these gemmules are given off continually from all cells of the body and conveyed into the blood, and thus circulate through the body, finally settling down in some part, principally in those regions in which the development of the offspring will take place later on, i.e. in buds or germ cells. As gemmules from all the cells of the body are aggregated in these cells, they invest the latter with the power of developing into a new and complete organism.'
>
> (*The Germ-plasm : A theory of heredity by August Weismann, Introduction, p. 8.*)

Darwin's above theory of heredity, I believe, has a resemblance to that of the Aitareya Upanishad embodied in the following passage :—

> 'Purushe ha vā ayamāditō garbhō bhavati ; tadetat sarvébhyo'ngebhyo saṁbhutamātmanyevātmana bibharti ; tadyadā striyaṁ siñcatyatainajjanayati tadasya pratamaṁ janma.' (II, 4.)

Dr. E. Roer translates the above passage thus :—

> 'The (individual soul) exists at first as a fœtus (in the form of seed) in man. This is the seed which is the essence (of the body) produced from all parts. He bears this self (ātma, the fœtus in the form of seed) even in his own self (body, ātma). When it (the seed) touches the woman, then he (the father) produces it. This is the first birth of him (of the individual soul in the form of seed).'
>
> (*The Twelve Principal Upanishads, p. 247.*)

The comments of Amaradāsa on 'Tadetat sarvébhyo'ngébhyastéjah' of the above passage makes the resemblance to that of Darwin more explicit :—

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'Tat, purushē garbhatvēnōktam; etat, retah; sarvēbhyō, nikhilébhyah; angébhyah, purushāvayavébhyah; tejah saṁbhutaṁ, sārabhutaṁ nirgataṁ bhavati.'

(*Ekādaśō panishadah, with the commentaries of Amaradāsa, Nityānanda, etc., p. 229.*)

MARTIN WICKRAMASINGHE.

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## NOTES ON KOŚALA

In his *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature* (M.A.S.I., No. 50) Dr. B. C. Law has examined certain views about the history and geography of Kośala that have been put forward in the *Political History of Ancient India*. The author of the last mentioned work had to cramp up so much matter within one single volume that further discussions in regard to some of the topics may not be deemed to be unnecessary. The following note deals with some of the points raised by Dr. B. C. Law in his interesting treatise :—

I. *Jiyasattū* (*P.H.A.I.*, 3rd Ed., 133).

With regard to the epithet *Jiyasattū* the opinion has been expressed by the author of the *P.H.A.I.* that like *Devānaṁpiya* it is a '*common* designation of *kings*', *i.e.* it is *not a personal* name of *an individual* ruler. This view is based on two grounds : firstly, the designation is actually assumed by the *rulers* of *several* cities, i.e. Ālabhiyā, Sāvatthī, Kampilla, Mithilā, Champā, Vāṇiyagāma, Bārāṇasī, and Polāsapura (*P.H.A.I.*, 3rd ed., 133). It is idle to surmise that Sāvatthī and all other cities mentioned here including Champā obeyed only *one* ruler about the time of which the *Uvāsagadasāo* speaks. Secondly, *Jiyasattū* means, as Dr. B. C. Law himself points out, 'vanquisher of enemies', 'conqueror' (*Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, p. 11) and it may be learnt from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* that every ruler consecrated with Hindu ritual was entitled to the epithet '*Amitrāṇām hantā*', i.e. destroyer of enemies (*P.H.A.I.*, 125).[1]

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[1] Dr. Raychaudhuri has still to refute Dr. Rudolph Hœrnle whose opinion is cited in my 'Śrāvastī in Indian Literature' (p. 12, f.n. 1), suggesting that 'Jiyasattu' was the same person as King Cheḍaga of Vesālī. The Jainas persistently claim that eighteen gaṇarājās obeyed the command of Cheḍaga. Assuming that one Ajātaśatru is mentioned in the Upaniṣads as a king of Kāśī and another Ajātaśatru is mentioned in the Pāli texts as a king of Magadha, it does not reasonably follow that Ajātaśatru,

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II. Five rājās mentioned in connection with Pasenadi.

The passage '*Atha kho te pañcharājāno Pasenadi-pamukhā yena Bhagavā tenupasankamiṁsu*' has been commented on for the first time on p. 110f. of the *Political Hisory of Ancient India*, 3rd Edition. It has not been thought necessary to repeat what has been stated there again on p. 133 of the book. It is distinctly mentioned on pp. 110-11 that the *Saṁyukta Nikāya* refers to Pasenadi as the head of a group of five rājās. In discussing their identity it is pointed out that one of these was probably Pasenadi's brother who was the viceroy of Kāśī. Among the remaining rājās should perhaps be included the prince of Setavyā mentioned in the *Pāyāsi Suttanta*, Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya who was a contemporary of Śukeśa Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana (and consequently of Buddha and Pasenadi, if the identification of Āśvalāyana Kausalya with Assalāyana of Sāvatthī mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya be correct), and lastly the chief of Kapilavastu who is often referred to as a Rājā.[1]

III. Eighteen of *Gaṇarājas* of Kāśī-Kośala.

Dr. B. C. Law accepts Dr. Barua's interpretation which takes the expression 'eighteen *gaṇarājas*' 'as a totalling of the nine Lichchhavis and nine Mallakis, Buddhaghosha expressly referring to the Vajjis as *gaṇarājas*'. But Buddhaghosha's reference, late as it is, does not necessarily mean that there were no other *gaṇarājas* besides the Vajjis or that the Vajjis occupied part of Kāśī-Kośala. Dr. Law himself points out that 'it is impossible to think that in Buddha's time either Cheḍaga, the king of Videha and Vesālī was also the ruler of Kāśī and Kośala, or Jiyasattū, the king of Kāśī-Kośala, was also the ruler of Videha and Vesālī'. (*Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, p. 12, n. 1.) He also refers to the rulers of Kāśī-

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like Brahmadatta of the Jātakas, was a general title of kings. We have tried to show that the Jaina literature in which 'Jiyasattu' occurs, particularises it and restricts it to one king in Mahāvīra's time. In other words, we are concerned with that Jiyasattu alone who is represented as a contemporary of Mahāvīra.—B. C. Law.

[1] The explanation offered by Dr. Raychaudhuri does not clear up the point in the occurrence of the expression 'pañcarājāno Pasenadi-pamukhā' in the Saṁyutta-Nikāya. As he suggests, the king of Kāśī was one of the four-sub-kings, the 'prince' (rather, chieftain, rājañña) of Setavyā, perhaps, another, and the chief of Kapilavastu, perhaps, the third. There is evidently no suggestion about the fourth sub-king. On the other hand, our own suggestion (Śrāvastī in Indian Literature, p. 12) is: 'It may, perhaps, be safely assumed from the Jaina list, in the Uvāsagadasāo of five cities, in the dominions of Jitaśatru, that each one of them was nothing but the principal town of each of the five components of the kingdom, Sāvatthī of Kośala proper, Bārāṇasī of Kāśī, Ālabhī of Ālabhī, Kampillapura of Uttara-pañcāla and Polāsapura of similar integral part'.—B. C. Law.

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Kośala, the nine Lichchhavis and the nine Mallakis as 'an entente of *three* powers'. (*Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, p. 12, n. 1 and p. 13.)

The relevant text runs thus : (*P.H.A.I.*, 3rd Ed., p. 90, n. 1).

*'Nava Mallai nava Lechchhai Kāśī Kosalasya aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇarāyaṇo.'*

The passage has reference to the time of Mahāvīra. If Dr. Barua's interpretation is to be accepted then the nine Lichchhavis and the nine Mallakis are to be identified with the eighteen *gaṇarājas* who belonged to Kāśī-Kośala (*Kāsi Kosalasya*). In other words, both the Lichchhavis and the Mallakis according to this view, had their home in, or were politically subject to, Kāśī-Kośala in the time of Mahāvīra. But all evidence connects the Lichchhavis of the period with the Vajjis of North Bihār (Vaiśālī) and the Mallakis with the region (Kusinārā and Pāvā) intervening between the Vajji territory and the Kośala Mahājanapada. So far as we know there is no suggestion in any Buddhist or Jaina text that either the Lichchhavis or the Mallas (Mallakis) actually occupied any *grāma* or *nigama* in Kāśī-Kośala, or that the political boundaries of Kāśī-Kośala as known to Jainas or Buddhists in the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra definitely embraced North Bihār. A late legend represents the Lichchhavis as scions of the old royal house of Kāśī and in a certain story a Mallian is spoken of as a general of Pasenadi. These references cannot be taken to mean that the great *janapadas* of Vajji and Malla were geographically included in or were politically subject to Kāśī-Kośala as known to the Buddhists and Jainas in the sixth century B.C.

The *gaṇarājas* who are actually known to have been included within the realm of Kośala are the Kālāmas of Kesaputta and the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. Regarding the Kālāmas attention may be invited to the *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 131 and n. 8 and to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, pt. I, 188 (P.T.S.) :—

*'Ekam samayam Bhagavā Kosalesu cārikaṃ cāramāno mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ yena Kesaputtam nāma Kālāmānaṃ nigamo tad avasari.'* Regarding the Śākya territory evidence is furnished not only by the introductory portion of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* (No. 465) but by the *Aggañña Suttanta* (*Trans. Dialogues*, pt. III, 80 ; *P.H.A.I.*, 3rd ed., p. 111). The relevant passages in the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* and the *Aggañña Suttanta* are quoted below :—

*'Sākiyā dūtavacanam sutvā sannipatitvā mantayiṁsu ; "mayaṁ Kosalarañño āṇāpavattiṭṭhāne vasāma, sace dārikaṁ na dassāma mahantaṁ veraṁ bhavissati, sace dassāma kulavaṁso no bhijjissati, kin nu kho kattabban" ti.'* (Fausboll, IV, 145.)

*'Śakyā kho pana Vāseṭṭha rañño Pasenadi-Kosalassa anu-*

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*yuttā bhavanti. Karonti kho Vāseṭṭha Sakyā rañño Pasenadimhi Kosale nipaccakāraṃ abhivādanaṃ paccuṭṭhānaṃ añjalikammaṃ sāmīci-kammaṃ.'* (*Dīgha Nikāya*, III. P.T.S., 83.)

From the references quoted above it is clear that the statement (*P.H.A.I.*, 70) that the Śākyas were included among the people subject to Kośala, is not at all unjustified as contended on p. 16 of *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*.

When Kośala is ('roughly speaking') equated with Oudh (*P.H.A.I.*, 70) it is only intended to suggest that the *mahājanapada* of that name, which is distinguished from Pañchāla, Vatsa, Kāśī, Malla, Vajji, etc. in the *Aṅguttara* list, covered '*roughly speaking*' the area included within the modern territory of Oudh. It is no doubt possible to indulge in vague generalities about the extent of Kośala in the sixth century B.C. but until definite evidence is forthcoming it is difficult to believe that the *mahājanapada* of that name included either Kampilla in Pañchāla in the west or the Vajji-Lichchhavi State in North Bihār in the east. The fact that of the *mahājanapadas* mentioned in the *Aṅguttara* list Kāśī and Kośala are the only States definitely assigned to Pasenadi in early Buddhist literature, while Malla and Vajji are equally definitely mentioned as separate States under a different form of government, suggests that the kingdom of Pasenadi was not so big as some writers would have us believe.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

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## ON A POINT OF INTERPRETATION

The enigmatic expression *nava Malla-i nava Lechha-i Kāsī-Kosalagā aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇarāyāno* occurs in two places of the Jaina Āgama, first, in the Kalpasūtra, in connection with Mahāvīra's demise; and secondly, in the Nirayāvalī Sūtra, in connection with the war between Ceḍaga (Ceṭaka), the applauded king of Vesālī, and Kūṇiya (Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru), the usurper king of Magadha. Prof. Jacobi, evidently following the authority of the commentary, translates it: 'The eighteen confederate kings of Kāsī and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis'. In a footnote to his above rendering, Prof. Jacobi observes: 'According to the Jainas, the Licchavis and Mallakis were the chiefs of Kāśī and Kośala. They seem to have succeeded the Aikṣvākas who ruled there in the times of the Rāmāyaṇa'.[1]

[1] Jaina Sūtras, S.B.E., Part II, p. 321.

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Dr. Raychaudhuri takes the expression in the Kalpasūtra to refer ' to nine Mallakis as having formed a league with nine Licchavis and the eighteen *gaṇarājas* of Kāsī-Kosala ' (Political History, 3rd Ed., p. 90). As for the possibility of there being ' eighteen *gaṇarājas* of Kāsī-Kosala ', Dr. Raychaudhuri cites a Pāli reference locating the settlement of the Kālāmas in Kosala, and two references, each of which indicates that the Sākyas were Khattiyas acknowledging some sort of suzerainty of king Pasenadi of Kosala. Thus the presumption raised is that there were eighteen *gaṇarājas* of Kāsī-Kosala in addition to the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, all of whom were united by an alliance between them.

According to the Jaina Kalpasūtra, they were the various peoples who observed religious fasts and arranged for illuminations in honour of the demise of Mahāvīra, while according to the Nirayāvalī Sūtra, they were the peoples who rallied together at the bidding of Ceḍaga, the all-powerful king of Vesālī, whose supremacy they had evidently acknowledged.

The expression, as explained in the Kalpadrumakalikāvyākhyā, refers to nine chiefs of Kāśī, all of Mallakī origin, and nine chiefs of Kośala, all of Lecchakī origin, making up together eighteen *gaṇarājas*, all sāmantas or vassal chiefs under the supremacy of Ceṭaka, maternal uncle of Mahāvīra :—

> Kāśīdeśasya adhipāḥ Mallakīgotriyā navarājānaḥ, tathā Kośaladeśasya adhipāḥ Lecchakīgotriyā, navarājānaḥ, etc. aṣṭādaśa nṛpāḥ śrī-Mahāvīrasya mātulaś Ceṭako rājā, tasya aṣṭādaśa nṛpāḥ sāmantā aṣṭādaśagaṇarājānaḥ tair aṣṭādaśa-nṛpaiḥ :

As I interpret it, the expression signifies ' the nine Mallas and the nine Licchavis, on the whole, eighteen *gaṇarājas* (ruling clans) who were Kāsī-Kosalagā in the sense that they derived their family prestige from their original connection with the dynasties of Kāśī and Kośala '.

Thus the two interpretations, the first suggested by the Jaina Commentator and the second by me, agree as to the number eighteen prefixed to *gaṇarājas* representing a total made up of nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis but differ as to the meaning of the phrase Kāsī-Kosalagā or Kāsī-Kosalakā.

That the phrase Kāsī-Kosalakā (adopting the reading in the Nirayāvaliya text), as used in such a context, has no other sense but one suggested above may be evident from the following facts :—

(1) That the Pāli legend accounting for the origin of the

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Licchavis distinctly shows that they traced back their descent to an ancient king of Kāśī.[1]

(2) That the Licchavis of Vesālī and the Mallas of Kusīnārā equally belonged to the Vaśiṣṭha gotra, both being referred to in Pāli as Vāseṭṭhas.[2]

(3) That the Sākyas who ranked among the *gaṇarājas* of the time called themselves or were known as Kosalakā, although they actually lived in their own territory Kapilavatthu, and Kapilavatthu is nowhere located in Kośala. In the Dhammacetiya-sutta (Majjhima-Nikāya, II), king Pasenadi of Kośala is represented as saying to Buddha : 'Bhagavā pi Kosalako, aham pi Kosalako', 'The Blessed One is a man of Kosala as I am'. And in the Pabbajjā-Sutta (Sutta-nipāta), the Buddha is represented as describing the Sākyas as *Kosalesu niketino*, which is just another way of saying that they were Kosalakā. Kern translates '*Kosalesu niketino*' by 'the inhabitants of Kośala', which is rather wide of the mark. The Sākyas were Kosalakā not as inhabitants of Kosala but as Kosalans. The point is clearly explained in the Sutta-nipāta-Commentary (Paramattha-jotikā, II, p. 385) :—

> *Kosalesu niketino ti bhaṇanto navakarājabhāvaṁ paṭikkhipati. Navakarājā hi niketī ti na vuccati. Yassa pana ādikālato pabhuti anvayavasena so eva janapado nivāso so niketī ti vuccati.*

'In speaking of the Sākyas as "those of the Kosala House", the idea of their being upstarts in kingly tradition is avoided. An upstart in such tradition is not to be called one of a royal house'. 'That place which is the place of one's origin continues to be known as one's traditional home, and he is called a man of the royal house of that place.'

B. M. Barua.

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## VṚṢALA

In *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 595f., Mr. Sushil K. Bose has published a note in which he points out that the words *vṛṣala* means in some cases 'a heretic' and not 'Śūdra', the dictionary meaning of the word. The same conclusion, based on practically identical grounds, was long ago reached by me in an article on the caste of

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[1] Paramattha-jotikā (Khuddakapāṭha-Commentary), I, p. 158; B. C. Law's Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, p. 16.

[2] B. C. Law's Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, pp. 13-14.

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Candragupta Maurya.[1] In it I sought to disprove the hypothesis of Mr. Harit Krishna Deb[2] that in the *Mudrārākṣasa* we ought to read *vṛṣabha* instead of *vṛṣala*, and futher proceeded to establish that the original meaning of the word was 'a heretic'. Two years later, Mr. Deb independently considered the same evidences and in both the cases came to the same conclusion.[3]

A passage in the *Arthaśāstra*, iii 20, has been quoted by all of us in this connexion :

> śākyājīvakādīn vṛṣala-pravrajitān deva-pitṛ-kāryeṣu bhojayataḥ śatyo daṇḍdaḥ.

I held at that time and still now hold that *śākyājīvakādīn* in the passage can only be regarded as an adjective to *vṛṣala-pravrajitān*. But here we may consider the Vasalasutta of the *Suttanipāta*,[4] in which a Brāhmaṇa addresses Buddha as *muṇḍaka*, *samaṇaka* and *vasalaka*. Buddha then proceeds to explain who is a real *vṛṣala* and what are the actions that go to make a man a *vṛṣala* (*vasalaṁ vā vasalakaraṇe vā dhamme*). In the list of such actions we find cheating, hypocrisy, theft, etc. Buddha is here doubtlessly repeating his favourite doctrine that it is the conduct and not the birth that decides the status of a man, as would appear from the following *gāthā* occurring in the same Sutta :

> na jaccā vasalo hoti na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo
> kammanā vasalo hoti kammanā hoti brāhmaṇo

*Vasala*=*vṛṣala* here cannot denote anything but a caste, no doubt the Śūdra caste.

Buddhaghosa takes pains to explain why the Brāhmaṇa should have called the Kṣatriya Gautama a *vṛṣala*[5] :

> vasale vā pabbājetvā tehi saddhiṁ ekato sambhoga-paribhoga-karaṇena patīto (*sic.* patito) ayaṁ vasalato pi pāpataro 'ti jigucchanto *vasalakā* ti āha.

According to Buddhaghosa therefore Buddha was called *vṛṣala* because he admitted low-born persons to his order and freely associated with them. For the same reason the author of the *Arthaśāstra* might have called the Buddhists and Ājīvakas *vṛṣala-pravrajita*.

But what does the word mean in the *Mudrārākṣasa*? Mr. Deb in his second article thinks that it is used by the dramatist as a

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[1] *IHQ.*, vi, 271 f. In *Indian Culture*, ii, 558, I have the gratification of seeing this article referred to, and my interpretation of *vṛṣala* accepted by Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri.

[2] *JBORS.*, iv, 91 f. [3] *IHQ.*, viii, 466 f.

[4] *Suttanipāta*, Anderson and Smith, 21 f.

[5] *Paramatthajotikā, II*, P.T.S., i, 175.

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'personal name' and that it may have been no more than 'a permanent epithet' traditionally applied to him [Candragupta], and that the dramatist, or the traditional he followed,[1] may have converted the epithet into a name. Mr. Bose on the other hand thinks that in the drama itself the word has been used in the sense of 'a heretic'. 'What could', he asks, 'Kauṭilya gain by constantly reminding the king of his lower social status, if Vṛṣala at all implied it in that early period?' I quote below what I wrote on this point in my previous article: 'What could Cāṇakya gain by constantly drawing pointed attention to his master's low caste? The reply to this question is given in the drama itself, when a Kañcukin, wondering at the power of Cāṇakya, says:

तत् स्थाने खलु वृषलो देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः...[2]

निरीहाणामीशस्तृणमिव तिरस्कारविषयः ॥'

'It is proper that king Candragupta would be a Vṛṣala to him. To the desireless, kings are objects of disrespect, as if they were straws.'

On the basis of this passage I think that even though the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* may have used *vṛṣala* as a traditional title or personal name of Candragupta, he did it with the full consciousness that the word meant 'a Śūdra', or, at any rate, 'a low-born one', 'one who can be slighted'.

Mr. Bose concludes his note by saying that the Purāṇas relegate the Mauryas to the status of the Śūdras. Of all the Purāṇa texts utilized by Pargiter, not one has anything about the Śūdra origin of the Mauryas. It has been already pointed out by others that the line *tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno bhaviṣyāḥ śūdra-yonayaḥ* or *tato nṛpā bhaviṣyanti śūdra-prāyās tv adhārmikāḥ*, occurring in the Purāṇas after the so-called Śaiśunāga dynasty, must not be taken to refer to all the kings that follow, but only to the Nandas, as we must exclude the Śuṇgas and the Kāṇvas, who were certainly not Śūdras.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

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[1] On the basis of a passage in Dhanika's commentary on Dhanañjayas's *Daśarūpa*, I held that the *Bṛhatkathā* was the original of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. Mr. C. D. Chatterji thinks that the passage in the commentary is an interpolation, or, at least Gaṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā* is not the source of the drama (*Indian Culture*, i, 209 f). Even if it could be established that no version of the *Bṛhatkathā* was utilized by Viśākhadatta, we can only say that Dhanika was misinformed when he wrote that the *Mudrārākṣasa* was *Bṛhatkathā-mūla*.

[2] *Mudrārākṣasa*, iii, 16, v, 1. वृषलोद्यश्चन्द्रगुप्तः.

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# GEOGRAPHICAL DATA FROM THE MAHĀVAṀSA AND ITS COMMENTARY

The Mahāvaṁsa, a Pāli chronicle of Ceylon, was written by Mahānāma in the fifth century A.D. It surely contains germs of historical truth, buried deep in a mass of absurd fables and marvellous tales. It is full of information of variegated nature but tact and caution are required to separate fact from fiction. The commentary on this Sinhalese chronicle called the Vaṁsatthapakāsinī was written by an unknown author, recently edited for the Government of Ceylon, by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, and published by the Pāli Text Society of London. The text and the commentary contain many geographical data important in the history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon. They no doubt add much to our knowledge. In this note we have attempted to gather together geographical references from the text and the commentary with their proper identifications as far as possible. The geographical information has been noticed here under two sections : (1) India, and (2) Ceylon.

## I

Siddhārtha gradually went to Rājagaha (modern Rājgir) for alms after having received ordination on the bank of the river Anomā.[1] He sat in the Paṇḍava[2] mountain cave and was afterwards invited by the Magadhan king (Mv. Comm., p. 66). Buddha ate rice gruel given by Sujātā on the bank of the Nerañjarā river[3] (ibid., p. 66). On the full-moon day of Phussa, the inhabitants of Aṅga[4] and Magadha[5] performed the great sacrifice of Uruvelakassapa (ibid., p. 52). They set apart a day for the great sacrificial gift (ibid., p. 89). At the foot of the Bo-tree at Uruvelā in Magadha Buddha obtained supreme knowledge. Uruvelā (in ancient Buddhagayā in Gayā District) means a big sandy embankment (ibid., p. 84).

Dakkhiṇagiri[6] was a country reached after encircling Rājagaha (ibid., p. 323). It was visited by Mahāmahinda thera. Vedisagiri

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[1] According to Cunningham Anomā is the river Aumi in the district of Gorakhpur but Carlleyle identifies this river with the Kudawa-nadī in the Basti district of Oudh.

[2] This mountain encircles Giribraja, ancient Rājagaha, modern Rājgir.

[3] Nīlājàna ; cf. Thūpavaṁsa, B. C. Law's edition, p. 83.

[4] It comprises the modern districts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr. Aṅga was a tract of land lying midway between the villages of Aṅga and Magadha.

[5] It roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gayā districts of Bihar.

[6] Dakkhiṇagiri Janapada (Vedisā), the capital of which was Ujjenī.

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was also visited by him who stayed at Vedisagiri-mahāvihāra[1] (ibid., p. 321). Jetavana has been described to have been laid out and reared by Prince Jeta (ibid., 102).

Pāṭaliputra[2] has been described as the chief city of the whole continent of India (Jambudīpa, Mv. Ch. XV. It was so called because it was full of Jambu trees, Mv. Comm., p. 331). It was ruled by Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta, belonging to the family of the Moriyas,[3] who were Kṣatriyas,[4] after the death of his father. Mahāvana vihāra[5] and Laṭṭhivana[6] are said to have been situated near Vesālī[7] and Rājagaha respectively (ibid., p. 520 and p. 546).

Some princes made Kusāvatī[8] their resting place, some Rājagaha and some Mithilā[9] (ibid., p. 125).

Mention is made of eight principal capital cities including Benares (ibid., p. 67). At Sārnāth a group of five monks became the first disciples of the Buddha (ibid., p. 70). The descendants of Duppasaha ruled the city of Benares, besides 84,000 kings (ibid., p. 127).

The descendants of king Arindama governed the city of Ayujjha which is no other than Ayodhyā.[10]

The descendants of Ajitajina made Kapila city (Kapilavatthu) their capital (Mv. Comm., p. 127).

Mithilā, Rājagaha, and Campā[11] were governed by the descendants of Nāgadeva, Samuddadatta, and Mahinda respectively (ibid., pp. 128-129).

The commentator points out that Mithilā was also ruled by the descendants of Makhādeva (ibid., p. 129).

Sumitta was the king who had three sons by the daughter of the Madda king (Mahāvaṁsa, Chap. VIII). Madda country lay between the Rāvī and the Chenāb roughly identical with the country round the modern district of Sialkot.

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[1] Abode of the mother of Mahinda (Samantapāsādikā, p. 70).

[2] Capital of the Magadhan Kingdom in Aśoka's time.

[3] As to the origin of the Moriyas and their connection with the Maurya rulers of Magadha (*vide* B. C. Law, Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, pp. 211–213).

[4] M. Comm., p. 180.

[5] It was a monastery in Ancient Vajji country mentioned by Fā Hien in his travels.

[6] About 2 miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gayā.

[7] Modern Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district.

[8] Identical with later Kuśīnārā.

[9] Modern Tirhut in Bihar.

[10] On the Sarajū river in the Fyzabad district of the United Provinces.

[11] The actual site of Campā, ancient capital of Aṅga, is probably marked by the two villages, Campānagara and Campāpura, that still exist in Bhāgalpur.

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The city of Kosambī[1] was ruled by the descendants of Baladatta (Mv. Comm., p. 128).

Takkasīlā,[2] Kusinārā,[3] and Indapattha[4] were ruled by the descendants of Divaṅkara, Tālissara, and Sivi respectively (ibid., pp. 128-129).

Ariṭṭhapura[5] and Hatthipura[6] had the descendants of Dhammagutta and Brahmadatta as their rulers (ibid., pp. 127-128).

According to the commentator, the inhabitants of Pāveya are known as Pāveyyakas[7] and those of Avanti[8] as Avantis (ibid., p. 159).

Amaravatī[9] is mentioned as the kingdom of king Sumedha who renounced the world (ibid., p. 120; cf. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, p. 83). According to the commentator the term Vaṅgā refers to the princes inhabitating the country of Vaṅga[10] (Vaṅgajanapada). Vaṅga has also been described as a country inhabited by the Vaṅgas themselves (ibid., p. 243—tesaṁ nivāso eko pi janapado rūḷhisaddena Vaṅgā ti vuccati; cf. Dīpavaṁsa, p. 54). The commentator gives no information about the king of Rāḍha (ibid., p. 244).

The kingdom of Avanti was ruled by Prince Aśoka as a viceroy (ibid., p. 324). It has been noticed by the commentator that Ujjenī[11] was given to him by his father, Bindusāra (ibid., p. 198).

The Buddha went to the Himalayas, washed his body and finished ablution in the Anotatta lake.[12] He spent the whole day in meditation on the Manosilā mountain (ibid., p. 71; cf. Jātaka, III, p. 379).

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[1] Modern Kosam in Allahabad on the Jumnā, capital of the Vatsas.

[2] Modern Taxila.

[3] A town of the Mallas in modern Nepal.

[4] Near modern Delhi.

[5] In north Central Province, north of Habarana.

[6] Built by a son of the king of Ceti on the spot where he saw a white royal elephant. Hatthipura may be taken to represent Hastināpura traditionally identified with an old town in Mawāna tahsil, 22 m. N.E. of Meerut (CAGI., p. 702).

[7] cf. Thūpavaṁsa (B. C. Law), p. 33.

[8] Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Malwa Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Ancient Avanti was divided into two parts, the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti Dakkhiṇāpatha had its capital at Māhiṣmatī.

[9] It is identical with the modern city of Amaraoti close to the rivers of Dharanikotta, a mile west of ancient Amarāvatī, on the Kṛṣṇā famous for its ruined stūpa; cf. Thūpavaṁsa, Ed. B. C. Law, PTS, p. 2.

[10] It is identical with modern Eastern Bengal. It did not stand as a name for the entire province as it does now.

[11] Now Ujjain in the Gwalior State, old capital of Avanti.

[12] It was one of the seven lakes of the Himavantapadesa.

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Arimaddana brought alms from Uttarakuru [1] and ate them in the evening at the Anotatta lake. The holy water of this lake was used during the coronation ceremony. It was besprinkled over the head of the prince (Mv. Comm., 306).

Close to the Chaddanta lake stood a tree which used to fulfil human wishes (ibid., p. 195). From this lake an elephant called Chaddanta brought its son (ibid., p. 442). Besides, there was another lake in the Himalayas known as Aravāla (ibid., p. 312).

There is a great monastery on the Kailāśa mountain (ibid., p. 598). Kukkuṭārāma [2] was a monastery visited by Thera Sonaka.

The commentator simply refers to the Aparantaka [3] or western India where the Thera Mahārakkhita was sent (ibid., p. 312). Vijaya landed at the port of Suppāraka [4] (Mv. VI).

The Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra,[5] the Thera Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala,[6] the Thera Rakkhita to Vanavāsa, [7] Dhammarakkhita to Aparantaka, Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha,[8] Mahārakkhita to the country of the Yona,[9] Majjhima to the Himalaya country, and the two theras, Sona and Uttara, to the Suvaṇṇabhūmi [10] (Mv., XII). From Alasanda [11] came the Thera Yonadhammarakkhita with thirty thousand bhikkhus. From the Vinjhā forest [12] mountains came the Thera Uttara with sixty thousand bhikkhus (Mv. XXIX). Eḷāra, a Damiḷa of noble descent, came from Coḷa [13] country and ruled righteously for many years (Mv. XXI). Madhurā (Mv. VII) was a city where the ministers of Vijaya sent gifts to king Paṇḍu to win his daughter for that king.

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[1] The Kuru country mentioned in the Ṛgveda is probably the Uttara Kuru of later times which is alluded to in the Pāli literature as a mythical region. A country north of Kāśmīr mentioned in the Vedic and Paurānic literature.

[2] A monastery at Pāṭaliputta.

[3] It comprises modern Gujarat, Kathiawar and the sea-coast districts.

[4] Or Surpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Thana district, north of Bombay.

[5] Modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.

[6] Identical with Mandhāta island on the Narmadā. Ancient capital—Māhiṣmatī, a district south of the Vindhyā.

[7] Modern Vanavāsī in North Canara.

[8] Modern Mahārāṣṭra.

[9] The foreign settlements on the North-Western Frontier perhaps identical with Græco-Bactria.

[10] Modern Pegu.

[11] Alexandria, the town founded by Alexander in the Paropanisadæi country.

[12] Vinjhāṭavī, the Vindhyā mountain with its dense forest.

[13] Ancient Choḷa country, the capital of which was Kāñcipuram, modern Conjeeveram.

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## II

The Mahāvaṁsa commentary furnishes a good deal of information regarding cities, mountains, hills, islands, lakes, hermitages, shrines, etc., of Laṅkā.

Anurādhapura[1] was an ancient city of Ceylon, situated near the Kadamba river. On the bank of the river Gambhīra, the priest Upatissa built Upatissagāma to the north of Anurādhapura (Mv. Comm., p. 261). Anurādhapura was so called because (1) it was situated by two Anurādhas, and (2) it was built on the Anurādha Nakkhatta day (ibid., p. 293). It was nine yojanas in extent (ibid., p. 449). It was ruled for some time by the Damiḷas[2] (ibid., p. 616). It was also ruled by Iḷanāga for six years (ibid., p. 646) and by Yasalālakatissa for seven years and eight months (ibid., p. 647). Sirīsavatthu and Laṅkānagara[3] were two other cities (ibid., p. 259). Besides, there were other cities, e.g., Rohaṇa[4] ruled by Goṭhābhaya (ibid., p. 430), Girilaka (ibid., p. 479) which was greatly under the influence of the Damiḷas. Kalahanagara (Mv. X) known as the battle town lies to the south of Mineri tank (Maṇihīrā) not far from the left bank of the Ambangaṅga. Tambapaṇṇidīpa[5] appeared like a decorated interior of a caitya (Mv. Comm., p. 550). Mention is made of another city called Mahāgāmaṇi where the king lived for four months after killing the Damiḷas on the bank of the Ganges (ibid., p. 476). Dvāramaṇḍala is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa (Ch. X). It is near the Cetiyapabbata mountain (Mihintale) east of Anurādhapura. Sīhapara was the city so called because it was inhabited by a sīha or lion (Mv. Comm., p. 250). There is a reference to Vaḍḍhamānapura (ibid., p. 353; cf. Dīpavaṁa, p. 82). The Pulindas are mentioned as a barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Mahāvaṁsa, Geiger's tr., p. 60, f.n. 5). Ambatthala is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa (Ch. XIII). It is immediately below the Mihintale mountain in Ceylon.

There were several gardens in Ceylon, e.g., Mahātittha near Abhayapura (Mv. Comm., p. 349) and Mahā-Anoma (ibid., p. 353). During the reign of king Mahāsena the bhikkhus living at Jetavana were called Sāgalikas (ibid., p. 175). King Mahāsena had the Jeta-

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[1] It was the ancient capital of Ceylon but is now in ruins; cf. Dīpavaṁsa, pp. 57-58.

[2] Damiḷa, the Tamil country.

[3] It is also called Laṅkādīpa, modern Ceylon.

[4] cf. Thūpavaṁsa, B. C. Law's Ed., p. 56.

[5] It is Ceylon which was meant in ancient times as Pārasamudra (*vide* Law, GEB, pp. 70-71).

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vana vihāra built in a garden called Jotivana (ibid., p. 681). There were forests in Ceylon, e.g., Nandanavana [1] and Mahāmeghavana.[2]

A stūpa was built at Rāmagāmaka on the banks of the Ganges (ibid., p. 565).

There was a lake called Abhayavāpī (ibid., p. 497 ; Mv. Ch. X) which was laid out by King Paṇḍukābhaya himself. It is the tank now called Basawak-kulam (Parker's Ancient Ceylon, pp. 360 foll.). Water was drawn by a wheel from it (Mv. Comm., p. 629).

There were a port in the country of Rohaṇa called Sakkharasobbha (Mv. Comm., p. 643), a big road from the river Kadamba to the Cetiya mountain (ibid., p. 635), and a tank called Kolambagamīka (ibid., p. 653). Dīghavāpī (Mv., p. 10), Tissavāpī (Mv., p. 160), Maṇihīra (Mv., p. 324), and Kālivāpī (Mv., p. 299) may be mentioned as the four important tanks. Dīghavāpī is probably the modern Kandiya-kaṭṭu tank in the eastern province of Ceylon. Tissavāpī is a tank near Mahāgāma. Manihīrā is the modern Minneriya, a tank near Polonnaruwa. Kālivāpī was built by King Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaḷu-oya or Goṇa nadī. There is a reference to Padumapokkharaṇī (Mv. Comm., p. 633).

There was a mountain named Anulatissa (Mv. Comm., p. 659). The Chāta mountain was on the south-western side of Anurādhapura and more than two yojanas in extent (ibid., p. 300). Udumbara was also a mountain situated near a village very close to the Ganges (ibid., p. 287). The Kāsa mountain (Mv., Ch. X) is probably near the modern Kahagalagāma or the village of the Kaha mountain about eighteen miles south-east from Anurādhapura. Ariṭṭhapabbata (Mv., X) is identified with Riṭigala, North-Central Province, north of Habarna. Besides, there were other mountains, e.g., Malaya,[3] Abhayagiri,[4] Sīlakūṭa,[5] Cetiyapabbata,[6] and Missakapabbata.[7] The commentator refers to the Sumanakūṭa, a hill, resided by a king named Sumana (ibid., pp. 114-115).

There were caves, e.g., Cittapassa (Mv. Comm., 290), Mahindaguhā (ibid., p. 607).

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[1] Mv., p. 126. Nandanavana stretched between Mahāmeghavana and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura.

[2] Mv., pp. 10 and 126. Mahāmeghavana stretched south of the capital city of Anurādhapura.

[3] Malaya (Mv., p. 69) is the central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

[4] Mv., p. 275. Abhayagiri is outside the north gate of the ruined city of Anurādhapura.

[5] Mv., p. 102. Sīlakūṭa is the northern peak of the Mihintale mountain.

[6] Mv., p. 130. Cetiyapabbata is the later name of the Missaka mountain.

[7] Missakapabbata (Mv., p. 102) is the modern Mihintale mountain east of Anurādhapura.

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There were villages, e.g., Kumbiyaṅgana in the country named Giri where a householder named Vasabha lived (ibid., p. 454).

There were Cetiyas, e.g., Aggipavisaka which was built on the relics of Tissa, Abhaya, and Uttara who were burnt to death (ibid., p. 612). The great caitya of Mahiyaṅgana[1] was built on the banks of the Ganges (ibid., p. 72). Besides, there were other cetiyas, e.g., Ākāsa[2] Cetiya (Mv., p. 172), Paṭhama[3] Cetiya (Mv., p. 107), etc.

Among the rivers of Ceylon, mention may be made of Gaṅgā (Mv. Comm., p. 92), Kadamba[4] (ibid., p. 261), Gambhīra[5] (ibid., p. 261), Karinda,[6] Goṇaka,[7] Mahāgaṅgā,[8] Kalyāṇī,[9] and Mahātittha.[10] Goṭhasamudda (Mv., Ch. XXII) is the designation of a sea near Ceylon.

Giridīpa where Buddha brought the Yakkhas from Ceylon (ibid., p. 50) has been described as a beautiful island extending over an area of one thousand yojanas (ibid., p. 80).

The commentary supplies a long list of vihāras, some of which may be mentioned here. There was a vihāra named Cittala where Saṅgharakkhita thera lived; another vihāra by the name of Mallināga was the home of Mahānāga (Mv. Comm., p. 552). Abhayagallaka was also a vihāra (ibid., p. 625). In the country of Rohaṇa there were vihāras named Valliyera (ibid., p. 652) and Mahāgāmanāga (p. 662). Goṭapabbata vihāra was built on the mountain called Goṭapāsāṇa. Two other vihāras by the name of Sejalaka and Cānavela were also built (ibid., p. 657). Besides, there were many vihāras, e.g., Rāmaka vihāra, Maricavaṭṭi (ibid., 499), Dvāramaṇḍala, Acchagirivihāra (ibid., 424), Cittalapabbatavihāra,[11] Thūpārāma vihāra[12] (Mv., Ch. XXXVII), Tissamahāvihāra[13] (ibid.,

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[1] According to tradition, Bintenne Dagoba on the right bank of the Mahawæligaṅgā which is called Mahāgaṅgā or simply Gaṅgā.

[2] Situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Cittalapabbata monastery.

[3] Situated outside the eastern gate of the city of Anurādhapura.

[4] It is identical with modern Malwatte-oya which flows by the ruins of Anurādhapura. Cf. Dīpavaṁsa, p. 82.

[5] It flows 7 or 8 miles north of Anurādhapura.

[6] It is modern Karinda-oya in the southern province of Ceylon which is located in the Pañjali pabbata. Mv., p. 258.

[7] It is the modern Kaḷu-oya river in Ceylon. Mv., Ch. XXXV.

[8] Identical with modern Mahawæligaṅgā river in Ceylon, Mv., p. 82.

[9] Modern Kalenigaṅgā; cf. Jātaka, II, 128.

[10] Identical with modern Mantola opposite the island of Mannar.

[11] It lies 15 miles north-east of the Tissamahārāma near Kaṭagāmuwa.

[12] It was a vihāra in Anurādhapura.

[13] It was located in south Ceylon, north-east of Hambantota.

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Chap. XX), Jetavana vihāra[1] (ibid., Chap. XXXVII), and Bodhimaṇḍa[2] vihāra (Mv., Ch. XXIX) which was once visited by the great thera Cittagutta with thirty thousand bhikkhus.

The Mahāvaṁsa and its commentary lead us to think of the following main divisions of the island of Ceylon: (1) Tambapaṇṇidīpa probably denoting the north-western portion of Ceylon situated just opposite the southernmost part of India comprising Paṇḍya and Tinnevelley districts with Tambapaṇṇinagara as its main city; (2) Laṅkādīpa situated below Tambapaṇṇidīpa with Amenādhapara on the river Kadamba as its main city; (3) Rohanajanapada in which Kājanagāma was situated; (4) Nāgadīpa probably the southern seacoast of Ceylon with Kalyāṇidesa as one of its subdivisions. Gīrīdīpa evidently represented some hill tracts inhabited by the Yakkhas. The Mahāvaṁsa introduces us to a prosperous Yakkha city and port called Sirīsavatthu which is also mentioned in the Valāhassa Jātaka. Samantakūṭa became an isolated Yakkha abode in Ceylon.

Readers are particularly requested to refer to a very useful map of Anurādhapura supplied by Geiger in his English translation of the Mahāvaṁsa published by the P.T.S., London.

B. C. LAW.

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## THE *ĀTMAN* IN THE PĀLI CANON

I. Two points seem to be certain.

(*a*) The Buddhist faith in transmigration (conceived as a metensomatosis) and in a beatific Nirvāṇa is logically repugnant to the canonical tenet that Man is only a compound of transitory elements (physical and mental), for it implies that Man is more than body and mind. Further, it appears that the scholastical theories which aim at explaining or minimizing this repugnance, are late, far-fetched or inoperant. As well known, the scholastical view is (1) that Man is a 'series' (the death-moment is followed by the rebirth-moment, just as any life-moment is followed by a life-moment), and therefore transmigration (which is no longer a metensomatosis) is possible without the cumbrous hypothesis of a permanent soul; (2) that, although Nirvāṇa is an eternal entity (traditional dogma) the dead saint does not 'touch' it, since he no longer exists as his series

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[1] It was situated near the Abhayagiri dagoba in Anurādhapura.

[2] It was a monastery built near the Bodhimaṇḍa at Bodh Gayā.

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has come to an end. [But, if such be the case, Nirvāṇa is of no use altogether and there is a school which will simply ignore it.]

(*b*) Therefore we do not sin by imprudence when we consider as relatively late the canonical tenet of the negation of a Self. Primitive Buddhism, most probably, did not care much for metaphysics and simply admitted a something which transmigrates by assuming new bodies, which finally, when purified, obtains deliverance, reaches the immortal state or place. The question is : ' How can I escape from the realm of Death ? ', not : ' What is the nature of I ? ' Buddhism was mystical before becoming philosophical.

II. When it became philosophical, Buddhism soon and generally concocted theories of soullessness which are in contradiction with its faith in metensomatosis and Nirvāṇa (a faith which was the common certitude of all the contemporaneous sects). These theories are met everywhere in the Canon (which is the property of the Sthaviras). But there are a few texts which—without sophistry—may be understood as evidences of a philosophy in harmony with the Faith.

(*a*) ' Does the body belong to me ? It is I (*attā*) ?—It is not I. For, if the body be I or belong to me, it could not be a cause of suffering, and it would be such as it is wished to be.' And so on : ' Does sensation belong to me ? . . . Does thought belong to me ? . . . . . '[1]

The obvious meaning is that the Self (*attā*) neither is the body . . ., nor has anything to do with the body . . . .

To put it otherwise, Buddhists do not admit the *ātman* of the Aupaniṣada type, the immanent and omnipresent Absolute, the suprasensible ' substance ' (or the guest and the controller) of the body . . . . If there were such an *ātman*, would the body be suffering and cause of suffering. ' Can the *ātman* be transitory and painful . . . . ? '

The implication of this text, according to the Buddhist (Sthavira) scholastics, is that there is no sort of *ātman*, of I.

But is it absurd to differ from the scholastical interpretation ? To take candidly this text as it stands, I am rather inclined to believe that its implication is not purely negative. While it negates, in so many words, the immanent (and universal) *ātman* of the Aupaniṣadas, it seems to postulate and to foster a different definition

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[1] rūpaṃ bhikkhave anattā rūpaṃ ca attā abhavissa na yidaṃ rūpaṃ ābādhāya saṃvatteyya labbhetha ca rūpe evaṃ me rūpaṃ hotu evaṃ me rūpaṃ mā ahosīti . . . . taṃ kiṃ maññatha bhikkhave rūpaṃ niccaṃ vā aniccam vāti ? aniccaṃ bhante ? yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkham vā tam sukhaṃ vāti ? dukkhaṃ bhante ? yaṃ paṇāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ viparināmadhammaṃ kallaṃ nu taṃ samanupassituṃ etaṃ mama eso 'ham asmi eso me attāti ? no hetaṃ bhante.

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of *ātman*. Body and mind are not the *ātman*, not because the *ātman* does not exist (as the later doctors maintain), but because body and mind being transitory and painful, cannot be, cannot have any intimate connection with, the *ātman* : for the *ātman* is by definition eternal and happy. Our text perhaps postulates a transcendent *ātman*, an individual one. Such an *ātman* is well known in the old Indian speculation : the Puruṣa of the Sāṃkhya school who remains untouched by the biological and psychological activities, who neither acts nor feels.

(*b*) The parable of the Jetavana (Saṃyutta, III, 33 ; IV, 82) is briefly as follows : ' If somebody were to come in this Jeta grove and to take and burn the herbs, leaves, wood, would you say that he takes and burns you ?—Not so ! For these things are neither our I, nor are they ours—In the same way the body, the feeling, the mind is not yours. Do abandon what is not yours ! Abandoned by you, that will turn to profit and happiness.'

It seems that the Master aims at directing his bhikṣus to the conquest of the true goal, that is the quasi-Sāṃkhyan isolation of their I, by diverting them from the care for body and mind which do not really concern them. Would he have spoken as he does if he had already discovered the philosophical truths which are taught in the Majjhima, I, 138, and in many sermons ? ' If there were an I, there would be a mine of me ; if there were a mine, there would be an I of me. But we are not aware of the real existence of an I or of a mine.'

Mrs. Rhys Davids comments on the parable : ' . . . so far from denying that man is more than body and mind, [it] actually *implies* that he is chiefly and centrally soul or self—that he is *he* ' (Buddhist Psychology,[1] 1924, p. 284).

III. The scriptural documents which state that a man reaps in a future life what he has sown here below, that the mind goes ' above ' while the body is burnt or buried ; that Māra, the god of Death, vainly tries to seize the mind or soul of the liberated saint—are many. They are visibly the expression of the simple and primitive faith.

Many also are the documents which deny, in so many words, that ' Man is more than body and [transitory] mind '.

Few are the documents which can be understood as implying the doctrine of a transcendent *ātman* ; very few indeed.

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[1] . . . api nu tumhākam evam assa amhe jano harati ḍahati vā . . . | no hetaṃ bhante . . . na hi no etam bhante attā vā attaniyaṃ vāti | evam eva . . . rūpaṃ na tumhākam . . . .

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The contemporaneous Brahmanic speculation (Aupaniṣada) was far from being normalized and contained the germs, and sometimes the tenets, of conflicting metaphysics. In the early Buddhist speculation the views of the *skandhavādins* (Man is a compound and a series) were opposed by the views of the *pudgalavādins* or Personalists. That a few Buddhist philosophers of the early ages admitted a transcendent *ātman*, is not beyond the range of possibilities: the texts we have quoted, texts which are 'Church-edited' (Mrs. Rhys Davids), remain a riddle as long as one does not consider this conjecture with benevolence.

In the present note, I have used such phrases as: 'It is not absurd . . .', 'I am rather inclined to surmise . . .'. These phrases are not intended to cover categorical certitudes under the veil of an apparent modesty and to confer to the author the twofold merit of audacity and prudence. They are, as it suits such problems, the naive expression of his views.—There is no hope that new documents will be discovered which could help the historian of the pre-Buddhist and early Buddhist speculation. But the critical study of the Aupaniṣada and Buddhist Literature has made real progress during the last decades; many points that are obscure nowadays will become clearer.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

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# REVIEWS

## THE BAGH CAVES IN THE GWALIOR STATE. PUBLISHED BY THE INDIA SOCIETY IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY, GWALIOR, FOR HIS LATE HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SIR MADHAB RAO SCINDIA ALIJAH BAHADUR, WITH TEXT BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL, M. B. GARDE, DR. J. PH. VOGEL, E. B. HAVELL, DR. JAMES H. COUSINS, TOGETHER WITH A FOREWORD BY LAURENCE BINYON. Pp. I-VIII, 1-78 WITH ONE SKETCH MAP OF MALWA AND Pls. I-XIX, A-I. LONDON. 4s. NET, 1927.

This is an admirable work in which discussion has been made about the importance of the Bagh caves from the standpoint of architecture, sculpture, painting, and æsthetics. In the first section, Marshall has shown that the Bagh caves hitherto discovered are nine in number. The first one is locally known as the ' Griha ', the second as the ' Pandavonki gupha ', the third as the ' hathikhana ', the fourth as the ' Rang Mahal ' ; but the remaining ones are not so named. He has remarked that ' at Bagh, as at Ajanta, the paintings are done in tempera, not, as has often been stated, in fresco ' (p. 16) but has not furnished any reason for holding such an opinion. As we know, the term tempera is specially applied to early Italian painting, common vehicles of which were yolk of egg, yolk and white of egg mixed together, the white juice of the fig tree and the like ; while the term fresco is applied to the art of painting on freshly spread plaster, before it dries up. On this consideration it is better to take the paintings at Bagh and Ajanta as being done in fresco. In the second section Garde lets us know of the recent discovery in Bagh of a stone-image of Brahman with an inscription dated in V.S. 1210 and mentioning Yaśodhavala, a Paramāra chief. He has rightly observed that attention should be paid to the solitary *ka* of the Gupta age found beneath the partition between fourth (Pl. E) and fifth (Pl. F) scenes in considering the chronology of these caves. It is important to note that Vogel finds, in front of this *ka*, traces of an unidentifiable letter which seems to be provided with the vowel-mark *e* (P. 51). In the third section Vogel deals with the sculptures and paintings. In the course of dealing with the minor deities he has opined that two female figures (Pl. XII. *b*), each standing on a *makara*, should be identified as the Yakshinī figures on account of their close affinity with the bracket-figures of Sāñchī and Mathurā . . . which have been identified as the Yakshiṇī figures. It is well known that in the later Gupta temples of Deogarh and Tigowa the two female door-keepers are to be undoubtedly identified as Gaṅgā and Yamunā on account of the presence of their respective *vāhanas*, *makara*, and *kūrma*. But it is important to note in this connection that on the reverse of the coins of the Tiger type of Samudragupta (Allan—*Catalogue of Gupta coins*, Pl. II, 14, 15) there is a female figure which is to be identified as Gaṅgā on account of the presence of her *vāhana*, *makara* (*ibid.*, Pl. lxxiv, 17-18) and certainly not as a Yakshinī. Then how are we to reconcile the anomaly between this certain identification of Gaṅgā represented on some coins of Samudragupta and the identification of these two female figures, in the Bagh caves as Yakshinīs, which are undoubtedly later than the former ? If we believe that this female figure found on the coins of Samudragupta served as the prototype for these Bagh female figures, then we might conclude that these two female figures should be identified as those of Gaṅgā ; but if we think that in the Gupta age the process of evolution in the

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case of the cave-sculptures is different from that in the case of the figures on the coins, then we might adhere to Vogel's opinion. The extant paintings, as Vogel has shown, enact seven scenes which, according to Cousins, are essentially 'human, depicting the life of the time with its religious associations' (p. 73). In the fourth section Havell has contributed some additional notes on the paintings, and in the fifth and last sections Cousins deals with the æsthetics of the Bagh paintings and the topography of Bagh respectively.

Among the demerits of this book we should specially note the careless manner in which the diacritical marks are applied to Sanskrit words. We find, e.g., Śiva and Mahākāleśvara written as Siva and Mahakalesvara (p. 20). Besides this defect, no index has been added to this book. However it is an admirable production and the plates are excellent. We wish it a very wide circulation which it fully deserves. It is a matter of exceeding gratification that the Gwalior Darbar has thought it fit to bring out this invaluable work with the co-operation of renowned Scholars and Archæologists. In this respect they have worthily followed the example of the Mysore and Hyderabad States that have done immense service to the cause of Indian Archæology. And it is sincerely hoped that *The Bagh Caves* is but a precursor to many excellent publications which the Gwalior Darbar will before long undertake.

CHARU CHADRA DAS GUPTA.

**THE MAHÂBHÂRATA**—Analysis and Index, by Edward P. Rice: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934, Preface and pp. 112. Price Rs. 5.

Lovers of ancient Indian history and culture must cordially welcome this handbook. A detailed analysis of the contents of each of the 18 *parvas*, together with useful indices of names and subjects in the Mahābhārata is the special feature of this book. It is a work of considerable patience and care, and amply testifies to the scholarship of the author. As a book of reference it will prove extremely useful.

N. N. DAS GUPTA.

**THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT STODART**: With an Introduction and Notes by Sir E. Denison Ross; Luzac and Co., London, 1935, pp. 120 and Index.

This book, well got-up and with an exhaustive index, contains a *hitherto unknown* account, in the form of a diary, of the experiences of an Englishman, Robert Stodart of Carnarvon, sent by Charles I, under Sir Dodmore Cotton, 1627–29 A.D., to Shāh 'Abbâs, the greatest of Persia's Muslim rulers. The account is published from a manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, and the text has been printed almost exactly as it occurs in the manuscript. The introduction and notes by the editor, Sir E. Denison Ross, speak at once for the great amount of patient industry and care devoted to bring out the publication, which contains, besides, in the beginning, a section of De L'Isle's Map of Persia, published in 1724, and at the end, a list of the fleets with which Stodart sailed on his voyage to and from Persia. The editor certainly deserves our thanks for bringing to light a lost account of an early traveller.

N. N. DAS GUPTA.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF SHAHABAD**, by Francis Buchanan. Published on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, and printed at the Patna Law Press, 1934. Price Rs. 9.

This interesting volume embodies the results of Dr. Buchanan's survey of the District of Shahabad early in the nineteenth century. It deals with the topography

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and antiquities of the district, its flora and fauna, agriculture and commerce, arts and manufactures, and social divisions, religious practices, economic condition and literary activities of the people. The treatment of the subject is well nigh exhaustive and the work will doubtless take its rank as one of the most important source books for the history of the nineteenth century. The chapters dealing with topography and antiquities are of exceptional interest for Sahasram, Buxar, and 'Rautasgar', rich with memories of the Hindu, Moslem, and early British periods, are situated in this part of the country. It is hardly to be expected that an author who wrote early in the nineteenth century and had hardly any means of testing the accuracy of popular legends, would succeed in giving an account of the antiquities of the district that would satisfy the scholar or the archæologist of the next century. Nevertheless the information collected has a value of its own, and affords interesting glimpses of primitive tribes, e.g. the Cheros, Siviras, and Kharawars that once held sway in this region. The references to slavery (pp. 165ff.), the doctrine of caste among Moslems (p. 179), Dikshit Rajputs (p. 194), Nagavangsis (p. 190), Srawaks (p. 225), condition of women (p. 212), and curriculum of studies (pp. 173ff.) deserve special attention. It is interesting to note that cowries were still current as a medium of exchange (p. 439). One would doubtless be reminded of Fa Hien's account of the Middle Kingdom early in the fifth century A.D. A good map and an index at the end of the volume would have added to its utility.

H. C. R. C.

**THE SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH**, by Nirod Bushan Roy, M.A., A.M. College, Mymensing, Bengal, pp. x+104+x; 1934. Price Rs. 2-8.

The monograph under review deals with an interesting chapter of the Muslim period of Indian history. The author has given us an account of the Sūr dynasty from the death of Sher Shāh (A.D. 1545) up to the battle of Jaunpur (A.D. 1561) in which Shēr Khān (II), son of Ādil Shāh, was defeated and as a result of which the Sūr dynasty came to an end. He has tried to prove that the integrity of the Sūr empire was kept intact up to the death of Islām Shāh (A.D. 1553).

Mr. Roy has carefully studied the original sources. The book under review contains interesting sections but the chapters VI and VII, dealing with the (Muslim) religious movement during the reign of Islām Shāh and with his administration and his place in history, appear to be the most interesting portions.

Mr. Roy's monograph, however, will hardly remove the long-felt need of a critical and detailed account of the Sūr kings. Sometimes his details are not accurate. He says (p. 5), as for instance, that Jalāl Khān (i.e. Islām Shāh) led the right wing of the Afghān army at the battle of Bilgrām. According to the *Tezkereh al Vakiat* (Stuart's transl., London, 1832, p. 30), however, the right of the Afghān army was commanded by Khawas Khān and was opposed by Mirzā Askarī, while the left was led by Jalāl Khān and was opposed by Mirzā Hindāl. Moreover, Mr. Roy's references are in many places inadequate. Persian works are vaguely referred to without any reference to the editor, translator, or publisher, and to a particular section or page. A modern writer has been mentioned (pp. vii, 39, etc.), but his work has never been referred to. The book has innumerable drawbacks, as for example, absence of diacritical marks, transliteration of passages quoted from Persian originals, a map and genealogical and chronological tables. Besides, there are many misprints in the body of the book. We trust the author will take particular care to remove all these defects in a future edition of this book, so that it may be treated as a valuable guide to the students of the Mediæval period of Indian History.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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**A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE VAṄGĪYA SĀHITYA PARISHAT,** by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kāvyatīrtha, M.A. Published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta, pp. i–xlv+1–270. Price Rs. 6-4.

Prefaced with a brief history of the Manuscript collection of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, the Catalogue under review gives the names of 1,666 MSS. arranged alphabetically under different subject-groups, viz., Veda, Tantra, Purāṇa, Smṛti, Grammar, Lexicography, Poems, Rhetoric and Prosody, Vaiṣṇava works, Philosophy, Medical Science, Astronomy and Astrology, History, and Miscellaneous. The Veda group has been sub-divided into (i) Saṁhitā, (ii) Brāhmaṇas, (iii) Upaniṣads, (iv) Sūtras, and (v) Miscellaneous; the Tantra into (i) Original Tantras and (ii) Tāntric Digests; the Smṛti into (i) Original Smṛti and (ii) Smṛti Digests; Poems into (i) Kāvya, and (ii) Nāṭaka; Rhetoric and Prosody into (i) Alaṅkāra and (ii) Chandaḥ; and Philosophy into (i) Vedānta, (ii) Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and (iii) other systems of philosophy. Besides short accounts of the authors, available references to their forefathers have also been given under the column 'Authors'. The number of folios in the MSS., the scripts in which they are written and the available dates of transcriptions have been indicated in separate columns. The 'Remarks' column gives references to other Catalogues where the MSS. under notice, have been described or mentioned. In many cases the peculiarities of manuscripts have been noticed. The author's introduction, which is very learned, gives an account of some important MSS. of later date, not included in the body of the Catalogue. The tabular form containing useful descriptions of MSS. is undoubtedly of immense help to scholars.

B. C. LAW.

**VṚHAT VAṄGA,** by Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, D.Litt. (Hon.), Kavi-Śêkhara: published by the Calcutta University, pp. 1142 and indices, 1341 B.S. (1935 A.D.). Price not mentioned.

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, author of the *Vṛhat Vaṅga*, which is the title borne by a voluminous Bengali book that has just appeared in two parts, needs no introduction as a veteran scholar devoted to the study of old Bengali language and literature. The book, as a publication of the Calcutta University, is naturally enough neatly printed and well got-up, having had moreover, the advantage of being lavishly illustrated, some of the illustrations proving really interesting and valuable.

The voluminous book, that professes to be historical in character, is also a comprehensive one, and essays to give an account, political, social, religious, and literary, as also an account of plastic and pictorial art, of 'Vṛhat Vaṅga', manifestly an expression to carry the sense of 'Greater Bengal', which is made to correspond to 'North-Eastern India', excluding Orissa. The account begins right from the earliest times, and terminates with the *Battle of Plassey*, to which are appended separate short historical descriptions of some individual kingdoms and tracts of Eastern India, such as Tipperah, Prâgjyôtiṣa (Assam), Cooch-Bihâr, Kâchâr, Sylhet, Mêdinîpur, Vana-Viṣṇupura, Bhuluâ, Sundara-Vana, etc. In the first part, the author provides a lengthy introduction, while in the second there are two exhaustive indices, one of names and words and the other of illustrations.

Dr. Sen is a master of prose diction, and the pages of this book also bear the stamp of his usual fascinating style. But style alone cannot make up history, although a true historian, possessed of this gift, may produce works of outstanding merit. No idea is better and more admirable on the part of a Bengali than to produce a history of Bengal in all its varying aspects, but Dr. Sen, a well-read man though,

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is scarcely a historian. Miserably lacking that sober restraint of emotion, and that spirit of judicial caution and analysis, which are the two most essential qualities of a historian, he has hopelessly failed to attach to his book any high scientific value. Irrelevant digressions, unmethodical setting of subject-matter, palpable mistakes, misrepresentations of facts, idle interpretations of historical data, occasional employment of *ex-cathedra* statements, etc., have also robbed this book much of its intrinsic value, which otherwise might have been a standard work in Bengali language for many years to come.

As to the title 'Vṛhat Vaṅga' for his work, Dr. Sen tells us in the Introduction that it is neither the coinage of his brain, nor modern, since the expression 'Vṛhat Vaṅgâṅ' occurs in the text of the Gwalior Praśasti (Sâgartâl Inscription of Bhôja I), as published by Hîrânanda Sâstrî in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1903-04. But if such be the nature of justification for the title of the book, Dr. Sen would have been better advised to pick out for the same purpose some other expression from the whole range of inscriptions found in North-Eastern India, for the expression in the Gwalior Praśasti means 'the great or mighty Vaṅgas', and not, by any stretch of imagination, 'North-Eastern India'. Again, his survey of 'Vṛhat-Vaṅga', in the sense of North-Eastern India, is limited to the Gupta period only, the rest of the book practically appertaining to Bengal alone. The very title of the book is, therefore, without any sufficient warrant.

Since the publication of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's *Bâṅglâr Itihâsa*, hitherto the latest book on the subject deserving mention, a lot of fresh materials for the constructive history of the province has come to light, and numerous able and suggestive papers have been published in various journals. One, who at this time of day undertakes writing any history of the past of Bengal, has had, as a matter of course, to incorporate into his book those materials, take into consideration the theories advanced in those papers, and try to fill up the lacunas in history, particularly the early and early-mediæval periods of it, as far as practicable. But what Dr. Sen has done is mainly to draw, for these periods at any rate, from the few works that are already on them and had been written years ago, in consequence of which many of the defects and errors of those works are present, in letter or in spirit, in his book also. Furthermore, his endeavour has not been little to make an experiment, but on faulty lines and at a time when the history of Bengal of those periods is still in the making, of how far the myths, traditions, legends, folk-lores, chronicles, popular sayings, and the like of his country, which are believed to be of historical value, can be interspersed and shuffled up with true historical accounts, and see what result follows. The result has been, I may at once say, most disappointing.

Space forbids me to notice here all the manifold drawbacks of and countless inaccuracies in the bulky book, save only a few. Although Dr. Sen is eager to demonstrate in the pages of the book a profound love for his country, the book, published towards the close of 1935, does not know that there even lived in his country celebrated princes like Vainyagupta, Jayanâga[1] Lôkanâtha, Kântidêva, Daśaratha, etc., and what their doings were. It is also ignorant of that the date of the fifth of the Dâmôdarapura copper-plates has been corrected as 543-44 A.D.; that Candravarman of the Śuśuniâ rock inscription has been identified as a local chief of West Bengal; that there is a record extant testifying to that Gôpâla II of the Pâla dynasty ruled for at least 54 years; that it is not Râjêndra Côḷa, but his generals, who fought in Bengal with Mahîpâla I and other princes; that the idea of destroying by Râmapâla a city like Ḍamara-nagara, presumed to have been the capital

[1] There is only a line devoted to this King's account in a footnote.

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of the Kaivarta Bhîma, is a chimera ; that the identifications of Vîra, Râghava, and Vardhana have already been satisfactorily made out,—and many other too commonly known facts. It commits the flagrant mistakes of supposing that Môdâgiri of the *Mahâbhârata* is the modern Mâldah in North Bengal (p. 30), of recording the date of Skandagupta's demise as 480 A.D., of conceiving that Gôpâla III was the successor of Madanapâla on the Pâla throne, etc. etc. In its estimate, Patañjali wrote the *Mahâbhâṣya* about 300 B.C. (p. 917), Candragômin flourished in probably the first half of the eighth century (p. 338), the Ôdantapuri Vihâra was built in 740 A.D. (p. 252) by Gôpâla I, who is conjectured to have ascended the throne in that very year, Śûlapâṇi, the *Smârta* (jurist) probably belonged to the twelfth century, and so on !! It represents Padmasambhava as ' Padmanâbha ', Nayapâla as ' Narapâla ', Nâgabhaṭa II as ' Kharjura-râja ', Bhavadêva-Bhaṭṭa as ' Bhaṭṭa-Dêva ', Gaṇapatinâga and Hastivarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as ' Gangâpati-nâga ' and ' Hûtivarmâ ' respectively, the *Indian Historical Quarterly* as the ' *Indian Asiatic Quarterly* ', etc., which are enough to betray that the author is not always conversant with the original sources of information. The author feels no scruple to postulate that Vâgbhaṭa, the physician (p. 372), Jinêndra-buddhi, the author of the *Nyâsa* (p. 366), Padmanâbha-Datta, the writer of the *Supadma* grammar (p. 369), Kavirâja, the poet of the *Râghava-Pâṇḍavîya* (p. 369), Jayadêva, the writer of the *Prasanna-Râghava* (p. 369), and many others were but Bengalis. He wants us to believe that Ptolemy's ' Salsônu ', ' Sâbâr ', ' Dâsarâ ', and ' Bêniajudam ' are to be identified with some villages in Bengal ; that the existence of the *paraganâ* Mêhêrkul in Tipperah may perhaps indicate some connection of Mihirakula, the Śaka (?) King, with Bengal (p. 286) ; that Dayitaviṣnu, the grandfather of Gôpâla I, was a man of the *Paṇḍita* type ; that Vigrahapâla II was a painter and when the Kâmbôjas conquered the throne of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga, he, out of mental affliction, might have busied himself with his brush and colour for painting in order to forget the troubles and tribulations of the world ; that Lakṣmaṇasêna fled from Nadîyâ to Sênahâṭi in Jessore-Khulnâ ; that the title of ' Masnad-(i)-Âli ' was given to Iśâ Khân by Amara-Mâṇikya of Tipperah (this theory was, however, originally propounded by another writer some time ago) ; that the mortal remains of Caitanya were buried in the Guṇḍicâ temple of Puri ; that ' amongst the people of Bengal most of the Hindus are Vaiṣnavas ', and so forth !!!

Dr. Sen is at his best in the chapter of Bengali language and literature (ch. xvii), but this also admits of considerable improvement, particularly in respect of the dates of some poets, such as *Kâṇâ* Hari Datta (p. 983), Mayûra-Bhaṭṭa (p. 986), etc., and the account of Caṇḍîdâsa, which is for the most part fanciful, and inadmissible. It is, however, in this chapter that he makes the bold, but perfectly entertaining, statement that the (language of) the *Bauddha-Dôhâ-Ô-Gâna* and the *Dâkârṇava* cannot be regarded as the old form of Bengali (pp. 962-63). His chapters on the Vaiṣnavism and Vaiṣnava preachers of Bengal are only an abstract of what he had written and suggested before, while his description of the Buddhist Vihâras and accounts of the Buddhist scholars of Bengal and of the Bengal grammarians, *smârtas*, and lexicographers are as poor as anything. The chapter on the later art of Bengal is, nevertheless, a highly interesting study and a brightly written record.

The worst feature of the book lies in its embodying the theories and results of research-works of others, not rarely without any reference to their names in the body of the work, although the author is particular about referring to his own writings. References might, of course, be deemed unnecessary in case of popularly known theories, but they are in pressing demand when the theories have not gained wide dissemination.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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**ELEMENTS OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY**, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy ; pp. 95 ; with 15 plates. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935. Price $3.50.

The book under review is divided into two parts, viz. I. *Tree of Life, Earth-lotus and Word-wheel*, and II. *Place of the Lotus-throne*. The principles enunciated in Dr. Coomaraswamy's recent volumes, *A New Approach to the Vedas* (1933) and *The Transformation of Nature in Art* (1934), have been applied in this work to explain the fundamental symbols of the Buddhist art which began in India about the second century B.C. The author has critically studied the entire Śruti literature and has tried to show that the Buddhist symbols are of Vedic origin and that concepts symbolically expressed in the Vedas have found iconographic expression for the first time in early Buddhist art.

The symbols discussed in the volume under review are those of the tree (Tree of Life), the thunderbolt (Quality *adamantine*), the lotus (Substance or Ground of Manifestation) and the wheel (Operation of Principles). The learned author has shown that these are not of Buddhist invention, but represent some universal theological concepts of ancient India.

The reader of Dr. Coomaraswamy's work will find an important theory of art and will be struck with the author's originality and profound knowledge. He must be congratulated for these metaphysical interpretations even though we may not fully agree with him in all his observations.

Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks (pp. 23-24) that the Buddha is an incarnation of the Vedic Agni and that the details of the Buddha's life are mythical. The author does not deny the possibility of the existence of a historical figure upon which the cosmic myth was set, but suggests that the figure is rather symbolical. It is difficult to accept such views.

Many things that have grown up on the figure of the Buddha (as on those of other religious heroes) may be mythical and may have metaphysical significance. Dr. Coomaraswamy however seems to go too far when he tries to explain away everything connected with the Buddha, even his genealogy. If the representation of the Buddha in the *Ang. Nik.*, II, 38, saying, ' I am neither Deva, Gandharva, Yakkha, nor man ' is taken to indicate that the Buddha is only a Principle (p. 24), the celebrated philosophic poem beginning with the verse ' *n=āhaṃ manuṣyo na ca deva-yakṣau, na brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-vaiśya-śūdhāḥ*, etc. ', may likewise indicate that the figure of its author who lived in the early mediæval period is symbolical rather than historical. It is doubtful whether ancient people worshipped the tree with the complex metaphysical idea of the Tree of Life ; it appears more probable that the tree-cult originated in a simpler totemistic conception.

In the explanatory note to Plate X, Figure 32 (Garbha-kośa-dhātu Maṇḍala) where the *tattvas* are shown in their sensibly manifested forms, Vairocana is said to have been represented by ' *Aḥ* '. The syllable should however be read as *Āḥ* (see Bühler, *Ind. Pal.*, Taf., VI, l. 2). In Fig. 32, *Aḥ* represents the Tathāgata Divyadundubhimeghanirghoṣa. This is however a minor point. Notwithstanding some minor inaccuracies, the book under review is no doubt a valuable production.

D. C. SIRCAR.

**THE KALYĀṆA AND THE KALYĀṆA-KALPATARU** edited by Mr. Hanumanprasad Poddar and others : published by the Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, U.P. (India).

The Kalyāṇa, a Hindi monthly, is being published with the object of promoting spiritual welfare by propagating religious ideas and love of God. The learned editor

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of this Journal is Mr. Hanumanprasad Poddar assisted by such scholars as Messrs. L. N. Garde, C. L. Goswami, Jwalaprasad Kanodiya, Gaurisankar Dvivedi, Chimanlal Goswami.

A very striking feature of this Journal is the issue of some special numbers, each with a particular motto, and devoted to a particular subject-matter relating to the Incarnations of Godhead, or systems of philosophical thought. Each of these special numbers, well-printed and neatly got up, contains numerous papers, both popular and learned, from the pen of many eminent Indian scholars, while a number of beautiful illustrations, representing both the Eastern and Western schools of art, add much to the interest of it.

The Kalyāṇa-Kalpataru is the English edition of the Hindi Kalyāṇa. It publishes good papers written by many eminent scholars of the East and West on religion and philosophy. Two special numbers of it for 1934 and 1935 have been issued. The special number for 1934, called the God number, is a big volume containing many papers on various aspects of God. The special number for 1935, called the Gītā number, contains many interesting papers on the Bhagavad Gītā.

We wish all success for the labours of Mr. Poddar and his colleagues in the realization of their noble enterprise.

S. C. SEAL.

**SUMATRA—ITS HISTORY AND PEOPLE** by Edwin M. Loeb with two maps, one chart and 40 plates, 1935 (Published as Vol. III of 'Wiener Beiträge Zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik' des Institutes für Völkerkunde Der Universität Wien).

In the introduction the author has done justice to history, geography, geology and climate of Sumatra. He has shown the difference between the fauna of north and south Sumatra. He further points out that the fauna of Sumatra shows a greater resemblance to that of Borneo than to that of Java. He has given a list of animals found in Sumatra. Much has been said regarding the races and peoples and political and linguistic divisions of Sumatra. He has noted a few points regarding population. The introduction on the whole is well written in a popular style. The Chapter I deals with the Bataks first mentioned by Herodotus. The Bataks were cannibals. They were divided into a number of linguistic groups and influenced very much by the Hindu civilization. The author has dealt with their economic history. His account of their villages, houses, food, clothings, decorations, religious artifacts, games, etc., is very illuminating. Their social and religious history repays perusal. The information given by the author regarding their forms of marriage and wedding ceremony, etc. is interesting and instructive. The Bataks believe in spirits and their sacrifice clearly shows the Hindu origin. Sacrifices are made to soul, ghosts, demons and gods. Special sacrifices to the higher gods are a rarity. Horses are offered in a sacrificial feast for the three gods of the Trinity. The Bataks formerly practised human sacrifices in a manner similar to the Dravidian Tribes of India. Prayer is a necessary element of every sacrifice. The gods and spirits are begged and not forced by prayer. The Bataks have seven important gods. Similar is the treatment of the author regarding the people of Minangkabau (Chap. II). The author points out that the name Minangkabau first seems to have appeared in a list dated 1365 A.D., giving the names of lands and districts in Sumatra which owed tribute to the Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit. In chapter III, the author deals with the islands to the west of Sumatra which are important from the ethnographic point of view, namely, Nias, Mentawei islands and Engano. The author has ably given us an account of economic, social

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and religious life of the people inhabiting these islands. In chapter IV, he has fully narrated the history of Atjeh, an island in north Sumatra. He has not failed to furnish us with an account of Gajo and Alas which are isolated inland countries of northern Sumatra. In chapter V, same kind of treatment is found regarding the people of Lampong who are divided into the mountain people, the Orang Abung and the plains people the Orang Pablan. The Orang Abung, probably the original natives of Lampong, were once a wild nomadic people without any settled habitat and mainly living on hunting, fishing, etc. The author has also given us an account of such minor people as Kubu, Orang Mamaq, Sakai, Akit, Lubu, Ulu, Orang Benua. The author's note on the races and cultures of Sumatra is very meagre. The section on the Archæology and Art of Sumatra by Robert Heine-Geldern is the most valuable portion of the book, although we do not wholly accept his conclusions summed up at the end of this section. Besides, the author has furnished us with a useful bibliography and a good index. The illustrations given at the end are really excellent. The book is written in a popular style without any documentation wherever necessary. The map showing the linguistic divisions of Sumatra and the folded map of Sumatra supplied by the author will greatly help the readers of this book under review. We quite agree with the author when he says 'We are still at the beginning of Archæological research in Sumatra. But though still an immense amount of field work will have to be accomplished, we may hope that this island—owing to its position on the way primitive man must have taken from Asia to Australia and the South Seas and on the way for the seafarers of later periods between India and China—will yield us facts of most fundamental importance for the history of mankind.'

B. C. LAW.

## DR. B. C. LAW'S NEW BOOK ON ŚRĀVASTĪ.

If Dr. Bimala Churn Law continues, as we hope he will, publishing every year one or more of his useful books on Buddhism, he can be certain to reach the Tushita Heaven, and in due course obtain arahatship, the ultimate purpose of all *upāsakas*,—which he undoubtedly is. Here is one more of his contributions to the study of a period in India's history which is dear to many of us : the time of the Buddha and the centuries following it.

*Śrāvastī in Indian Literature* is one of the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India (No. 50), and its 33 pages make far more attractive reading than the title suggests. It is not a mere compilation of quotations : although the author has consulted an imposing number of records, ancient and modern, and gives us ample proofs, in a scholarly manner, of every statement he makes. Nevertheless, Dr. Law makes his quotations live ; and as we wade through the pleasant river of these texts, the ancient capital city of Kosala gradually emerges before our eyes : a vast emporium on the river banks of the Rapti, full of teaming life, with wealthy merchants carrying on trade through the three important caravan routes meeting in the town, with kings and courtiers, queens and courtesans, and, last but not least, with a number of world-famous religious establishments in and around the capital. We get a splendid view of the sacred grove of the Prince Jeta, purchased by the wealthy merchant Anāthapiṇḍika and presented to the Enlightened One,—a garden outside the city gate, not far from the river bank, in which at the royal command and the bidding of devoted disciples, monasteries and *stūpas* have been erected for the followers of the Good Law. We meet the Buddha and his disciples ; followers of the other sects of the period, Ājīvikas, Jainas, Brāhmaṇas, converging from all parts of this great country of India, often engaged in discussions, sometimes friendly, sometimes less friendly. We follow the vicissitudes which befell the town

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and the country of Kosala, and cast a sad eye on the gradually collapsing monasteries and *stūpas* when we revisit the place in the company of Buddhist pilgrims from far-away China.

Altogether an extremely useful and scholarly work, in which I was unable to find mistakes worth mentioning. The author usually discredits with sound judgment legendary exaggerations, among which the most amusing one is a statement of the *Milinḍapañha* according to which there were five crores of disciples in Sāvatthī *plus* 357.000 lay disciples ; and this, whilst Buddhaghosha tells us that the town had 57.000 families in all !

There are unfortunately numerous printer's errors, e.g. ' Rajputānā ', ' The site of the shavelings '. There are also a few passages that could have been expressed more adroitly. There is also one wrong argument, on p. 13. From a passage mentioning an alliance of three powers the author concludes that these three countries were situated on each other's frontier. This is entirely unnecessary (though possible). One must only remember the alliance of countries as far apart as Great Britain and Russia during the Great War to see that countries do make alliances even if there is intervening (enemy) country between them.

As will be observed, the above remarks relate to petty errors, and the reviewer is unable to put his finger on any serious mistake of judgment. Dr. Law's book, as already pointed out, is a learned, well conceived and well executed work, and its price (Rc. 1-4) cannot prevent any one from purchasing it as a most useful addition to any scholar's library.

' REVISOR.'

**ŚRĀVASTĪ IN INDIAN LITERATURE** (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 50). By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Hon. Correspondent A.S.I., Delhi, 1935.

Dr. Law has rendered yet another service to research, notably to that in Buddhism, by here collecting into a few pages a well assorted mass of material about a vanished city and adjacent monastic settlement, the successor in Buddhist importance to Rājgir, the predecessor therein to Patna. There is no student in this field, to mention no others, but will be grateful to him. The 39 pages are divided into five sections, followed by a full Index, by all of which reference is made relatively easy.

There are, it is true, one or two matters we regret to see omitted. There is that ' most important find ' amid the ruins of Saheth-Maheth : the contents of the inscribed copperplate of Govindachandra found in Monastery No. 19, identifying Saheth with Jetavana. This is only alluded to. And further, no notice is taken of the peculiar way in which the majority of the Suttas, as associated with Sāvatthī' finds mention. We, of the Pāli Text Society, drew attention to this peculiar way in our translation of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya, the translator, Mr. Woodward, and I both discussing it in our introductory matter to Vols. III and IV. In very many Suttas, namely, the usual introductory episode : sojourn at Sāvatthī, etc. is replaced by just the words ' At Sāvatthī the *nidānaṃ* . . .' I ventured to suggest, that here the usual *uppatti-nidānaṃ* was an editorial corruption of *nidhānaṃ* : a store or ' library ', where living books, repeaters, maintained the oral tradition long before the Sayings were written. There were in all six groups of Suttas beginning in this curt style, Sāvatthī being by a long way the chief, numerically. And among the six, we see in the last part of the Nikāya, that Patna (Pāṭaliputta) has emerged, as of growing importance, with two such Suttas. The other four are Rājagaha, Sāketa, Benāres and Kapilavatthu, all it may be with their separate story of live libraries to tell us, could we but hear it. I should have been glad to have seen this point not only

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referred to, as possibly of some historic interest, but brought further, either by the author or by other men of research being cited.

Then as to the five rājās discussing a point with Gotama in the same Nikāya (I, p. 12) :—as early as 1917, in my translation, I drew attention to there being no need to see in the five more than rājā usually meant, namely, just our squire or laird. I am aware that the Jātaka Commentary took present form possibly later than the Suttas, but there every kṣatriyan land-owner is a rājā (cf. Kuṇāla-jātaka.)

Lastly, I still think, that in the present infantile stage of historical treatment of Buddhism, we cannot afford to ascribe to Gotama such doubtfully true assertions as that he ' taught ' this, ' preached ' that, or for that matter, to his disciples. The monograph begins admirably with ' sayings attributed to ', ' stated in '. But this is not maintained ; it is so much easier to lapse into the ballad style, is it not ? and objection seems captious. Let us get a ' higher criticism ' in Buddhist literary research well established and accepted ; then, may be, it will be safe and wise to stop crossing our *t*'s. It isn't so yet.

None the less here is valuable stuff to have in our libraries.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

**SARASWAT FAMILIES.** Part I, by S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B. With a foreword by H. Shankar Rau, Esq., C.I.E. Citrapur Saraswat Series, II, 6″×9½″. Published by S. S. Talmaki, Gamdevi, Bombay, 7. (Year and price not stated). (But they are 1935 and Re. 1 respectively.)

The arduous work of finding out the pedigrees of persons has been well nigh successfully performed by Mr. Talmaki in the above little book which, as its title suggests, is a compendium of family trees and genealogical notes pertaining to a small section of the Sārasvatas. The persons who belong to this community style themselves Citrāpur Sārasvatas after their religious centre called the Citrāpur *maṭha* in Śirāli, North Kanara, Bombay Presidency. Mr. Talmaki's patience in collecting facts relating to families is praiseworthy (pp. 81–161) ; his remarks on the affinity between the Śenvis and the Citrāpur Sārasvatas are, on the whole, reasonable (pp. 21-23) ; and his attempt at explaining the philological basis of words in the Koṅkaṇi dialect—which, however, he calls a language—is welcome (pp. 26–31).

But beyond this there is little that is either commendable or useful in this book. One does not know what is the object of the writer—whether it is to give us an accurate historical account of his community, or merely to eulogize its families (pp. 67 *seq.*). The book is not only communal (pp. ii, 21) but polemic in character (pp. 55, 59).

The author lays pretensions to accuracy. He asserts that he has tried to examine the sources of information from the historic(al) standpoint (Pref. p. ii). Of his historical method we shall presently give some unique examples. He gives a bibliographical list on pp. 131-132 which, in spite of its representative character, does not seem to have stood him in good stead. He cites the evidence of stone inscriptions and copperplate grants, *e.g.*, the copperplate grant of *circa* A.D. 700 of the ' Kanarese king Vijayāditya ' (p. 39). But the author gives us no source for this piece of information, and evidently forgets that there were at least three ' Kanarese ' kings called Vijayādityas, who were almost contemporaries ! In another connection he gives the evidence of a stone inscription of the times of Bukka Rāya of Vijayanagara and of his minister-general Mādhava (p. 56). He gives us ' a rough translation of the relevant portions of the inscription '. Here again no source for this record is given—although the author mentions the source

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in his bibliography!—and what is worse, the 'relevant portions' are thoroughly misleading and wrong. He assures us that in 'spelling the Gotras and other Sanskrit names the system adopted by the Orientalists has been generally followed' (p. 80). But throughout the book proper names have been mutilated and the system of the Orientalists smashed.

The book abounds in superfluous stuff. Koṅkaṇ was 'inhabited by people long before the Saraswats came there' (p. 8); a language contains many admixtures of foreign words (p. 27); remarks on education (p. 37); and the definition of 'family' (p. 61)—is there any one who wishes to be told about these details?

We may now give a few specimens of the author's historic(al) method. The book opens with a most preposterous statement: 'The Saraswats in India were the only Brahmans in the olden times' (p. 1). That the Aryans colonized the whole of India (at one and the same time?) (p. 2); that the Gomaṅta Brahmans after leaving their northern Indian homes first settled in Goa whence they migrated again to other places (p. 3); that the Gupta kings coming to power ruled over Bengal till A.D. 73 (p. 5); that the Sārasvatas came to the south led by Paraśurāma, in the times of Bhadrabāhu (pp. 6, 10, 12); that the whole of the creation of Paraśurāma was called Śurpāraka (p. 7); that Goa was called Gomaṅta, Aparāṅta, and Sindabur (pp. 8-9); that the Sārasvatas adopted the gods of the Dravidians because they—being Brahmans!—did not bring their own gods (p. 10); that one of the Uḍipi (Vaiṣṇava) *gurus* (name?) was a Sārasvata (p. 13); that two representatives of Goa named Vasanta Mādhava and Mainśeṇai Wāgḷe represented to the Vijayanagara king (name?) their grievances under the Muhammadans, and, were, therefore, instrumental in the Vijayanagara conquest of Goa (p. 16); that Timoja Nāyaka was the head of the Vijayanagara navy (pp. 16-17); that the Citapāvana Brahmans of South Kanara fled to that district in order to escape the persecutions at home (p. 27); that the Vaiṣṇava *gurus* of Uḍipi are identical with those of the Bhāgavata *Sāmpradāya* (p. 31); that Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkeri was the son of Cikka Saṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka (p. 35); and that the Kannaḍa word *okkalu* means a 'settler'—how any one with the least pretensions to learning and industry could write such astoundingly inaccurate statements in these days of historical precision passes one's comprehension! Mr. Talmaki's book may have been of some utility if only the latter part dealing with the Citrāpura Sārasvata families had been given for the earlier part of the book abounding in 'historical' details is worthless. We hope that in the promised second part of the book, the author will give us sober facts and not sophisticated fiction.

B. A. Saletore.

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2. Note on Khotanī Saka and the Central Asian Prakrit by Sten Konow.

*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, October*, 1935.

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3. Some Observations on the Figures of Speech in the Ṛg-Veda by Abel Bergaigne translated into English by A. Venkatasubbiah.

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VIII, Pts. 2 & 3* (Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir George Grierson on his birthday, 7th January 1936).

This volume contains 52 contributions on diverse subjects by scholars of various countries of the world.

*Calcutta Review, Vol. 57, No. 3, December*, 1935.

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*Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, Vol. VIII, No. 1*, 1935.

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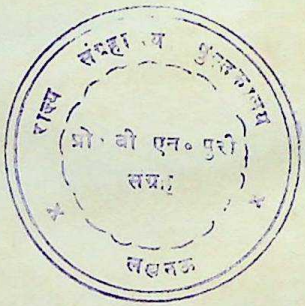

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